RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN WALES (1654-1662).

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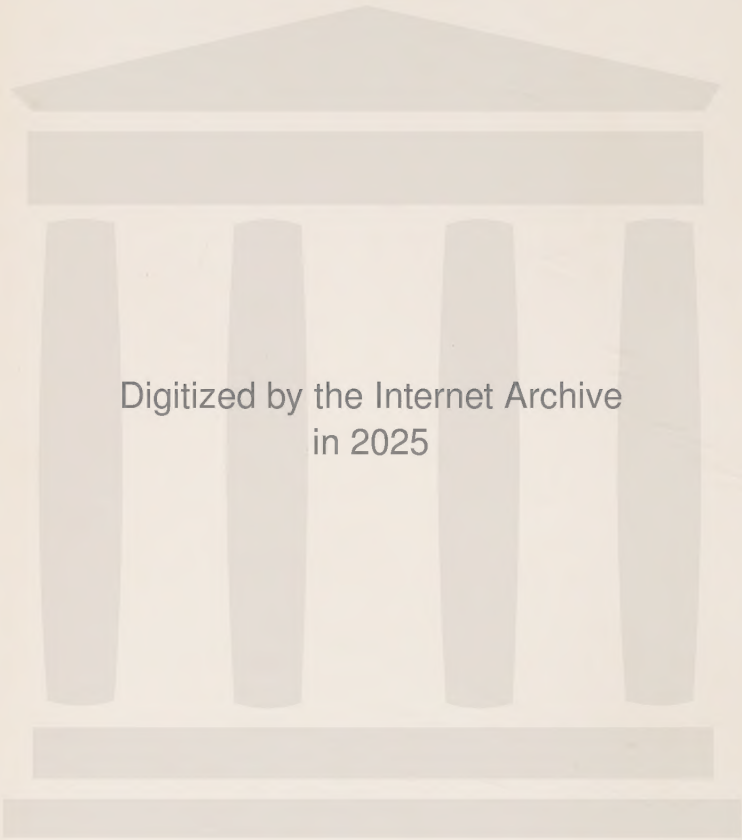
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RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN WALES

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Religious Developments in Wales

(1654—1662)

BY
THOMAS RICHARDS, M.A.,
SECONDARY SCHOOL, MAESTEG

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

At the National Eisteddfod held at Carnarvon in 1921, through the generosity of the proprietors of the *Western Mail*, the National Eisteddfod Association was enabled to offer a prize of one hundred guineas for the best work of original research (unpublished) dealing with any period of Welsh History. Professor Edward Edwards (Aberystwyth), Professor John Edward Lloyd (Bangor), and Professor Ernest E. Hughes (Swansea), were appointed adjudicators, and of the ten compositions sent in, they unanimously agreed in awarding the prize to an Essay on "Religious Developments in Wales from 1654 to 1669." The writer of this Essay was Mr. Thomas Richards, M.A., of the Secondary School, Maesteg, the author of a "History of the Puritan Movement in Wales from 1639 to 1653," for which a prize of £50 was awarded to him at the National Eisteddfod (1918) held at Neath. This work was published by the Association in a volume of more than 300 pages in 1920, and was very cordially received by those interested in the story of religious developments in Wales. The present volume continues the story from 1653 onwards as far as 1662. The remainder of the work, owing to its length, is left over for future publication. Dr. Lloyd, in his adjudication on this Essay, pointed out that "the author has clearly devoted years of study to the history of Welsh religion in the middle of the seventeenth century, he has rested content with nothing short of the original authority in each section of his ample narrative, and from this vantage ground he has been able effectively to review and criticise the work of all predecessors in the same field. The Essay, when published, will be an indispensable book of reference for all students of the period. The National

Eisteddfod Association may congratulate itself on having brought into the field, among many meritorious productions, a work which is likely to become a classic." With this commendation for their encouragement and support, the Council of the Association have much pleasure in submitting the work for public approval. The expense of producing a volume such as this, at the present time, is enormous. It is hoped that a generous response on the part of those who are interested in the history of Wales, and in the productions of the Eisteddfod, will justify the risk that the Council have undertaken.

E. VINCENT EVANS,

Hon. Secretary of the National Eisteddfod Association.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

No period in our history is fuller of distracting problems and of dramatic situations than the first decade after the Restoration. The details of the land settlement, and the decisions by which some regicides were to die whilst others were spared, do not require more care in sifting evidence than the causes underlying the Act of September and the Act of Uniformity. This religious solution bred bitter feelings and generations of bitter controversialists: Samuel Parker answered Dr. John Owen, Walker attempted to overshadow Calamy, Daniel Neal was 'examined' by Zachary Grey. Of the Nonconformist trio, the learned Doctor did not forsake the pursuit of his irrefragable Puritan syllogisms to chronicle in detail the sufferings of his humbler brethren; Neal's first edition of his Puritan history was not published till 1735; it was in 1671 that the 'third' Calamy was born, but the store of first-hand information received from his father and the reminiscences of Welsh sufferers supplied to him by James Owen of Oswestry make his 'Account' unimpugnable except by the direct evidence of documents in the Public Record Office and elsewhere. So high was his authority that Dr. John Stoughton in 1870 accepted his conclusions without demur; it has been left to Dr. Benjamin Nightingale (whose 'Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmoreland' was published in 1911), T. G. Crippen of the Memorial Hall Library (one of the greatest authorities on Independent history), and Dr. W. T. Whitley (the editor of the Baptist Historical Society's Transactions) to qualify Calamy's assertions in several material respects. Coming to Wales, Joshua Thomas endeavoured to correct the memories of the second generation of Puritans (to which Calamy and James Owen belonged) by the traditions of the third; David Jones and Spinther James were in the main content to follow Joshua; it is only in our own day that the 'Seren Gomer' articles of Mr. Shankland in refutation of certain chapters of

Mr. Beriah Evans' 'Diwygwyr Cymru' proclaimed the fact that the Baptists (and others) had been reinforced by a patient and resolute investigator of the first rank. A generation before the latter—the first edition of the 'History of Protestant Nonconformity' having been published in 1861—Dr. Thomas Rees disagreed with some of the statements of Joshua Thomas, and only ended in confusing more than one issue; his real contribution to the study of Nonconformist history was to delight and inspire the Welsh Liberationists of his day by the re-discovered treasures of the Tenison Codex and the Entry Book 38 A (not without some incorrect interpretations of the first and indefensibly inexact transcriptions of the second). Generally speaking, he made no attempt to test the strength of his 'sources': for example, he quoted from a 'Life' of Vavasor Powell (brought out in 1671) that the rector of Merthyr who posted to Cardiff to report the doings of the great Puritan was named *George* Jones, without knowing that the Llandaff schedule presented to the remembrancer of First Fruits (confirmed by an entry on the Patent Rolls) had his name down as *Gregory* Jones. He complimented Calamy by copying the 'Account' for Wales almost verbatim, but made no effort to discover whether James Owen's information was correct or exhaustive, or to distinguish between ministers ejected in the separate years 1660, 1661, and 1662—thus leaving unrectified what was one of the most serious limitations in the work of the classic Nonconformist historian. It may be said that the inaccuracies of Dr. Rees have been often quoted (and are still) by that large band of speakers and writers who prefer eloquent perorations to the toilsome results of research; some of them even found their way into Mr. Llewelyn Williams' chapter on 'Nonconformity' in his 'Making of Modern Wales.' On the Anglican side, the outlook has ranged from an outright defence of the Restoration repressions as a necessary and justifiable retort to the Puritan ejectments (it is curious that not one of these has noticed that August 24, 1662, was preceded by a slightly less colourless Puritan Bartholomew in 1655 [pp. 281-282 infra]), to the desire of writers like J. H. Overton and W. H. Hutton to pass the events of 1660-1662 by on the other side, and dwell on the occasional kindliness shown by the ejectors towards the

ejected. With commendable courage, but little exactness, His Grace the present Archbishop of Wales in his 'Landmarks' of 1912 attempted to prove that the expropriation of the 'Two Thousand' was a myth: the Puritan ministers were simply left marooned by the disappearance of what he calls 'the Committee' (not only is this an incomplete account of the facts, but the implication in the context [pp. 133-134] that the Committee whose powers lapsed at the Restoration was an uninterrupted survival of Propagation days is a very serious fallacy, and would make surprising reading to the old Propagation officials who proved so refractory to the Trustees in 1655-1656). Among those who have been tempted to roam into the byways of 17th century history is Sir Flinders Petrie, on pp. 84-85 of his 'Sources of Human History' (published in 1919). On the basis of a Royalist tract of 1660, he soberly accepts as the main reasons for the forceful dismissal of the Rump in 1653 by Oliver that the future Protector had for some years received 'the whole revenue of near all the Benefices in Wales' and was mightily afraid lest that Parliament should call for an audit; further, he professes to think that the woes of the Puritans after Bartholomew were light as compared with the persecution of the clergy under the Commonwealth simply because a London 'bill of [clerical] mortality' (compiled 'ad hoc' in August 1662) arrives at a total of 108 as having been sequestered in the capital by the Parliament and its agents. As to the first contention, does not the Bodleian MS. J. Walker, c. 13 contain the Propagation balance-sheets from 1650 to 1653, in which the name of Cromwell is never so much as mentioned? As an offset to the second, is there not a document in the same collection (MS. J. Walker, c. 8, f. 20 and part of 20 verso), actually examined by the third Calamy and across which Dr. John Walker did not scrawl any corrections, which gives the names of 115 London *Puritan* ministers who were ejected between 1660 and the end of 1662? After all, an expert knowledge of early civilisation is not sufficient to justify a rash invasion of the provinces of Dr. Gardiner and Alexander Gordon and attempt the resurrection of discarded theories concerning the events of the Republic and Restoration in this country.

Of all the Anglican apologists, pride of place must be given to the Dr. John Walker (mentioned in the last context) whose heavy tome published in 1714 expatiated on the sufferings of the clergy from 1642 to 1660. Under the hands of the late G. B. Tatham, whose early death in the Great War all students of seventeenth century history must deeply lament, Walker emerges as an honest, if biased, historian: it is known that he had access to 'papers' at Lambeth which were to be left undisturbed by Nonconformist inquirers for many generations after; it is also known that he *underestimated* the number of clergy ejected in Wales by the various Puritan committees. Unfortunately, another ambition of Walker's—to carry on his work beyond 1660 and challenge the accuracy of Calamy's 'harrangue'—was never consummated; but among his MSS. at the Bodleian (especially those catalogued e. 4 and e. 12) there are valuable notes in fearful script describing how he would proceed on this new campaign (more particularly in his own county of Devon). The present writer has to confess that he has found them very suggestive and helpful. For Walker was undoubtedly on the royal road to truth, however prone this henchman of Sacheverell was to wander along bye-paths to cast gibes at Dissenters. The second part of this work attempts to do for Wales what Walker proposed performing for his native county. With two qualifications: while he meant to confine his attention to sources primarily ecclesiastical, the march of years has brought to view such additional records as Patent Rolls, Exchequer Depositions, and 'declared accounts' of the Audit office; while his main desire was to find what clergymen were in possession of livings at the end of 1662, here interest will be concentrated on what ministers had been *deprived* of them before that date.

Walker was as competent as any man living to undertake this work because he had a thorough knowledge of pre-Restoration history. Without such knowledge the Act of September is unintelligible, the Act of Uniformity an isolated absurdity. One has to know who occupied the livings when the King returned, who was legally entitled to them should former episcopal institutions be deemed valid (as they were); it is only after the Restoration, naturally, that the heave of

an Anglican tide can be gauged which swept aside the compromise of 1660 to make way for the 'dead' clauses of 1662. Questions of title lead inevitably to some account of the powerful Protectorate committees, the appointments made by them, their financial expedients, and the terms of reference under which they worked (especially those which ordered one of them to inquire into the feasibility of uniting or dividing parishes). It will be found also that all the Puritan sects (with the exception of the Quakers) accepted the principle of State maintenance of ministers, but that individuals in these sects (and certain groups of individuals) did not—distinctions very necessary to remember in view of Calamy's later classification into 'ejected' and 'silenced.' Gradually it will become apparent that orthodox Puritanism as it passed from the control of Rump Propagators into the ampler atmosphere of the great Protector with his Parliaments and the Councils of State developed a sense of greater moderation; concurrent, however, with this stabilising policy of the moderates (represented in Wales by the school of Cradock) came the aggressive unofficial gospel of the Fifth Monarchists and the unconventional behaviour of the Quaker invaders. The first part of this work, therefore, will discuss the outlook and activities of the Protectorate Puritanism—well-affected and ill-affected—which had to stand the shock of the King's return. The advances already made in these fields of research prove of the greatest assistance. Special mention must be made of the volume on 'Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men,' published in 1911 by the American writer Miss Louise F. Brown. Curiously, she is most uncertain in her estimate of Vavasor Powell's place in the millenarian movement; more curious still, she does not find room in her pages for one single hint as to the existence of Morgan Llwyd. The politico-literary contributions of the latter are assuredly proofs of prime importance as to the rise and wane of his great obsession; fortunately we have in the introduction to his works written by Mr. (now Principal) J. H. Davies seventy pages which combine in a wonderful way large knowledge with the judicial spirit. The Quakers found their most doughty opponent in the Baptist John Miles: not only is Mr. Shankland the leading authority on his career, but he also shares with

Mr. Davies an intimate knowledge of the Quaker movement itself, having very recently (May 1919) supplied to the pages of 'Cymru' the results of an inquiry into the family connections of John ap John which have very considerably modified the previous ideas of A. N. Palmer and Quaker historians both in England and America. If the writer feels compelled to disagree occasionally with these two well-informed students of the period, he does so in no light spirit and (he hopes) on sufficient grounds. The literary judgments of the Rev. J. C. Morrice in 'Wales in the Seventeenth Century' (1918) are entitled to great respect; not so, many of his biographical details and historical deductions. He has to pay the penalty for depending at this time of day upon such authorities as the works of Gwallter Mechain, Peter's 'Hanes Crefydd yng Nghymru,' and Robert Williams' 'Eminent Welshmen.' One is on far surer ground in turning over the yellow leaves of the so-called 'Commonwealth' Tracts in the National Library and of the still richer Museum store gathered by the inveterate buyer Thomason.

In the title the opening year is designated as 1654. But one of the Puritan committees (viz., the Trustees) were at work some years before, and one important province of another (viz., the Triers) was to confirm, if they deemed it prudent, the title given by previous Puritan appointing bodies: otherwise expressed, a true conspectus of the Cromwellian régime is not possible unless we possess a tolerably accurate knowledge of what was done for Wales by the Committee for Plundered Ministers and the Commissioners and Approvers of the Propagation era. The present writer has made an attempt to assess their contributions to the Puritan movement in a dissertation which was published by the National Eisteddfod Association in 1920. All references to those conclusions, and they are not few, will be found enumerated in the footnotes. There it was found relevant to annex the testimony of the Lambeth Augmentation Books (mainly dealing with affairs from 1654 to 1660), because in that way only was it practicable to arrive at an exhaustive list of the Puritan ministers at work from 1650 to 1653: the same MSS. have been examined for the purposes of this work to ascertain what new reinforcements were supplied by

the Triers for the evangelisation of the market towns and countryside. The fact that we have to search for records of these appointments in MSS. whose entries range indiscriminately over the whole country simply illustrates the larger truth that religious developments in Wales, especially after the lapse of the Propagation Act and still more so after the Restoration, were intimately dependent upon the turns of politico-religious fortunes in England. It follows that all students of the Protectorate era have to cultivate a close acquaintance with the volumes of Dr. Gardiner and Professor Firth for authoritative expositions of political vicissitudes and their reactions, with the latter's collection of the interregnum acts and ordinances done in collaboration with R. S. Rait, with the second volume of Dr. W. A. Shaw for light and leading on the intricate jurisdiction of the Trustees, with the work of G. P. Gooch for the picturesque ramifications of political theory, and with G. B. Tatham's 'Puritans in Power' for other important aspects of the 'Good Old Cause.' After the Restoration Professor Firth retains his high authority on the strictly political side. In the religious sphere his dominance passes into other hands: Prof. H. M. Gwatkin's article on 'Toleration' in the fifth volume of the Cambridge Modern History and A. A. Seaton's studies in the same subject which secured him the Prince Consort Prize at Cambridge in 1910; Prof. Lyon Turner's third volume of the 'Original Records'—'historical and expository'—published in 1914; Frank Bate's 100 pages of illuminating prefatory matter to his 'Declaration of Indulgence' brought out in 1908; and Alexander Gordon's 'Freedom after Ejection' (1917), a work of immense detail composed by a sturdy veteran well within the confines of 80 years of age. And for a coherent story of events Dr. John Stoughton's volumes on the 'Church of the Restoration' always repay consultation. Invaluable, too, are Edward Cardwell's second volume in the 'Documentary Annals'—a collection of orders, letters and proclamations issued by Kings and Archbishops—whose footnotes prove him an Anglican of the ultramontane school; an excellent corrective is found in the corpus of documents edited by the Rev. George Gould in 1862 (with a virile preface written by Peter Bayne), which was designed to illustrate the

milieu of broken promises and intolerant fanaticism which gave birth to the Act of Uniformity. For the Acts of the Convention and Cavalier Parliaments reliance has been placed on the huge tome which forms the second volume of the 'Statutes at Large' (1734) and on the 'Select Statutes, Cases and Documents,' ranging from 1660 to 1832, published in 1904 under the editorship of Professor Grant Robertson (the latter is more important for the legal decisions it includes, like that of Vaughan in Bushell's Case, than for the excerpts of leading Acts it supplies). To all these writers the author's indebtedness is very large; but he claims that their labours have not been unacknowledged nor their names taken in vain. In turn, these writers themselves (with the exception of Cardwell and the collectors of statutes) reflect the massive background of the 'Reliquiae' of Baxter (edited by Matthew Sylvester in 1696), which records the 'most memorable passages in the Life and Times' of that Puritan Augustine, sullenly acquiescent in the freedom of the Protectorate, leonine in its defence when put in jeopardy at Worcester House and the Savoy. The mention of Baxter inevitably brings to mind the names of those who marked time so strategically against him and the Puritan cause, Clarendon the chancellor and Sheldon the archbishop. Notwithstanding some traits of infinite smallness, they were two great Englishmen not unworthy to be architects of State and Church at a particularly difficult juncture; and nothing can be so barren of result as to vilify their memories with turgid rhetoric. To emphasise the content of this paragraph, it may be said that at no time (not forgetting the autonomous nature of the Trustees' arrangements in the thirteen counties) was Wales so indissolubly bound up with England as in the days of Cromwell and Charles II: Oliver's edicts came home to the obscurest clergyman in the hills and valleys; Clarendon's 'code' imposed a yoke upon dissenters of the meanest condition; and Sheldon's letters to the Bishops saw to it that people outside the State Church, be they Protestants or Papists, were hardly ever free from being spied on, plied with writ and warrant, or counted. And it may seem a paradox, but is nevertheless true in a very real sense, to say that the best text-book for this age of persecution is Philip Henry's

volume of diaries and letters edited by one of his Anglican descendants in 1882.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

In collecting material for a work of this kind the author has contracted huge debts. His chief creditors are the guardians of our great MSS. repositories. He has had nothing but courtesy and kindness from (*a*) Bodley's librarian and the keeper of the Archives at Oxford, (*b*) the librarians at Lambeth Palace and the House of Lords, (*c*) the authorities at the British Museum and the Public Record Office, (*d*) the chief librarian and other officials of the National Library of Wales, (*e*) Mr. Ifano Jones of the Cardiff Free Library and Gwili at the University College Library, (*f*) the Rev. Thomas Shankland, M.A., the librarian of the University College, Bangor, and (*g*) the governors respectively of the William Salt Library at Stafford and of Sion College in London. His indebtedness to the staff of Dr. Williáms' Library in Gordon Square is great (in that they supplied him from time to time with important works of reference). Information kindly supplied by other gentlemen will be found acknowledged at various places in the footnotes. Penance must also be done for past neglect. Partly by ignorance and partly by accident, the writer failed to express his due thanks for help given him in a previous work published by the National Eisteddfod Association in 1920. Mr. George Eyre Evans lent several volumes and helped him with suggestions; Principal J. H. Davies sent information regarding the home of MS. J. Walker, c. 13; the Lambeth Librarian explained many technical terms in the Augmentation Books; Mr. Ifor Williams, M.A., furnished a reference to Peniarth MS. 147; and His Grace the Archbishop of Wales (when Bishop of St. Asaph) tersely referred to the sources of certain sentences in the 'Landmarks' of 1912. Important books were lent him by his benevolent Head Master (Mr. G. S. Griffiths, B.Sc.) and by his spiritual guardian (the Rev. Iorwerth Jones). Sir Vincent Evans assisted in preparing for press by correcting proofs, and he has generally watched over the fortunes of this work with the expert wisdom of a scholar conversant with affairs no less than with books. It

is indeed a long list of benefactors. And over some matters of fact and many of opinion the writer has (in both works) ill requited their services by running counter to their considered judgments. Time alone will show whether this presumption is to be counted to him for righteousness.

CONVENIENT TERMS & CONTRACTIONS.

C.A.P.P.	Commissioners for the Approbation of Public Preachers.
C.P.G.W.	Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales.
C.P.M.	Committee for Plundered Ministers.
C.R.U.	Committee for the Regulation (or Reformation) of the Universities.
H.P.M.	'A Hist. of the Puritan Movement in Wales' (T. Richards), 1920.
H.R.A.	'The Humble Representation and Address' from South Wales to Cromwell (1656).
C.J.	Commons' Journals.
L.J.	Lords' Journals.
Lamb.	Lambeth Palace Library MS.
Lib. Inst.	Liber Institutionum.
N.L.W.	National Library of Wales.
Propagators .. / *Propagation* ..	General terms connoting the vigour and austerity associated with the Welsh Commissioners and Approvers of 1650-1653.
Shaw	A Hist. of the English Church during the Civil Wars *et seq.*, by Dr. W. A. Shaw, 1900.
Triers	See C.A.P.P.
Trustees	Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers.
Act of September ..	12 Chas. II, cap. xvii (passed into law Sept., 1660).
Bartholomew Act ..	14 Chas. II, cap. iv (Act of Uniformity).
Bartholomew	Confined specifically to St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662.
Declaration of October ..	Chas. II's Declaration *for* Indulgence issued on 25 Oct., 1660.
Declaration of December	Chas. II's Declaration of 26 December, 1662, suggesting some mitigation of the clauses of the Act of Uniformity.

[NOTE.—By an oversight, the pp. associated with one or two of the 'infras' in the footnotes are those of the original MS., and not those in the printed work. In such cases the two indexes will furnish the necessary corrigenda.]

Part I.

THE DAYS OF TRIERS AND TRUSTEES.

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN WALES.

I.

THE COMMISSIONERS FOR APPROBATION.

Though Vavasor Powell and the chiliastic theorists generally saw in the dissolution of the Saints' Parliament in December 1653 the triumph of materialism and a reversion to arms and men as solvents of the crying problems of the time,[1] it would indeed be difficult at first sight[2] to see during the Protectorate any diminution of genuine Puritan fervour or an abatement of its natural strength. It is true that the early Rump had evolved schemes for the more effective preaching of the gospel in New England,[3] Wales,[4] Ireland,[5] and the North of England,[6] but its later apathy was one cause of its quarrel with the Army, and of its actual dissolution; it is true also that Morgan Llwyd in impossible metre had outlined for the saints a policy still more impracticable according to which England, supported by nine other nations, was to overwhelm the Pope and Turk and usher in the long-expected millennium[7]; but it was reserved for the statesmen of the Protectorate to formulate simpler measures and boast more sure achievements. It was then that an ordinance for the better support of the universities in Scotland was passed,[8] and also another for the further encouragement of 'public preaching' in that country,[9] the due administration of both

1 The significance of the millenarian issue (1653-1660) will be more fully discussed in Chap. X.

2 The force of this qualification will be more evident after considering the facts submitted in Chapters IV and VII.

3 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, II, pp. 197-200.

4 Ibid. pp. 342-348.

5 Ibid. pp. 355-356.

6 C. J., VI, 374.

7 Gweithiau, Vol. I, Song xlii (esp. st. 5), p. 83.

8 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, App. (b) to Index, cxii-cxv (quoting Nicoll's Diaries, pp. 164-167).

9 Cal. St. Pap., 1654, pp. 83-84. April 6.

being emphasised in instructions sent in a historic letter to Monck[1]; that warrants were issued by the Council of State to pay twenty-six ministers to go and preach the gospel in Scotland[2] besides ten in Ireland[3]; that an order emanated from the same body to send 2,000 Bibles to the soldiers in the West Indies[4]; that the 'committee for America' were invited to offer proposals to the Council how best to supply the wants of ministers in Jamaica[5]; that the Protector wrote to the council in Scotland about the prime necessity of further measures for evangelising the Highlands[6]; and that arrangements were made to provide two or three 'godly and able ministers' for the forces at Mardyke.[7] The same high solicitude is seen in the pious hope expressed that the Presbyterians of Scotland should draw nearer to the impertinent sects that bade fair to usurp their dominion,[8] and in the ambitious but abortive effort to found a University at Durham.[9] And it was in the early days of the same Protectorate, six months before its first Parliament met, by an ordinance issued 20 March,[10] 1653-4 in the joint names of Cromwell and the Council of State, that the Triers or 'Commissioners for the Approbation of Publique Preachers' (to give them their official designation) were appointed to give body and form to the religious clauses of the Instrument of Government[11] and to apply the great Protector's comprehensive ideas of toleration in a world seething with the liberated forces of a Puritan republic. Their creation marked an important new departure: they were to enjoy a wider scope than the Committee for Plundered Ministers—appointed by the Long Parliament before the days of Pride's Purge, when it was Presbyterian in leaning—but which nevertheless had wrought the first Puritan revolution on the ecclesiastical side[12]; and they were to work in a humaner channel than the autonomous schemes of the Rump already referred to, which,

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1655, p. 108. March 30.
2 Ibid. 1654, pp. 39, 66, 450-453.
3 Ibid. 1655, p. 605.
4 Ibid. Ibid. p. 204.
5 Ibid. 1657-8, p. 113.
6 Ibid. Ibid. p. 367.
7 Ibid. Ibid. p. 366.
8 Ibid. Ibid. pp. 89-90.
9 Cal. St. Papers, 1655-1656, pp. 156, 218, 262.
10 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, pp. 855-858.
11 Shaw, II, p. 85; Clauses xxxv-xxxviii.
12 For the activities of this body in Wales, see H.P.M., III, pp. 35-44.

under the influence mainly of Harrison and Haselrigg, had imbued the second Puritan stage with the atmosphere of the Inquisition.[1] The 'trying' principle was certainly not new, as witness the examinations instituted by the Assembly of Divines[2] and the favour of 'approvers' necessary under the terms of the Welsh Propagation Act. Again, a little more than three months before the C.A.P.P. were created, a committee 'for tythes' appointed by the Saints' Parliament in the previous July had recommended the division of the country into six circuits with London and Middlesex as additional spheres, having three commissioners in each circuit and supported by a larger number co-opted from each county—all more concerned, however, with the ejection of scandalous ministers than with the approval of godly ones.[3] The authority of the new body emanated from London as the centre, and applied equally to all four countries, a policy quite in consonance with the quasi-Imperial turn of Protectorate politics, its world-wide quest for commerce, and its growing interest in the affairs of Western Europe. In Wales the now defunct executive powers of the Propagation Act had been wielded by secular commissioners, half-trimmer, half-fanatic, one group obsessed with the ejection of the old clergy, and the other with the confiscation of their sequestered revenues, all open to sharp attack, and hardly any of them animated by the just and humane spirit which is the essence of a religious movement having for its final sanction the salvation of men. The Welsh approvers, on the other hand, were all ministers, whose duties were confined to granting certificates of approval to worthy ministers and schoolmasters. The new Triers of 1654 combined the lay (nine) element with the ministerial (twenty-nine)[4]; evidently a great effort was made to secure moderate men; the Protectorate on its religious side had to be made workable, popular, striving to restrain the exuberance of the extreme Propagator, and to render the new reformation free from the greed and self-interest that was the bane of the Tudor ideal; and it must be especially borne in mind that the immediate

1 For the ejecting vigour of the Propagators, Ibid. IX, pp. 115-133.
2 Ibid., pp. 44-46.
3 C. J., VII, 361.
4 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, p. 856.

cause of the new government's being was the intemperate zeal of 'the hott yong Parliament which would have all mountaines down.'[1]

Such a moderating policy was deemed to be safe in the hands of Commissioners which included, among others, Francis Rous(e), part-author of the metrical version of the Psalms which received the imprimatur of the Protector and Council in January, 1654[2]; Doctors Thomas Goodwin and John Owen, both given on occasion to violent 'perstringing'[3] of Episcopacy, and both prime theologians in an age which left not the abstrusest points of doctrine untouched; Philip Nye, one of the Five Dissenting Brethren who with wonderful ability and stubbornness defended the cause of Independency in the Westminster Assembly; and Stephen Marshall, one of the most forceful Presbyterians in the same Assembly, one who manfully strove in a losing battle to save the classical system from the hands of Erastians and soldiers, one whose name stands first in the 'Smectymnian plot'[4] of the Puritan pamphleteers, and one also who had in the past subjected Parliamentary committees and commissions to very fearless criticism and given advice to Parliaments themselves not to square the counsels of God to serve their own designs.[5] Hardly of less note and influence than these came John Tombes, the Baptist controversialist who had opposed Baxter at Bewdley and Cragge at Abergavenny[6]; Henry Jessey, another Baptist, learned, mystical, the apostle of free communion, closely bound with Wales in that he came to institute the infant church of Llanfaches in 1639[7]; and Hugh Peters, conversant with extreme Puritanism in New England, Holland, and the Rhinelands, who had helped much to evangelise English Pembroke during the Propagation period,[8] and in 1660 was to die the death of a regicide. To Peters it was a minister's

1 Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, Vol. I, Song xlviii, '1654,' st. 2, p. 92.
2 Shaw, I, p. 384.
3 The actual word occurs in Evelyn's Diary (sub July 9, 1654), describing a sermon of Dr. Owen at St. Mary's, when Vice-Chancellor of the University.
4 This was a remark passed by the Speaker of the Commons in the Cavalier Parliament on the occasion of the final passing of the Act of Uniformity (19 May, 1662). [Bp. Ts. Act Unif., ed. Gould, p. 455]. Stephen Marshall SM in *SMECTYMNUS*, *EC* = Edmund Calamy, etc.
5 Especially *Emmanuel*: a Thanksgiving Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons [on the occasion of the victory at St. Fagans, in May, 1648]. - N.L.W., Civil War Tracts, Catalogue, p. 40, No. 318, pp. 34-35.
6 On September 5, 1653 (Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., Pontypridd Ed., pp. 210-212.)
7 H.P.M., p. 28.
8 Ibid. pp. 165-166.

best recommendation that 'he would act as well with the sword in his hand as the Word in his mouth'[1]; it was well that such a firebrand should sit at the same table with Joseph Caryl who, though one of the most eloquent defenders of Independent principles in the Westminster Assembly,[2] was not averse to be nominated as minister of St. Magnus in the Fourth Presbyterian classis of London both in 1645 and 1648.[3] Naturally, the decisions of such a diverse body would tend to compromise and comprehension. Owen would be set against Marshall; Owen too, favourite of fortune and Dean of Christ Church, would mitigate the rigours of the more aggressive members of his own school; Baptists as a whole would probably have preferred Hanserd Knollys or William Kyffin, but, as it was, Tombes represented those who held to the strictest observance of the rite, Jessey the party who generously widened the bounds of communion; Rous believed in sane English Presbyterianism without undue stress on the 'jus divinum.' It would be manifestly impossible for such a group of men, apart from the vigilant supervision of the Protector and Council, to establish either a semi-Scottish classicalism or extreme Independency or exclusionist Baptism; rather did the Protectorate become the palladium of a new and more picturesque 'via media,' just as Brandenburg-Prussia about the same time was to witness the assimilation of Lutheran and Calvinist in the interests of internal colonisation.[4] The direct representative of Wales on this Commission, and certainly not an unworthy one, was Walter Cradock, preacher and soldier, administrator and divine. He had been Wroth's successor at Llanfaches, the guardian of the Monmouthshire Puritans during their London exile in the early days of the Civil War,[5] one of the Puritan trio sent by an order of the Lords to inaugurate a Welsh preaching crusade in 1646,[6] and with Col. Philip Jones the chief Propagation instruments in Glamorgan and Monmouth. There is no doubt that he was the W.C. who wrote a panegyric on the doughty deeds of Fairfax's army in the capture of

1 Cal. St. Papers, 1655-56, p. 130.
2 Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 359.
3 L. J., VII., 615, 649; Scobell: Ordinances, I, 165-168.
4 Eng. Hist. Rev., Vol. XXV, Art. by Prof. Oliver H. Richardson on 'Religious Toleration under the Great Elector and its Material Results.' [Esp. p. 94].
5 H.P.M., p. 34.
6 Ibid. pp. 60-62.

Raglan, and a rebuke to the 'ungrateful Catalines' who sought to belittle them[1]; in 1651, during the critical days of the invasion of Prince Charles, Cradock himself held a rendezvous of 6,000 Puritan horse and foot at Chepstow.[2] Nor was he less prominent during the Protectorate: he was specially invited by Cromwell to be present in Council in February, 1655, with 'several [other] Christian ministers' to combat the millenarian notions of Harrison[3]; he was asked with Dr. Thomas Goodwin and others to assist in devising the best way of observing August 23 in the same year as a day of fasting and humiliation[4]; in November again, he was included in an imposing list of persons to discuss with the Council of State the proposals of Manasseh ben Israel and the Jews.[5] After this, it was only natural that he should be the main influence behind the 'Humble Representation and Address' subscribed in 1656 by over 750 persons in South Wales promising unswerving support to the Protector and his government.[6] And in keeping with the general character of the trying body, Cradock had the inestimable advantage of being, though the staunchest of Independents, essentially broad-minded: he was a friend of John Miles, most uncompromising of Close Baptists, and was a recipient of letters, critical but not unkind, from Erbery,[7] once his old vicar at Cardiff, but who had some years ago declared war upon all churches and sects in the interests of his new gospel of the Third Dispensation.[8] George Griffith might be said to be an unofficial representative of Wales. This powerful London Independent after an early life of manual labour in Montgomeryshire, graduated at both Universities, and was appointed on 6 June, 1648, to take the place of the clergyman ejected from the Charter House, and to deliver besides a week-day lecture at St. Bartholomew's by the Exchange[9]; in 1658, he became 'scribe' to the conference of Independent ministers held at the Savoy in the summer and autumn of

1 A Letter from his Excellencies Quarters . . . Pr.[inted] August 27, 1646, p. 2. (N.L.W., Civil War Tracts, Catalogue, p. 25, No. 95).
2 Cal. St. Papers, 1651, p. 339. August 18.
3 Simpkinson: Life of Harrison, pp. 213-214.
4 Cal. St. Pap., 1655, p. 295.
5 Ibid. 1655-56, p. 23.
6 N.L.W., Civil War Tracts, Cat. p. 68, No. 141.
7 Especially that contained in 'Call to the Churches,' p. 41 (misprinted 36). [From Cardiff, August 31, 1652].
8 H.P.M., pp. 179-181.
9 For these facts see Alex. Gordon: Freedom after Ejection, p. 275.

that year to revise the Westminster Confession on the congregational principles so powerfully defended by Philip Nye at the original Assembly of Divines, and in 1659 he, with about eight others, are described as "morning lecturers in the Abbey Church at Westminster."[1] Griffith's concern for his native land during the coming days of persecution caused him to send large sums of money to poverty-stricken ministers, Baptist and Independent alike.[2]

It was very fitting that such responsible men should be vested with commensurate powers. No new minister could be admitted to any living without their approbation; no patron could secure any nominee without their consent; their good-will (but not the allocation of the sum) was a condition precedent to any minister's augmentation of salary; and their certificate was construed as equivalent to induction and institution under the old Anglican order. The Protector and Council would not sanction the very generous allowances to ministers proceeding to Scotland in 1654-55 until the approval of the C.A.P.P. was forthcoming[3]; and though Henry Cromwell had 'treated' with similar ministers to go over to Ireland in the latter year, they in turn had to submit their credentials to the inquiry of the same Commissioners[4]; when it was decided to send spiritual succour to the soldiers encamped on the Dunes, it was the Commissioners who were asked to provide them.[5] And complete and severe as was the revising authority granted by the Rump to the C.P.G.W., equally complete and still more final were the powers delegated by the Protector to the new Triers to review the appointments of the old Propagators. Though their actual interference with previous Puritan settlements in Wales was on a very limited scale, there was no hope of a continued salary unless and until the 'original orders' of the C.P.M. or C.P.G.W., or both, were produced,[6] records of which procedure are freely interspersed among the Lambeth Augmentation Books. In one respect the new regime wrought a practically complete change: the paid itinerant system, so marked a feature of the Propagation period in Wales, and its one great contribu-

1 Audit Office, Declared Account, bundle 2,239, roll 1 (Public Record Office).
2 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., p. 247.
3 Cal. St. Papers, 1654, pp. 450-453; 1654-5, 39, 66; 1655, 199.
4 Ibid. 1655, p. 605.
5 Ibid. 1657-58, p. 36.
6 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, p. 858

tion to constructive Puritan polity, died a natural death, partly through the discontinuance of the financial provision made for the itinerants under the Act, partly by the appointment of the itinerants themselves to settled parochial duties.[1] That interesting experiment in supplying the spiritual hiatus of the countryside had been admittedly a failure; it was incumbent upon the new powers to adopt more orthodox measures. Not that untoward circumstances allowed the Triers at all times to carry out in the letter the spirit of their convictions: for in practice activities only very slightly removed from the old itinerancy were connived at, if not expressly stipulated for.[2] But of their intention there is no possible doubt; be the itinerant an unlettered weaver like Benjamin Richards or a Scholar of Jesus like Charles Edwards the way for one and all to secure inclusion in the new system was made easy by the instructions laid down in the provisions of the Trier ordinance. All that was required was a testimonial,[3] subscribed by the hands of three persons of known godliness and integrity, one at least of whom was to be 'a Preacher of the Gospell in some constant settled place,' all testifying upon their personal knowledge 'the holy and good conversation . . . as also the knowledge and utterance' of the person seeking to be admitted.[4] The official proceedings of the Triers, apart from their formal decisions, find no place among the Lambeth books; thus the system of certification and approval in actual working must be inferred from tracts, such as the 'Mr. Sadler Re-Examined' written by Philip Nye to refute the charges of a disappointed applicant.[5] It appears from this that if the testimonial were unqualified in its terms, and the certifiers of irreproachable Puritanism, the candidate was not bound to appear before the Triers in person; if they were unsatisfactory, 'they call in the person'; if on examination they found the applicant a better character than the testimonial shadowed him forth, approbation would follow,[6] on the condition, however, that 'he exhibite his better certificate' not necessarily in person

1 For such settlements see H.P.M., pp. 159-161.
2 See infra, Chap. VII, pp. 111-113.
3 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, p. 855.
4 Ibid. pp. 856-857.
5 Thomason Collection, Brit. Mus., E. 818. 10.
6 There is an excellent copy of the official seal used by the Triers for purposes of approbation on p. 278 of Professor Firth's 'Cromwell' in the 'Heroes of the Nations' series.

this time, but through any friend or solicitor,' and by the same hand receive his certificate of admittance.' 'If a man be in any respect doubtfull, they take the trouble of enquiry upon themselves, for having the advantage of frequent posts in the compasse of a week or ten daies they can understand from any part of England [and Wales] and know of what repute the man is whencesoever he comes.'[1] It is also evident from the surviving records that the three persons aforesaid came to be looked upon as an irreducible minimum, many candidates being certified by a very much larger number, *e.g.*, five, including John Miles, are willing to see David Davies transferred from the stormy atmosphere of the Baptist church at Llantrisant[2] in Glamorgan to the living of Neath in the same county[3]; eight, including five settled ministers, welcomed the moving of Samuel Jones from his settlement at Taunton in the Fourth Somerset classis[4] to his historic pastorate at Llangynwyd[5]; and no less than fourteen, all ministers settled on the Wales-Salop border, combined to satisfy the refractory spirit of Charles Edwards by recommending him to the rectory of Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant.[6] Such certificates, together with the official approbation, were to be kept and filed by the 'Register.' It was significantly stated in the ordinance that such sanction by the C.A.P.P. was 'not intended nor shall be construed to be any Solemn Sacred setting apart of a person to any particular office in the Ministery,' a clear intimation that this composite body of Triers was not meant to affect the free and unfettered activities of either Presbyterian classis or congregations of Baptists and Independents; the same clause expressly added that such trial was only an indispensable preliminary to see 'that places destitute may be supplied with able and faithful preachers throughout this Nation.'[7] There is nothing surprising, therefore, that the Montgomeryshire sheriff for 1657-1658, in his return for first-fruits, describes Nathaniel Raven, the newly-appointed minister of Welshpool, as a

1 This is quoted verbatim from Nye's tract, p. 5.
2 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., pp. 170-171.
3 Lamb. 997, No. 756.
4 Shaw, II, Appendix IIIb, p. 421.
5 Lamb. 998, No. 68.
6 Ibid. No. 34, See infra, pp. 78-78*a*, for the reasons leading up to this re-recommendation of Charles Edwards to the living of Llanrhaiadr.
7 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, p. 858.

'layman.'[1] In coming to a decision on the claims of a candidate, the negative vote was not to be conclusive unless nine or more Commissioners were present; but when 'original orders' were produced, any five of them would form a quorum. The ordinance was to come into force on 25 March, 1654, but it was made retrospective in the case of all presentations made since 1 April, 1653. This proviso was especially important as it gave additional sanction to the authority granted the C.P.G.W. by Cromwell's letter of 25 April, 1653,[2] to continue their work, notwithstanding the dissolution of the Rump on the 20th and the legal expiry of the Propagation Act itself a month before that. To three particular persons the terms of this proviso were all-important: to Ellis Rowlands of Llanelidan, evidently approved by the Propagators during the continuing period[3]; to William Langford, who had 'elected' Llanfor in preference to Welshpool[4] under the provisions of the Propagation Act and who, having a desire to safeguard his interests during the Protectorate, had made appeal to the new government as early as 26 January, 1653-4, two months before the Triers' authority came into operation[5]; and to Roger Charnock, who, though himself an approver under the late act, had been definitely appointed on April 6, 1653, to the living of Monmouth by the London C.P.M.,[6] a proceeding that was indubitably 'ultra vires,' as there is not the slightest evidence that any of the interests of the C.P.G.W. had devolved upon that body.

That the Triers were a capable and powerful body admits of no doubt, but in practice their effective negative vote was confined and circumscribed by two potent factors—the extent of patronage exercised by the Protector in person, and certain presentation rights invested in the Trustees for Maintenance.[7] In the first case, Cromwell would naturally inherit the patronage of all royal livings, a particularly large number throughout the whole country, especially when there

1 Pencilled pagination on parchment in Exchequer Miscellanea = 119. [P.R.O.].
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1652-53, pp. 293-294; also Cal. Comm. Compounding, i, 637.
3 There is no reference to him in the records of the N.W. Propagation Commissioners for the official period—Rawl. c. 261. [Cymdeithas Llên, Reprint, 1908]
4 Rawl. c. 261, [18].
5 Lamb. 997, ii, f. 55.
6 Ibid. i, f. 12.
7 It has been found impossible not to make some anticipatory references to this powerful Commonwealth and Protectorate Committee; fuller treatment must wait for Chapters V and VI.

was included under this head the old presentation rights enjoyed by the Lord Keeper and his Puritan successors, the Commissioners of the Great Seal, to present to benefices appertaining to the King of below a certain value in the 'King's Books,' a value at first fixed at 20 marks and at £20 subsequent to the reign of Henry VIII.[1] In addition to these accessions of influence, there is the opinion of Dr. W. A. Shaw, who in these matters enjoys an even greater authority than that of the late Dr. Gardiner or Professor Firth, that the Protector is found presenting to livings previously in the gift of the bishops or other members of the late hierarchy, or of corporate bodies, or of private individuals[2]; indeed, "so all-permeating was his interfering activity in every department of the religious organisation of England at the time, that it makes anything like an orderly exposition of the subject exceedingly difficult."[3] The Lambeth MSS. include four large oblong volumes[4] containing the Protector's presentations in various counties, with the original forms preserved, often on parchment with seals attached; in the first alone there are eleven consecutive presentations[5] to livings in Wales, ranging from Cwm in Tegeingl to Ystradgynlais in Glamorgan and Cilmaenllwyd in Carmarthen. It may be added that, apart from these official instruments drawn up in due legal form, the Protector also in many cases employed merely the authority of his sign-manual, and more rarely the Great Seal; and just before the Restoration it was decided in law that a grant under the former was not as authentic as a grant under the latter,[6] a result that affected very adversely the fortunes of some incumbents at the Restoration itself. Other examples of Cromwellian presentations in Wales are that of John Davies at Glascwm in Radnor, 'parcel of the possessions of the late Bishop of St. Davids'[7] and that of Thomas Warren to Narberth and Robeston, a living 'in

1 Both Shaw (II, 275-278) and Gardiner (Comm. and Protectorate, II, 84) maintain that in the case of Crown livings, a large discretion to secure their own minister was allowed to the *parishioners* during Puritan times. It is quite unsafe to predicate any such condition for *Wales* in the utter silence of the records. There are several cases, however, where the people of a parish send up petitions for increase of salary to the minister, *e.g.*, Clyro in Radnor (Lamb. 972, f. 52).

2 Shaw, II, 276 and nn. 1-4.

3 Ibid. 244 (n. 1).

4 Numbered 944-947.

5 Series 1761-1771.

6 Shaw, II, 269-270. April, 1660.

7 Lamb. 968, f. 107; cp. 905, f. 63.

the late King's gift.'[1] It was by the influence of Oliver and his Council that Morgan Llwyd was once more taken into favour after the fervour of his anti-Protectorate crusade: on October 16, 1656, the Trustees were ordered to pay him £100 per annum as preacher of the gospel in Wrexham.[2] The case of Llwyd also illustrates very pertinently the Triers' limitations; they only give him a certificate of approval on 24 December,[3] more than two months later, very probably to mark their triple ground of dissatisfaction: that the Protector's forceful personality and high position gave them no option but to approve; that he and the Council had ordered the maintenance before the candidate himself had been deemed satisfactory by the appropriate examiners; and that they were unable to appreciate the Protector's solicitude for a man who the year before had counselled him to transform himself from O.P. to plain O.C., and hereafter 'act by plainness and not by policie.'[4] As administrators of the lands and manors once belonging to the Bishops and Chapters, the Trustees by a convenient legal fiction were invested with all rights of presentation to livings within the gift of the late hierarchy; for example, an entry in Lamb. MS. 972 allocating a salary to Rowland Lloyd approved as Rector of Amlwch in 1654, describes the living as 'once parcel of the possessions of the Archdeacon of Anglesey. . . . and the cure of the above church is at the care and provision of these Trustees.'[5] It is very unlikely that many of the Trustees' nominations were disapproved of. But their sphere too, as in the case of Glascwm aforesaid, was liable to the ubiquitous interference of the Protector, and more distracting still, to an unwarrantable assumption of authority by the Barons of the Exchequer, who, because they were the central body who co-ordinated and supervised the accounts of the great Puritan spending committees including those of the Trustees, were evidently under the impression that they could also regulate the latter's rights of presentation. Lambeth MS. 983 records nine cases of this kind in Wales,[6] the most typical being that of Clyro

1 Lamb. 968, f. 150; cp. 915, ff. 108-109. This was made by Richard Cromwell on April 28, 1659.

2 Lamb. 977, f. 42. 3 Lamb. 968, f. 62.

4 'Honest Discourse' in mouth of Goodman Future (Gweithiau, II, p. 228).

5 f. 3.

6 Shaw's description of the contents of this MS. in his catalogue of the Lambeth Ang. Books (II, App. IV, p. 470) is quite misleading. He says it consists entirely of nominations made to rectories, etc., by the *Trustees*.

in Radnor, as it excellently illustrates the brusque arbitrariness of the Barons. On November 22, 1655, they dogmatically assert in instructions they send to the C.A.P.P.[1] that they have nominated and appointed to that living Richard Swaine, the old Propagation approver,[2] with never a word about the Triers' negative voice and altogether disregarding the fact that the rectory being once impropriate in a prebend of St. David's, it fell naturally within the patronage jurisdiction of the Trustees. Approval came, however, on the 26th,[3] though the certificate was not actually issued before 7 December.[4] The Barons sent a similar note appointing William Salesbury[5] to the rectory of Henllan in Denbigh, on 14 August, 1657[6] (a living once in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph)[7]; on the 19th, the Triers signify their approval 'upon a presentation from the Trustees . . . the patrons thereof'[8]; it was not until the 28th that the Trustees made the necessary arrangements for the payment of his maintenance, to be made payable from the day of the Triers' sanction.[9] There is no reliable evidence (apart from the generalities of Nye's English tract) to show by what channels the candidates were brought into contact either with the Protector or Trustees or Barons; however, it is safe to assume that Col. Philip Jones and his numerous satellites were effective media for South Wales, and that for North Wales it would be well to curry favour with the aggressive junta of Wrexham Puritans who had worked the engines of ejection so efficiently in that part of the principality.[10] And no doubt the help of the members for Wales in the parliaments of the time together with the hosts of Puritan officials and agents who passed and repassed to London would not be found unacceptable.

There only remained for the Commissioners the approval or otherwise of persons presented to livings by private patrons. The appointing ordinance distinctly specified that these were to submit fit persons to the Triers, or any five of them, within

1 f. 9.
2 Very probably on the death of the Samuel Smith who was minister there in October 1646 (St. Pap. Dom. Interreg. F1, f. 273). Smith has been inexplicably omitted from the Radnor list on pp. 69-70 of H.P.M.
3 Lamb. 996, f. 404.
4 Lamb. 968, f. 14.
5 Invariably spelt 'Salusbury' in the Lambeth Records.
6 Lamb. 983, f. 49.
7 Lamb. 902, f. 30.
8 Lamb. 968, f. 88.
9 Lamb. 992, f. 42; 993, f. 309; also Commonwealth Exchequer Paper, roll 290.
10 H.P.M., p. 99.

six months after avoidance; otherwise, the right devolved upon the Lord Protector and his successors; and by a very curious legal lapse the authority to sequester the profits during the vacancy was vested in the Triers, and not in the Trustees.[1] During the Civil Wars and the days of the Rump the right of such patrons had been to a great extent arrogated by the powerful Committees appointed to buttress the Puritan movement on its ecclesiastical side, and in the Saints' Parliament a resolution was even passed that the power of patrons to present to benefices should be taken away by a bill (which, however, did not become law).[2] With the Protectorate calmer moods prevailed. The act of August, 1654, for the ejection of scandalous ministers, declared that the patrons of livings from which clergymen were to be ejected, or had been ejected, were allowed to present to the Triers[3]; and another Act passed in the second Protectorate Parliament in 1656 sensibly restored patronage rights. After providing that Puritan nominees put into sequestered livings should be legally held to be the true incumbents thereof, it allowed the right of nomination, in case of avoidance by such incumbent, to the rightful patron if neither delinquent nor Papist.[4] As to University livings, it was only in exceptional circumstances that their patronage was seriously interfered with. To revert to ante-Protectorate times in Wales, while it is true that the Commissioners for the Great Seal usurped the right of St. John's College, Cambridge, to present to the living of St. Florence in Pembrokeshire by appointing Adam Waller in 1648,[5] in 1651 the C.P.G.W. on the other hand surprisingly allowed the rectory of Aberdaron, a living in the gift of the same corporation, to fall into the hands of William Bodwrda, a Fellow of the College, and far from being an avowed Puritan.[6] Nor would one expect much interference in the time of the Triers, when the personnel of the two Universities had long before by the 'purging' of numerous

1 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, p. 857.
2 C. J., VII, 352.
3 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, pp. 977-978.
4 Cap. 29; Scobell, ii, 511. It is worthy of note that in 1665 Playfair Field, expelled from Penhowe by the Propagators, says that about 1658-1659 he was lawfully presented as parson of the churches of Penhowe and Caerwent by the patron, inducted, and received by the parishioners. (Exch. Bills and Ans., Mon., No. 20, Hilary, 16-17 Chas. II). But there is no corresponding proof that these proceedings were ever approved by the Triers.
5 L. J., x, 546.
6 For Bodwrda, *see* H.P.M., p. 144 (and n. 12).

'Visitors,' been assimilated to Puritan and Parliamentary standards. In the case of private patrons, therefore, the C.A.P.P. had a more or less unfettered sphere for the negative vote. One example from Wales must suffice: John Parry was admitted to the living of Abergwili in 1658, 'upon perusall' of the presentation made on his behalf by David Morgan,[1] the same gentleman who had previously presented Stephen Hughes to the vicarage of Mydrim in 1655.[2] The accident by which Philip Henry was not presented to Worthenbury by a legal patron until 1659 depends for explanation upon the story of division of parishes[3]; when that formality took place, Justice John Puleston was careful to state in the official presentation[4] 'desiring this to be confirmed and admission granted as Authority hath in such cases provided,' meaning approval on the part of the Triers. He also proved, in his own case at least, that a Justice of the Common Pleas knew certain aspects of the law better than Barons of the Exchequer.

Another fact to be noted is that the authority of the Triers appointed in 1654 had ceased some time before the Restoration. The 'Rump' of the Rump which was restored among the distractions of 'the last year of liberty' on May 7, 1659,[5] could not be expected to look kindly upon Commissioners created by the audacious general who had dissolved them in April, 1653, and there is a significant entry in Lambeth MS. 980 where the Trustees refer the claims of an applicant for the vicarage of Llangwm in Monmouth not to the body that once numbered Walter Cradock, the deceased vicar of that parish, as one of its members, but to 'o^{r} honrd freinds y^{e} Min^{r} & Lecturers of y^{e} Abbey Westm^{r}.'[6] The Llangwm entry is dated February 14, 1659-1660; it can only be surmised that the old Commissioners had been supplanted some months previously. The sectarian outlook of these later Triers did not, as was natural in an appointing body so constituted as the last Rump, presage any new policy in the approval of ministers, although as a matter of accident men with Presbyterian tendencies slightly predominated; and

1 Lamb. 968, f. 136.
2 Lamb. 996, f. 312.
3 Infra, pp. 106-108.
4 Lamb. 947, No. 17.
5 Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, p. 539.
6 f. 143. Entry marked [O. 34].

they were fixed upon partly because they worked close at hand, were a smaller and more compact body than the old C.A.P.P., and included moreover some especially distinguished names. These names can be recovered from a 'Declared Account' of the Audit Office which gives a list of detailed payments issuing from 'the Annual Tenths and First Fruits of the Clergy in the several Counties of England and Wales'[1] received from December 25, 1657, to December 25, 1658, and described in the Westminster cases to be payable in the main 'for the half-year to 1659, June 24,' in one case for *nine* months ending June 24, in another for *nine* months terminating on the following day. The lecturers, nine in number, combined with their morning work at the Abbey the duty of settled parochial ministers in London and its vicinity. As has been casually referred to already, George Griffith of the Charter House was among them, the sole remaining link with Wales. So also were Philip Nye and Joseph Caryl; John Loder, the particularly aggressive Independent who had charge of the congregation at St. Batholomew's by the Exchange[2]; and Thomas Manton, prominent as one of the Presbyterian panel summoned by Cromwell in 1654 to draft an agreement with the Independents on 'fundamentals of belief,'[3] one who with others made a valiant attempt in 1657-8 as member of the London Eleventh Classis to breathe new life into the decadent polity of English Presbyterianism,[4] and later formed one of the twelve Presbyterians who were asked by Charles II to confer with the Anglican bishops at the Savoy discussion.[5] There were five others: of William Cooper, Thomas Gouldston, and Edward Pearse comparatively nothing is known; Seth Wood, once minister of Long Melford in Suffolk, had been on November 5, 1645, nominated as one of the 'tryers' in the thirteenth Presbyterian 'division' of that county[6]; John Rowe, who received £100 a year as 'Min^{r}' or official Abbey preacher, is the most obscure of all.[7] In any case, their authority could not have lasted more than a year; after May, 1659, there is

1 Bundle 2,239, roll 1.
2 Shaw, II, 132-134.
3 Ibid. 86-91.
4 Ibid. 113-115.
5 Docts. Act Unif. (ed. Gould), pp. 109-110.
6 Shaw, II, App. IIIb, 429.
7 But see Noncon. Mem., I, 181; Ira Boseley: Ministers of the Abbey Indt. Church, 141-156.

hardly one case of a Trier appointment in Wales; and whatever new plans or policies for the future the Abbey group may have conceived were ruthlessly swept aside by the anti-Puritan surge of the Restoration. This last sentence is already out of date, as it does not allow for the wonderful transformations that set in after Monck's arrival from Scotland and the restoration of the full Long Parliament on 21 February, 1660. That body in turn was induced to dissolve itself on 16 March, but not before it had on the 14th, superseded the new Triers by a still newer body, 'for approbation and admission of ministers of the gospel to benefices and publick lectures' with power to peruse and duly consider all certificates presented to the previous approvers.[1] They—all Presbyterians, undoubtedly—sat at Sion College, a John Booth acting as Registrar. The one English case on record was the confirmation of Dr. Samuel Annesley's right to the vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate[2]; the one Welsh case was the admission of John Williams to the living of Devynnock, in Brecon, on 24 March, 1659-1660. And what lends piquancy to this entry is that Williams was neither Presbyterian nor Independent, but an unregenerate Anglican and a man so interestedly agile as to secure approbation from the latest Triers within ten days of their actual institution in London.[3]

Some reference ought to be made to the unceremonious simplicity with which the Trier nominees proceeded to their appointed spheres of work. That of Richard Payne of Kerry is a case in point. He presented his credentials in London on 23 August, 1655, and five days later was fully approved[4]; by the 14 October he had arrived in the parish, on which day he 'Did preach the gospell . . . in the pr'sence and audience of the p'sones hereafter subscribed' (two churchwardens and ten other parishioners).[5]

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, p. 392.
2 Calamy's Continuation of the Acct., I, pp. 70-71. The document was dated 27 April, 1660.
3 Certificate of Second Admissions, Chas. II, part I, No. 22; for more of his case, see infra, pp. 374-375.
4 Lamb. 996, f. 208.
5 Mont. Colls., Vol. XXXIX, i, p. 120. [Parish Registers of Kerry].

II.

NEW PURITAN MINISTERS

(LAMBETH EVIDENCE).

The main evidence for the new Puritan personnel sanctioned for evangelical work in Wales by the Triers is derived from the Lambeth Augmentation Books. A study of these records by Mr. Shankland, for purposes of controversy and to prove a thesis that Puritanism had taken a deeper root in Wales in the fourth and fifth decades of the 17th century than had hitherto been discovered or admitted, led him to compile a list of Puritan ministers who worked in the thirteen counties from 1653 to 1660.[1] To prevent trespassing upon fields of research already explored and to appraise at its intrinsic worth the ecclesiastical régime of the Protectorate, it is proposed here to exclude rigidly from this list all ministers who had been either appointed or approved by the C.P.M. and allied bodies before 1650, all new appointments made under the Propagation Act from 1650 to 1653, and also all minister-approvers and itinerants who had settled down in definite localities at the close of the latter Act or during its continuing period, but to retain with an equal rigidity the names of all itinerants, whether ordinary or Approving, of whom there is definite MS. proof that they were approved for distinct livings by the Triers in the first instance. In justice to the laborious researches of Mr. Shankland, the list is given as it stands, with just a few changes in the spelling of place-names and with the excisions found necessary to isolate the above appointments.

	Minister.	Living.	Date of Approval, etc.
Anglesey.....	Davies, John	Llandegfan	1658
	Davies, Thomas.....	Llantrisant	1657
	Evans, John.....	Llangristiolus	1659
	Hughes, Owen	Llangefni	1658
	Humphreys, Hugh ..	Llaneigrad	1658

1 Seren Gomer November, 1901, pp. 321-324.

	Minister.	Living.	Date of Approval, etc.
Anglesey .... (*con.*)	Lewis, John	Llangristiolus	1654
	Lewis, Owen	Llanfaethlu	1655
	Lewis, William	Llanrhuddlad	1657
	Lloyd, Rowland	Amlwch	1656
	Prytherch, Wm.	Llaneilian	1658
	Rowlands, Richd. ...	Aberffraw	1657
	Williams, Wm.	Llanfachreth	1658
	Wynne, Edward	Llangeinwen and Llangaffo	1656
Brecknock ...	Davies, John	Llandevally	1654
	Jones, David	Ystradgynlais	1657
	Jones, Jenkin.....	Llanthetty	1657
	Jones, Thomas.....	Llanafanfawr	1657
	Powell, Richard.....	Llangattock and Crickhowell	1657
	Pugh, Thos.	Llanfeugian	1658
Cardigan	Davies, Richard	Penbryn	1656
	Davies, Roderick....	Llanarth	1656
	Evans, John.....	Henllan	1658
	Hughes, Evan	Llandyfriog	1658
	Jones, David	Llanbadarnfawr.....	1658
	Lloyd, Jenkin	Llanrhystyd	1658
	Price, Hugh	Llanllwchaiarn.....	1654
	Thomas, Roderick ..	Llanfihangel y Creuddyn	1658
Carmarthen ..	Bowen, Walter	Llanarthney	1657
	Davies, Griffith	Llandilofawr	1655
	Davies, James	Merthyr	1657
	Davies, Meredith ...	Llannon	1656
	Howell, James	Llandebie	1657
	Hughes, Stephen ...	Mydrim	1654
	Ible,[1] Nathan'el....	Carmarthen	1656
	Jones, David	Llandysilio	1657
	Jones, Samuel	Llanegwad	1656
	Jones, Thomas	Llangain	1657
	Llewellyn, John.....	Llansadwrn	1657
	Parry, John	Abergwili	1658
	Powell, John	Llangyndeyrn	1656
	Price, Howell	Myddfai	1657
	Rice, John	Henllan Amgoed	1655
	Rice, Morgan	Llanfallteg	1657
	Thomas, Robert	Llanfihangel	1654
Carnarvon ...	Hansom, Thomas ...	Llanllyfni	1658
	Hughes, Lewis	Llannordineio	1658
	Jones, Evan	Llanbedrog	1658
	Maurice, Henry.....	Llannordineio	1658
	Morris, Henry	Criccieth	1658
	Morris, Robert	Rhiw and Llandudwen.	1658
	Roberts, Griffith	Llanengan	1657
	Rowlands, Ellis	Clynnog and Llanwnda.	1657
Denbigh	Bithell, Hugh.....	Holt.....	1654
	Carter, Thomas	Abergele	1656
	Conant, Dr. John ..	Abergele	1656
	Howell, Francis	Llanrhaiadr	1658

1 'Ible' in Lamb. 977, f. 36; 'Ibre' (or 'Ibsere') in Walk: Sufferings, Pt. I, p. 158.

	Minister.	Living.	Date of Approval, etc.
Denbigh	Hughes, Richard ...	Gwytherin	1657
(*con.*)	Jenkins, Matthew ...	Gresford	1655
	Jones, John	Llanarmon [yn Iâl] ...	1655
	Lloyd, Robert	Ruthin	1658
	Lloyd, Simon	Llangwm	1655
	Lloyd, William	Efenechtyd.....	1658
	Llwyd, Morgan[1]	Wrexham	1656
	Mostyn, Ambrose[1]..	Holt.....	1656
	Pritchard, Benj.	Llandegla	1658
	Prichard, Humphrey	Llangernyw	1654
	Pugh, Hugh	Llanbedr D.C.	1654
	Roberts, John	Llanrhaiadr	1654
	Salesbury, William ..	Henllan	1657
	Williams, Rice	Llangynhafal	1654
	Wynne, David	Llanelidan	1657
	Wynne, John	Llanelian	1655
	Wynne, Robert	Cerrig y Druidion	1657
	Maurice, David	Llangernyw	1657
Flint	Brosler,[2] John	Penley	1657
	Edwards, Robert....	Holywell	1657
	Eyton, David.....	Bodfari	1654
	Fogg, Lawrence	Hawarden	1657
	Fogg, Orlando	Overton	1654
	Henry, Philip.....	Worthenbury	1659
	Lewis, William	Hawarden.....	1658
	Maurice, Humph. ...	Cwm	1657
Glamorgan ...	Bassett, Theodore ..	Merthyr Dovan	1658
	Davies, Griffith	Gelligaer	1655
	Hilliard, Thomas ...	Newton Nottage	1655
	Jones, James	Llangyfelach	1655
	Jones, Morgan	Newcastle	1657
	Jones, Samuel	Llangynwyd	1657
	Matthews, Marmaduke.	Swansea	1655
	Matthews, Mordecai .	Llancarfan	1657
	Miles, John.....	Ilston	1657
	Price, Evan	St. Athan	1658
	Quarrell, James	Ystradowen	1657
	Roberts, Richard ...	St. Martin.....	1657
	Symonds, Richard ..	Llandaff Cathedral	1657
	Thomas, William....	St. Mary Hill	1658
Merioneth ...	Evans, John.....	Festiniog.....	1658
	Eyton, Owen	Corwen	1656
	Hughes, William ...	Llandderfel.....	1657
	Jones, Humphrey ...	Llandrillo	1655
	Pierce,[3] Edward	Llanycil	1657
	Swayne, John	Towyn	1658
	Thomas, Humph. ...	Llandanwg and Llanbedr	1654
	Jones, John	Llanycil	1658

1 It is certainly somewhat of an anomaly to put these two seasoned Puritans down to the credit of the Triers, but it must be admitted that the records point inexorably to the fact that it was in 1656 they were both induced to settle down definitely in a distinct locality.

2 'Brosler' in Lamb. 994, f. 213; 'Broster' in 992, ff. 38, 67; 993, f. 271; 995, f, 56; and in Diaries of Philip Henry, p. 97 [sub October 7, 1661].

3 'Myers' in Hist. Dioc. of St. Asaph (D. R. Thomas)—1874 Ed.—p. 724; 'Piers' in Rawlinson MS. D. 843. 84 (circa 1658-1659).

	Minister.	Living.	Date of Approval, etc.
Monmouth ...	Fawcett, Samuel ...	Monmouth	1657
	Hall, John	Monmouth(?)	1657
	Morgan, Owen	Llanfetherin	1654
	Parry, Lewis	Skenfrith	1654
	Prosser, Walter	Tredunnock	1657
	Rogers, Lewis	Monmouth	1657
	Williams, Philip	Llanvapley	1654
Montgomery[1]..	Bevan, Edward[2]	Churchstoke	1658
	Davies, John	Penegoes	1657
	Edwards, Charles ...	Llanrhaiadr yn Moch..	1657
	Ellis, John	Llangynog	1658
	Foulkes, John	Llangadfan	1659
	Grundman, Mart. ...	Llandyssil	1658
	Jones, Gabriel	Bettws	1654
	Jones, Rees	Bettws	1657
	Jones, Thomas.....	Castell Caereinion	1654
	Lloyd, Charles	Llanfyllin	1654
	Lloyd, Maurice	Llangyniew and Aberhafesp	1657
	Luntley, John	Penstrowed	1657
	Osborne, John	Llandinam	1655
	Parry, Henry	Cemmes	1654
	Payne,[3] Richard ...	Kerry	1655
	Raven, Nathaniel ...	Welshpool.....	1658
	Roberts, Theodore ..	Manavon	1658
	Rogers, Hugh	Newtown	1657
	Rogers, Philip	Llanwyddelan	1658
	Rushworth, Isaac ...	Montgomery.....	1654
	Tonge, Thomas	Llandrinio.....	1657
	Vaughan, John	Llanf. yng Ngwynfa...	1655
	Wynne, Robert	Newtown	1654
Pembroke	Bywater, John.....	Pembroke	1657
	Davies, John	Lawrenny	1657
	Griffith, John.....	Llanwnda	1658
	Jones, William.....	Cilmaenllwyd	1655
	Love, Stephen	Haverfordwest	1655
	Luntley, John	Llanstadwell	1657
	Owen, John	Llanddewi-Efelfre	1657
	Thomas, Morgan ...	Mathry	1657
	Thomas, Oliver	Nevern	1658
	Warren, David	Narberth & Robeston ..	1658
	Williams, David	Henry's Moat.....	1658
Radnor	Cole, Thomas	Presteign	1654
	Davies, David	Llansantffraid Cwm Deuddwr	1657
	Davies, John	Glascwm	1657
	Fenton, Ralph	Knighton	1658
	Griffith, Owen	Glasbury	1658
	Gwalter, Thomas ...	Cascobb	1657

1 The dates in the Montgomery list have been depressed one space by the printer in the 'Seren Gomer' copy; they are here restored to the position Mr. Shankland undoubtedly meant for them.

2 Edward Beavan (Mont. Ret., 119); Edward Bowen (Lamb. 1004, f. 118); Richard ap Evan (Mont. Ret., 115).

3 'Brayne' in Mont. Ret. for First Fruits, February, 1657-8, 115; 'Payne' in Lamb. 996, f. 208 and the Parish Registers; 'Paine' in a catalogue of post-Restoration pluralities in the diocese of St. David's (Lamb. 639, f. 335). It is not without interest that the vicar of Kerry from 1615 to 1654 was undoubtedly Christopher *Brayne*.

	Minister.	Living.	Date of Approval, etc.
Radnor ..... (*con.*)	Jones, David	Llanbadarnfawr.....	1654
	Jones, David	St. Harmon	1657
	Jones, Thomas.....	Llanfihangel Cefnllys ..	1654
	Lucas, Richard	Presteign	1657
	Morgan, Richard ...	Bleddfa	1655
	Powell, John	New Radnor	1658
	Powell, Rice	Boughrood and Lampeter (Painscastle) ..	1658
	Price, Lewis	Gladestry	1657
	Swayne, Richard ...	Clyro	1656
	Weaver, John	Old Radnor	1654

In the light of fuller evidence, this nineteen-year-old list of Mr. Shankland's must bear modification in several particulars. Jenkins came to Gresford in 1654,[1] not in 1655; Lloyd was appointed to Amlwch in 1654,[2] not in 1656; Swayne to Clyro in 1655[3]; Bevan had been settled at Churchstoke three years before 1658[4]; and Philip Henry's diaries leave no doubt that he 'came to Emerall in Flintshire to teach the sons of Judge Puleston, and to preach at Worthenbury,' not in 1659, but on September 30, 1653.[5] It is curious that the greatest authority on the future Baptist William Jones places Cilmaenllwyd in Pembrokeshire, and not in Carmarthen; MS. 996 distinctly says that Simon Lloyd was settled in Llanynys, and not in Llangwm[6]; the last entry in the Carmarthen list is proved by MS. 997 not to be 'Llanfihangel' merely, but 'Llanfihangel Yorath'[7]; 968 is equally clear that the Warren approved for Narberth was Thomas, and not David.[8] Again, notwithstanding the variants 'Maurice' and 'Morris opposite the livings of Llannordineio and Criccieth in the Carnarvon list, they almost certainly point to the same person and indirectly prove two things: the practice of a new pluralism to supply the want of Puritan preachers, and the already sterling worth of a man[9] who in the year of his

1 St. Pap. Dom. Interreg., 22 G., f. 1490*a*—19 July, 1654.
2 Lamb. 972, f. 3.
3 Supra, pp. 14-15.
4 Mont. Ret. February, 1657-8, 115. The Sheriff in the context calls him Richard ap Evan.'
5 Diaries, p. 15. It might also be added that Thomas Jones asserts that he started work at Cefnllys in 1655, and not in 1654 (Exch. Bills and Ans., Radnor, No. 21, Mich., 13 Chas. II).
6 f. 462.
7 Lib. iii, f. 61.
8 f. 150.
9 Morrice in his 'Wales in the Seventeenth Century' refers to *this* Maurice on pp. 163, 178, and to Dr. Henry Maurice, the Anglican divine, on pp. 134, 209-211; but in his Index (p. 349), the references are 'jumbled' together.

settlement published marginal annotations to 'Canwyll y Cymry' to render it better understanded of his North Wales compatriots, and whose famous letter in 1675 was to lighten up the shadows of doom that enveloped Nonconformists at the final withdrawal of the first Declaration of Indulgence.[1] Next, Hugh Price was approved for the Montgomeryshire Llanllwchaiarn, and not for the parish of the same name in Cardiganshire, as witness the certificate to his 'holy conversation' attested by Henry Parry of Cemmes in that county[2]; and Richard Roberts did not settle in any St. Martin's in Glamorgan, but at Morton Chapel in Salop, as was natural for a Propagation itinerant whose sphere of activity lay in North Wales,[3] and whose revenues in his new sphere were drawn from 'the rents and profits of the tithes of Llansislin' in the counties of Denbigh and Salop.[4] And the sheriff of Montgomery declares that John Hall became minister of Guilsfield in 1657,[5] which fully warrants the (!) placed after his name in the Monmouthshire list of Mr. Shankland.

And the historian's bare lists can be supplemented on many other important points, especially in explanation of cases where the same person is placed opposite more than one living, and of the converse instances where more than one person is associated with the same living. He himself has pointed out how John Hanmer lost Llanfihangel y Creuddyn in 1658, and that Roderick Thomas came in his stead.[6] Though James Quarrell is down in the lists for Ystradowen in Glamorgan (1657), there is sure evidence that he was 'preaching the Word' at Forden in Montgomery before 4 November, 1659.[7] Fortune certainly did not smile on John Luntley whose name appears in counties as far apart as Pembroke and Montgomery. It is true that the Protector and Council in October, 1656, presented him to the small sinecure of Penstrowed, but only to hold it 'in trust'[8] for Mrs. Deborah Love as a relief from her sore financial straits after the death

1 Broadmead Records, ed. Underhill (1847), Addenda B., pp. 511-519.
2 Lamb. 997, lib. iii, f. 25.
3 Rawl. c. 261 [26]. The conclusion in the text is also supported by Calamy's Account, II, 572.
4 Lamb. 987, ff. 59-60.
5 Mont. Ret., Feb., 1657-8, 115.
6 Seten Gomer, July, 1911, p. 209. Lamb. 992, f. 51 and 995, f. 174 make the slip of placing this Llanfihangel in '*Carm.*'
7 Lamb. 987, f. 58.
8 That Luntley never came to Montgomeryshire in person is evident from the Sheriff's 1658 returns (116, 118).

of her husband, Stephen Love the minister of Haverfordwest, in May, 1655[1]; on his appointment to another living (Llanstadwell in Pembrokeshire) and £28 to minister somewhat to his own support being apportioned him out of the impropriate tithes of Llanwnda in the same county, it was found that by an order of 11 February, 1658-9, that these were annexed to John Griffith, the new incumbent of that living, and Luntley's revenue was made chargeable on November 10 upon the tithes of Diserth in the county of Flint![2] Still more unique is the case of Thomas Carter. This sometime member of the Westminster Assembly had been forced under the terms of the Propagation Act to 'elect' the rectory of Abergele in preference to his other ecclesiastical interests in England[3]; on account of some unexplained difficulty he was again 'reinvested' in the living six months later[4]; under the new dispensation of the Protectorate, there was exhibited before the C.A.P.P. on July 22, 1654, a document curious enough, but good evidence of Carter's influence at Whitehall, being 'a writing under the Great Seale of England purporting a donation of the Rectory of Abergelly . . . unto Mr. Thomas Carter for his life,' reinforced by the forementioned orders of his election, and of his later reinvestiture by the C.P.G.W.[5] Despite the virtue of this double presentation, the record gives no further details, but his name appears in Lamb. 996, f. 521 (an entry which seems to have altogether escaped Mr. Shankland) as having been approved for Hawarden on 8 February, 1655-6. This solution of Carter's problems allows for the institution in 1656 of the learned Dr. John Conant to the Abergele rectory, but as he was at the same time receiving emoluments as Rector of Exeter College in Oxford from the remembrancer of First Fruits and Tenths,[6] it is more than doubtful whether he appeared in North Wales at all. There is no mistaking the impression made by the Carter-Conant connection with Abergele that the effective work of the ministry in this district was performed by Henry Pugh, the

1 Cal. St. Papers, 1656-7, p. 140; Lamb. 972, f. 580.
2 Cp. Lamb. 983, f. 142; 987, ff. 103-104 [Entry A. 30].
3 Rawl. c. 261 [18]—9 May, 1650.
4 Ibid. [28]—21 November, 1650. It is because of the unsatisfactory evidence in favour of his coming to Abergele at all during the Propagation that he finds a place in the Denbigh list on p. 21.
5 Lamb. 997, lib. ii, f. 101.
6 Declared Acct., Audit Office, bundle 1216, roll 86.

minister placed there by the C.P.M. in 1648[1] and who survived to be reinstituted to the vicarage after the Restoration.[2] Similarly, Ellis Rowlands' appointment to Clynnog let in David Wynne to Llanelidan; the death of Richard Owen of Llanrhystyd[3] did the same service to Jenkin Lloyd; Ambrose Mostyn succeeded at Wrexham on the death of Llwyd[4]; Rees Jones 'removed himself' from Bettws in Montgomery, and was followed by Gabriel Jones[5]; but though David Jones was approved for Llanbadarn in Cardigan in 1658, he was not for some unascertained reason in possession there on April 26, 1659, when the Trustees were making arrangements for paying 'such godly and painful preacher as *shall* be settled there.'[6] Changes analogous, doubtless, to those at Wrexham and Abergele account for Cole and Lucas opposite Presteign, Pierce and Jones at Llanycil, Bowen and Thomas at Llanfihangel Yorath; the Sheriff of Montgomery makes this certain in explanation of the Newtown duo—'Mr. Wynne then left it, and then Hugh Rogers Clerke came in and now (1658) enjoyeth the same.'[7] The case of John Miles and his transfer from the Llanelly lectureship to the more congenial work of indoctrinating Gower with the principles of the strict Baptists has been exhaustively treated by Mr. Shankland.[8] A few enigmatic cases still remain upon which contemporary evidence throws no light. Of the three names associated with Hawarden—Carter, William Lewis, and Lawrence Fogg—the one sure fact is that the latter secured the living on 30 October, 1657,[9] and held it until the Restoration. It is possible that the appearance of a certain Lewis Hughes in connection with Llanmordineio signified the regret of the Triers of their generous but un-Puritan practice towards Henry Maurice, though Lamb. MS. 994, f. 205[10] testifies to the latter receiving £60 for work there during 1658

1 H.P.M., p. 63.
2 Exchequer First Fruits, Bishops' Certifs., File 14—St. Asaph. 30 May, 1662.
3 Lamb. 994, f. 199.
4 Ibid. 987, ff. 200-201 [Entry B. 32]. The editor of the Diaries declares that Philip Henry was 'much solicited' to leave Worthenbury and move to Wrexham (p. 68). This could not be in March, 1659, as he seems to suggest, since Llwyd lived until June 3 (J. H. Davies, Gweithiau, II, Introd. lxxx).
5 Mont. Ret., February, 1657-1658, 115.
6 Lamb. 989, f. 49. [Entry M. 27]. On further examination of the wording of the orders in this MS., it is very doubtful if the interpretation given in this text is correct; at any rate, it is assumed (infra, p. 405) that Jones managed to stay at Llanbadarn until the ejections of 1662.
7 Mont. Rets., February-April, 1658, 116, 118.
8 Seren Gomer, March, 1901, pp. 81-88.
9 Lamb. 998, f. 370.
10 Cp. Lamb. 992, f. 88 and 995, f. 220.

and after. The two nominees to Monmouth in the same year 1657 must point either to 'cession' in case of death, or to confusion in the mind of the 'Register' (not impossible in the midst of a plethora of orders), or to keen competition for a living enriched by the sequestration of the Lord Charles Somerset impropriation, the donation from the lecture system, the patronage of the C.P.M.,[1] and one associated also with the names of Robert Brabourne and Roger Charnock. The case of Monmouth is made even more mysterious by Calamy's entry that the minister ejected from the living in 1660-1662 was neither of the Triers' approvees, but Nicholas Cary,[2] an alumnus of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, who matriculated there in 1639 and took his B.A. degree in 1644-45.[3]

In fact, those livings where the claims of contending candidates had to be examined and adjudicated upon by the C.A.P.P. fall into a special class of their own. On July 4, 1654, a certain John Arthur presented an application for the rectory of Llangristiolus before the Trustees,[4] and John Lewis on October 23.[5] The former evidently proved unacceptable either to Triers or Trustees, for by November 20, the latter were allocating £67 out of the said rectory as salary for Lewis.[6] On July 18, 1654, the Trustees report two claimants for the living of Amlwch, Hugh Humphreys and Rowland Lloyd[7]; eight days later Humphreys produces a certificate of approval from the Triers, but, unfortunately, 'produceth no grant of Augmentation,' that is, the technical phrase recommending his due and proper salary was omitted by the Registrar.[8] This lacuna re-opened the whole question, and the case was submitted for the advice of legal luminaries. The upshot was that Humphreys 'minister of Amloch . . . entertained by Bishop Roberts [sinecure] Rector thereof some years since'[9] was superseded by Lloyd on condition that the latter 'provide some godly and able minister constantly to preach the Word' in the annexed chapel of Llanwenllwyfo.[10]

1 H.P.M., p. 41 (and n. 4).
2 Account (1713), II, p. 473; Palmer: Noncon. Memorial, III, 506.
3 Gordon: Freedom after Ejection, p. 313.
4 Lamb. 973, f. 1.
5 Ibid. f. 20.
6 Lamb. 972, ff. 46-47.
7 Lamb. 1017, f. 67.
8 Lamb. 1017, f. 73.
9 Ibid.
10 Lamb. 972, f. 3—October 5th, 1654; supported by Lamb. 1017, f. 86.

Lloyd had evidently some strong claims and still stronger influence, as at the beginning of 1652 Humphreys, also a Master of Arts, had been described by a Puritan Sheriff of Anglesey as 'a good and frequent preacher who did very diligently preach and teach there' on the humble stipend of £10 a year.[1] Such good credentials were four years later to ensure him the living of Llaneigrad. A more protracted duel, and in a somewhat different category, was fought for the living of Newton Nottage between Thomas Hilliard and Arnold Butler. William Bassett, the Anglican rector, had been ejected even before the advent of the Propagation Act,[2] and the patron, Watkin Longler, although an undoubted Royalist, endeavoured to present Butler[3]; his right, however, was superseded, and Hilliard obtained the favour of the Triers. When the Restoration came Butler, pleading the virtue of his original presentation, asserted that he had been illegally ejected, and began to gather the tithes and convert them to his own use, according to the terms of an order of the Lords applying to clergy who had in truth suffered actual ejection. Hilliard very naturally sent up a petition against such a proceeding to the Upper House on November 17, 1660[4]; it was apparently successful, as Butler, on 9 April, 1661, was instituted to the vicarage of St. Bride's Major.[5]

Very naturally these particulars, though pertinent as illustrating the policy and problems of the Triers, were outside the ambit of Mr. Shankland's purpose in compiling his lists. Unfortunately the columns of ministers, long as they are, do not render full justice to the Lambeth evidence, not only as that is embodied in the more technical and outlying sections of the Augmentation Books,[6] but even in those volumes, like 968, 972, 980, 987-997, which more or less directly record the certificates of the Triers and orders of augmentation and salary issued by the Trustees. There are some serious

1 Exchequer Ret., First Fruits, 1652 [to be forwarded to Exch. by 3 February 1651-2]. . . . 'he lately affirmed that he had no more this twelvemonth past but £10 and the said Mr. Humphreys is yet living.' This is no sardonic humour of the Sheriff, but an intimation that he was 'living' to pay his proper quota of first-fruits.

2 MS. J. Walker, c. 7, f. 208b.

3 Ibid. c. 4, f. 70.

4 House of Lords MSS. Comm. Rept., App. I, p. 135.

5 Exch. First Fruits, Bps.' Certifs., File 10—Llandaff. Schedule 20 April, 1660—20 April, 1661.

6 As will be explained below (pp. 35, 36), Lambeth MSS. 639 and 1027 are not in any way connected with the Augmentation Books, and were not examined by Mr. Shankland for the compilation of his 'Seren Gomer' lists.

omissions, and as some tribute to the sagacious researches of a scholar who has done as much as any one living to illumine the early history of the Puritan movement in Wales, they will be treated with some detail.

Minister Approved.	Place.	Date of Approval.	Reference in Lambeth MSS.
Edwards, Samuel.	Pwllycrochan	15 Dec., 1654 ...	997, lib. iii, f. 73.
Eales,[1] Thomas .	Caerwent ...	25 Oct., 1654....	997, lib. ii, f. 246.
Hall, John	Steynton ...	before Dec., 1654	997, lib. iii, f. 73.
Hill, Richard[2] ...	Ruabon	15 Nov., 1654 ...	997, lib. iii, f. 20.
Powell, Thomas..	Talgarth	before 25 Mar., 1659.	987, ff. 332-333.
Roberts, John ...	Loughor	before 16 Oct., 1655.	996, f. 300.
Stephens, Anthony	Northop	19 Mar., 1655-6..	996, f. 586.
Williams, John ..	Llanbeblig ..	15 Nov., 1658 ...	983, f. 144.
Williams, Robert.	Aberhafesb .	6 July, 1654	997, lib. ii, f. 50.
Young, Stephen .	Rhoscrowther	before 29 Sept., 1659.	987, f. 238 [Entry M. 35.]

This new list reveals some interesting situations. Edwards in his Pembrokeshire living succeeded at the ejection of William Young who had found favour with C.P.M., C.P.G.W., and for some months with the C.A.P.P. as well,[3] and similarly Stephens in Northop supplanted Archibald Sparkes, B.D. of Aberdeen, a member of the old Anglican order, the 'staid' minister whose surplice was taken away by Brereton's Parliamentary soldiers at the end of 1643.[4] He had been approved by the C.P.M. and left unejected by the other and sterner Puritan body, only an augmentation of £50 a year granted him by the former had been in 1652 diverted by the latter to the support of the Puritan schoolmaster at Bala. The C.A.P.P. (more correctly, the Trustees) not only confirmed the augmentation—although there is no record of this in the Lambeth books—but on November 30, 1654, after a hearing going on intermittently for five months before the London Commissioners for Sequestrations (in whose hands the premises from which the £50 accrued were vested) he was even granted all arrears accumulating during the period of

1 So spelt in the Lamb. MS. and the Cal. Comm. for Compounding; also in MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 51; 'Eiles' in f. 45 of the latter. Whether either is meant to be a synonym for *Ellis* or *Iles* is not at all clear.

2 All these facts about Hill are confirmed by St. Pap. Dom. Interreg., 22 G., f. 1497a.

3 H.P.M., pp. 46, 60, 268.

4 J. R. Phillips: Hist. Civil War in Wales, II Doct. xxxvi, p. 112.

the Propagation Act.[1] Why within sixteen months after such a grant, this stubborn North Briton was ejected remains obscure; nor is it very easy to explain why his certificate in favour of John Jones' candidature for Llanarmon yn Iâl was good enough to be accepted by the Triers at the beginning of 1656,[2] while his general conduct was deemed unsatisfactory by the new Commissioners for Ejection appointed by the Protector and Council on 23 August, 1654,[3] and that within a remarkably short time after penning the testimonial.[4] After the Restoration, Sparkes was given a prebendal stall in the cathedral of St. Asaph,[5] and in October, 1666, Philip Henry sent him six copies of the Welsh translation of Baxter's 'Call to the Unconverted,' to be distributed 'occasionally among particular persons,'[6] proving that neither his old ejection nor his new conformity had forfeited him the respect of that doughty Puritan. Powell's tenure of the Talgarth living came to an end on 25 March, 1660, not before he had the previous year arrogated to himself the right of collecting tithes to the disadvantage of the appointed 'farmer' and notwithstanding the promise of the London powers to make up his maintenance to £100 a year,[7] both facts somewhat surprising if the statement of the Sheriff of Brecon in 1659 is true that this minister was only a stripling '17 years of age and pretending to be but 20.'[8] Little is known of Robert Williams whose arrival would release Aberhafesb from the supervision of Maurice Lloyd.[9] Not so with the names that flank him on either side. John Williams, who succeeded an obscure 'Johnes' who was given the living of Llanbeblig by the Propagators on July 30, 1651,[10] cannot but be the cousin of Henry Maurice who in later and more troubled times became the apostle of Independency in South Carnarvon; and Stephen

1 For a full account of his case, *see* Cal. Comm. for Compounding, Vol. V, p. 3214.
2 Lamb. 996, f. 594. "Arch.: Sparke."
3 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances II, pp. 968-990.
4 That Sparkes had undoubtedly to give way to Stephens is the interpretation of these records given by the present Lambeth Librarian in revising for the (now) Archbishop of Wales his list of 'intruded' ministers in the diocese of St. Asaph. (Landmarks [1912], App. G. p. 306).
5 Bishops' Certifs., File 14 (St. Asaph). 11 July, 1661.
6 Diaries, p. 193.
7 For these activities of Powell, see Lamb. 987, ff. 332-333; 980, ff. 81-82 [P. 29], f. 153 [D. 35], 154 [K. 35].
8 Walker: Sufferings, Pt. I, p. 160, sec. col.
9 See Montgomery list, p. 23.
10 Rawl. c. 261 [29]. It is just possible that this 'Johnes' was the 'John Jones, minister' who subscribed the Carnarvonshire address to Richard Cromwell on his accession to the Protectorate (Pennant's Tours in Wales, ed. Rhys, App. xxiii, p. 583). If so, he must have died very soon after, as the Lamb. MS. distinctly states that Williams was presented in November 1658 to Llanbeblig 'void by death of last incumbent.'

Young was the muscular Christian, one of the importations of Hugh Peters to English Pembroke during the Propagation,[1] who though an 'Academick . . . bore a Partisan to guard the Scaffold at the Martyrising of our Gracious King.'[2] There is some evidence that John Hall was another Peters' nominee for Pembrokeshire, not associated with any particular living under the Propagation Act, although Steynton was vacant as early as 2 October, 1650, 'by death of y^e^ late minister.'[3] By 5 December, 1654, he (with Adam Waller of St. Florence) signs a certificate for Samuel Edwards of Pwllycrochan as 'John Hall of Stainton.'[4] Roberts of Loughor, an old Propagation itinerant, appears as certifier in the margin of the instrument of approbation placing Griffith Davies at Gelligaer.[5] He is described by Walker's informant Mansell, in 1709, as 'an ignorant, impudent fellow, a miller by profession'[6] appointed there by Col. Philip Jones, an addendum assuredly inexact, but probably accurate as to the proximate cause of this and many other settlements. Though there is some proof that the itinerant Eales had settled down in the living of Grosmont before the advent of the Triers, he is included in the foregoing list partly because his name is altogether absent from Mr. Shankland's catalogue, and partly because he took a very early opportunity, and that for substantial reasons, of changing his pastorate for Caerwent. His parsonage and tithes had been taken from him for some technical infringement of the sequestration ordinances, and though at one sitting[7] the London Commissioners [for Sequestrations] seemed likely to deal mercifully with him, yet a fortnight before his approval for Caerwent, they issued an order that his Grosmont tithes could not be allowed, thus creating a hopeless situation for a man, as he puts it, 'not beforehand in the world.'[8] The Humphrey Wynne who was presented by the Protector with full formalities in 1654 to the

1 H.P.M., p. 166.
2 Walker: Suff., I, 160, quoting from a Life of Peters by a W. Young, M.D., (1663) 'at whose house in Milford H. Peters lodged' (p. 147, col. 1).
3 Lamb. 915, ff. 97-98.
4 Lamb. 997, iii, 73. He must be carefully distinguished from John Hall of Guilsfield (supra, p. 25).
5 Lamb. 996, f. 300.
6 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 72b.
7 24 August, 1654.
8 For the history of Eales' troubles, see Cal. Comm. Compounding, Vol. IV, 3137. Neither the parish registers of Caerwent (silent from 1646 to 1659) nor those of Grosmont (no entry from 1639 to 1662) can throw any light on his peregrination [both edited by Col. Bradney, 1920 and 1921].

rectory of Montgomery[1] must be excluded from this new list as there is plenty of evidence direct and indirect that difficulties arose from the side of the Triers that made it null and void. The Exchequer returns for first-fruits do not refer to his name[2]; in fact, the application of Isaac Rushworth for this living was presented on 31 August, 1654, approved by the C.A.P.P. on 8 September, and officially issued on the same day.[3] His record and outlook, though evidently a Montgomeryshire man, proved unacceptable to the Puritan authorities, and he had to wait until after the Restoration to be presented on 30 July, 1660, to the rectory of Cemmes.[4] Nor are the facts sufficiently corroborating to warrant the inclusion of Lewis Gwyn among the Montgomeryshire approved ministers. No clergyman of this name in North Wales figures in the 'Liber Institutionum' list of those inducted to livings under the discarded Anglican system, nor in the records of the C.P.M. or C.P.G.W., nor in the surviving first-fruit returns from 1653 to 1660. But a 'Lewis Gwinn' undoubtedly appears, side by side with two ministers and a number of Montgomeryshire yeomen, as certifying the fitness of William Langford, the old incumbent of Welshpool, to continue his ministrations at Llanfor in Merioneth,[5] and a 'Lewis Gwynn' was undoubtedly instituted by the King on 3 July, 1660, to the rectory of Manavon.[6] It is to be remembered also that a Lewis Gwynn was ejected from the living of St. Brides' in Pembrokeshire by the Propagators,[7] but it is against the laws of probability that a Pembrokeshire ejected would succeed to be accepted in Montgomery, and bespeaks too great a credulity or moderation on the part of the C.A.P.P. to approve such a person for pastoral work in a county where the eagle eye of Vavasor Powell was alert for the smallest delinquency of the Protectorate authorities. And it is unnecessary to insert David Rogers in this supplementary list, as the Lambeth MS.[8] only records an order to 'conferr with

1 Lamb. 944, No. 1771.
2 E.g., on parchment rolls pencilled 115, 119, in 1658 returns.
3 Lamb. 997, lib. ii, f. 176.
4 Patent Rolls, Presentations to Livings, 12 Charles II, Part I, No. 296. Wynne's case is not without its interest in so far as it shows that formal presentation by the Protector was not invariably tantamount to final approval.
5 Lamb. 997, lib. ii, f. 55.
6 Patent Rolls, Presentations, 12 Charles II, Pt. 1, No. 422.
7 MS. J. Walker, e. 7, f. 212b.
8 989, f. 143 [Entry O. 34].

him and examine his fitness ' for the vicarage of Llangwm in Monmouth at a date only three months before Charles II's triumphant entry into London.

III.

NEW PURITAN MINISTERS

(OTHER EVIDENCE).

It is a serious fallacy to assume that the Lambeth evidence, interspersed though it is through about sixty bulky volumes, is in any way exhaustive of the names of those ministers who worked in Wales under the Triers. This assertion derives some cogency from the story of how the Augmentation Books were transferred in 1660-1662 from the custody of republican agents to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the consequent possibility of some MSS. being either lost or destroyed.[1] An instructive support of this last suggestion (implying, however, no access of personnel to the Lambeth testimony) is furnished by the peregrinations of a coterie of Lewises in the hundred of Talybolion in Anglesey. Owen Lewis is first approved on 7 September, 1655, to the living of Llanfaethlu,[2] after it had remained vacant for four years but eleven days[3]; then at his death John Lewis is moved from Llangristiolus to take his place. Again, William Lewis was approved in London for the living of Llanddeusant on 24 June, 1654,[4] and promoted to the richer living of Llanrhuddlad in 1657; but in the same year, on the death of the aforesaid John, and probably on account of the dwindling reserves of Puritan nominees, gets in addition on July 31, the neighbouring living of Llanfaethlu—all these facts, barring the two Lambeth references, being deduced from the 'second admission' of William Lewis to the latter rectory on 25 September, 1661, and the statements he made before the remembrancer of the Exchequer.[5] But over and above such omissions there exist direct and incontrovertible

1 Shaw, II, App. IV, pp. 475-476.
2 Lamb. 996, f. 226.
3 Rawl. c. 261 [20]. Dr. Rowland Chedle ejected by the C.P.G.W. on 18 September, 1650.
4 Lamb. 996, f. 40.
5 Second Admissions, Pt. I, No. 1; Exch. Memorandum, Easter Term, 14 Chas. II.

records which give definite and circumstantial details of ministers approved at this period whose names are altogether absent from the Augmentation Books. First in importance come the returns made by the Sheriff of Montgomery and thirteen jurors on 7 February and 28 April, 1658, respectively, in obedience to the writ of the Barons of the Exchequer asking them to certify what and how many rectories, vicarages and other ecclesiastical promotions within the 'bailiwicks' of that county from 8 June, 1649,[1] until that time had become void by death, removal, resignation, or otherwise; what persons had been nominated, presented, inducted or instituted or had entered into and possessed themselves of the profits of the said rectories, etc.—all for the purpose of guiding the Barons in the due assessing and levying of the first-fruits annexed to such benefices. A large number of ministers are described as holding their preferments 'by virtue of an Instrument from the C.A.P.P. under Seale,' adding in two cases the exact date of the certificate; others as presented by the Lord Protector precedent to the approval of the Triers; in one or two cases they find it wearisome to reiterate the usual formula; and in one case, that of Evans of Penstrowed, the jurors declare that they are ignorant of the precise order under which he was admitted to the living. But really there should be no ambiguity: as he arrived in 1656—'$1\frac{1}{2}$ years ago'[2]—his admission was impossible except by the C.A.P.P. after presentation either by a satisfactory patron or by the assumed patronage of the Trustees, or by the authoritative suggestion of the Protector himself. The jurors also, after declaring that the rectory of Llanidloes was formerly in the donation of the late Bishop of Bangor, professed themselves unaware 'as to whom it belongs at present.'[3] Here, again, if the rector were ejected, the patronage would devolve automatically upon the Trustees; as he was not, and the living suffered no change of incumbent during the Propagation and Protectorate periods, the ignorance of the jurors brought no disadvantage either to the historian of the parish or to the receivers of first-fruits. The returns

1 It was on this date that an ordinance for the maintenance of ministers was passed by the Rump (C. J., vi, 226), although the Trustees did not actually enter upon their inheritance before 6 January, 1649-1650. (Shaw, II, 214-215; also infra pp. 62-63.).

2 April return, 118.

3 Ibid.

describe affairs in Montgomery when the apparatus of the new Puritan dispensation was in full working order, and it is no less than a calamity that no other similar returns for Wales have been preserved among the Exchequer Miscellanea. Naturally, most of the names supplied coincide with those figuring in the Lambeth MSS., but there remains a residuum of twelve persons to whom the Sheriff and jurors of Montgomery are the sole witnesses.

Minister.	Sphere.	Status.	Year of entry or approval.	No. of page as pencilled on Exch. parchmt.
Chamberlain,[1] Chas.	Machynlleth ..	*R.*	1655	114.
Evans, John	Penstrowed ..	*R.*	1656	118.
Gooding(e), Robert	Trefeglwys ..	*R.*	1655	116.
Griffiths, John ..	Forden ..	*R.*	1656	114.
Griffiths, Paul ..	Trefeglwys ..	*R.*	1657	116.
Griffiths, Sylvanus ..	Llanwyddelan	*R.*	May, 1654	114, 119.
Gyles, Edward ..	Woolaston-mynd	*R.*	1654	114, 118.
Jones, David ..	Manavon ..	*R.*	1655	116.
Jones, Rees	Penegoes ..	*R.*	1654	115.
Lewis, Humphrey ..	Llanwnog ..	*V.*	1654	114.
Savage, Andrew ..	Llanbrynmair	*V.*	10 June, 1654.	114, 118.
Vaughan, James ..	Kerry ..	*V.*	26 Aug., 1654.	115.

Not a few important problems of settlement are elucidated by these documents. At Trefeglwys the 'unejected clergyman'[2] Hugh Pugh had been approved for ministerial work there by the C.P.M.[3]: in the Exchequer return for 1652 he is described as 'the minister that now is'[4] and in this present return as having 'removed himself' in 1655.[5] Here, however, the jurors were inaccurate, as Pugh is entered in the Lambeth MSS. as presented to the Triers for the rectory of Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd on 5 May, 1654, approved on 15 June, and had his certificate therefor dated on the 21.[6] Gooding then officiated the cure of Trefeglwys for one year and then left, in what direction is not anywhere recorded; a year's interregnum followed; 'in 1657 Paule Griffith came in and

1 'Chamberlyn' in MS.
2 The authority for this is the 'Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris' (p. 15)—a defence of Vavasor Powell's Propagation career published in 1654.
3 H.P.M., p. 65.
4 p. 4 (pencilled on parchment).
5 Mont. Ret., February, 1657-8, 116.
6 997, lib. i, f. 244.

received the profits sithence till this present time.' Some light is also thrown on events at Forden. In 1649 it was served by Richard Evans, 'curate' according to the first-fruits returns of 1652,[1] 'unejected incumbent' on p. 15 of the 'Examen Vavasoris'; whether by death or otherwise, he disappeared in 1655. Here again there was a vacancy until Griffiths 'enjoyed the same' for 1657 and up to the date of the 1658 returns; but it has already been seen from the Lambeth evidence that James Quarrell had officially arrived on the scene before November 1659,[2] he being an old Montgomeryshire itinerant who had made a short sojourn in Glamorganshire.[3] A missing episode in the religious history of Llanwyddelan is also supplied by these returns. After the sequestration of the Anglican rector, Griffith Griffiths, 'about August, 1650,'[4] this living was vacant for nearly four years, until May 1654, when another Griffiths, Sylvanus, is described somewhat incompletely as being settled here 'in virtue of his Highness' Great Seale.'[5] In the later of the two returns his surname is put down as 'Meredith,' but his autograph petition to the Lords for restitution of the living in 1660 (dated 30 July) decides his name to be 'Griffiths' beyond all doubt.[6] His ejection took place in 1657, which allows for the entry of Philip Rogers in 1658.[7] The returns support Rawl. c. 261 in recording the sequestration of John Kyffin from Manavon by the C.P.G.W., contribute new information in naming David Jones there in 1655, but were evidently forwarded to the Exchequer too early in 1658 to bring the substitution of Jones by Theodore Roberts, a fact recorded in the Lambeth MSS., within the cognisance of the jurors. Additional facts, otherwise obscure, are attested by them. Edward Gyles, who was awarded the living of Woolaston-mynd (although the parchment is sadly illegible at this point) on the Montgomery—Salop border[8]—a rectory that was held during the Propagation period by James Betton, a Presbyterian D.D. who was

1 p. 4.
2 Supra, p. 25.
3 Supra, p. 22.
4 This information of the jurors concerning the Llanwyddelan ejection, not anywhere recorded in Rawl. c. 261, is another pertinent proof that the meetings of the N.W. Propagation Commissioners chronicled in that document are far from being exhaustive.
5 Ret., April, 1658, 119.
6 House of Lords MSS., 1660 Petitions, marked O.
7 See list, p. 23.
8 Ret., 114, 118.

adjudged in 1647 'fit to bee' a minister of the Shropshire First Classis[1]—died before 1658, and so did Robert Williams of Aberhafesb on '14 March last or thereabouts,'[2] and both livings remained 'void, unsupplied with any minister' until the Restoration. A close comparison of the dates figuring in the Bettws and Penegoes entries[3] prove conclusively that two ministers of the name Rees Jones were at work in the county at the same time, a coincidence made more interesting by the fact that two Joneses, Richard and Rice, lived concurrently at Llanfair Caereinion, one the ejected vicar of literary bent, the other a Puritan schoolmaster who was obsessed with curious ideas about a coming millennium.[4] Mr. Shankland's placing of David Roberts opposite Penegoes is fully corroborated by the Sheriff's earlier return of February, but the career of that consummate trimmer almost requires a chapter for itself.[5] Before concluding this paragraph, something must be said of the jurors' return for the parish of Kerry[6] which, though not lacking in details, supplies them in such a way as not to carry conviction. It says that the old unejected vicar, Christopher Brayne,[7] died on 17 August, 1654; that nine days after James Vaughan, a mysterious person otherwise unknown, was presented to the living; then Vaughan is allowed to disappear with never a clue whether he was suspended, or removed voluntarily or passed away in death. The coming of Richard Payne to the parish confirms the appointment recorded in Lambeth MS. 996,[8] with the difference that the jurors give the date of presentation as '14 September, 1655' as opposed to the '23 August,' attested by the Triers' clerk. It must be recollected that the registers of the parish have an entry that Payne's first sermon was preached there on the '14 day of October'[9]; possibly the 1658 return loosely uses 'presentation' as equivalent to 'induction' or arrival, and that the 'September' of the jurors was an imperfect rendering of the 'October' supplied them by the local churchwardens.

1 Shaw, II, App. IIIb, p. 407. 'Botton' on parchment.
2 Rets., 114, 118.
3 Ibid., both on 115.
4 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, p. 407.
5 See infra, pp. 227-229. Roberts at Penegoes followed one of the Rees Joneses (115).
6 p. 115.
7 Examen, p. 15; he was instituted on 28 April, 1615. (Lib. Inst., Menev., f. 63).
8 f. 208.
9 Mont. Colls., xxxix, i, p. 120.

Incidentally, the parish registers state that vicar Brayne was *buried* on 17 August, 1654,[1] which must be taken to outweigh the Montgomery return that he *died* on that date.

The remaining names will be grouped together in one list, the greater number of them based on articles of proof hardly less cogent and valid than the Montgomery returns. First comes the 'Return of Edward Williams, High-Sheriff of Brecon, to the Committee of Parliament, appointed to consider, how Wales was supply'd with a ministry, &c., by vertue of a Letter from the Chairman, in 1658.'[2] This interesting report was discovered at Lambeth by Dr. John Walker when he was gathering material for his 'Sufferings' during the reign of Queen Anne, and was found lying amidst 'a very great heap of papers . . . that were confus'd and unsorted . . . neglected on the Floor of an outer Room there.' Walker states that he saw similar returns from Carnarvon, Denbigh, and two from Merioneth, 'but neither of them so full and particular as that from Brecon,'[3] none of which, unfortunately, are now discoverable at the Archbishop's library. The question whether the Brecon document be accepted as valid evidence depends therefore on Walker's general reputation as an interpreter of MS. material. There is no doubt that in writing up his account of the Propagation period in Wales, apart from the frightful havoc he makes with the names of persons and places, that he dealt out very fair justice to Walker c. 13, the South Wales treasurer's balance-sheets lent him by Baron Price. The late G. B. Tatham,[4] probably the greatest authority on the work of the Anglican apologist and its limitations, gives a general verdict that he finds in his pages 'no intentional suppression of evidence'[5]; and by inference the same good qualities must be attributed to his numerous quotations from the lost return of the High Sheriff. The pages of his large work bristle with the bias typical of a High Tory clergyman of the reign of Anne, pages actually written during the tension of

1 Mont. Colls., xxxix, i, p. 116.

2 Walker: Sufferings, Part I, p. 151, col. 2. The punctuation in the text is also Walker's (or the High Sheriff's).

3 All these statements are made by Walker on the same page (Pt. I, 151).

4 Tatham was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who fell in action during the recent war, after winning the Military Cross. He published his "Dr. John Walker and the 'Sufferings of the Clergy'" in 1911 (it had won the Prince Consort Prize the previous year) and 'The Puritans in Power' in 1913.

5 Dr. John Walker . . . Sufferings of the Clergy: p. 123.

the Sacheverell uproar and the passing of the Occasional Conformity Act.[1] Nevertheless, Walker is candid and honest, allows for the possible discovery of new evidence, particularly mentions records hostile to his case which he has not been able to examine, and it is no less than wonderful how he divined the provisions of the Propagation Act without ever having seen a copy of it. His first venture, however, as copyist of the Brecon return is unconvincing, as it is practically certain that the 'Committee of Parliament' referred to in the title was only set up by a resolution of the Commons on 5 February, 1658-9,[2] and Walker must have taken the date at its face value[3]; moreover, there is an official record that the sheriff for 1658 was Thomas Gunter of Chilston, and not Edward Williams at all.[4] The Chairman's directions for the return would no doubt reflect pretty accurately the growing dissatisfaction during Richard Cromwell's short Protectorate of constitutional purists like Vane and Hasedrigg with the ecclesiastical policy of the old Protector and his Council (by whom, it is well to remember, and not by the authority of Parliament, that the Triers had been erected); this Parliament, too, was to keep alive with innuendo and endless recrimination old doubts about the execution of the Propagation Act, arising out of the vendetta of a group of its members against Col. Philip Jones and his practical dictatorship in South Wales. The 1659 sheriff of Brecon, far from being 'disaffected to the inquiries,' which, as Walker suggests, accounted for the scrappy returns of some of his North Wales colleagues, would pursue the quest with considerable zeal, as was natural in a man who had signed the hypocritical declaration of loyalty drawn up by gentlemen of Breconshire and read in the Commons on 5 December, 1645,[5] who had been deprived of his 1649 office of solicitor for the [local] Committee for Sequestrations in the county,[6]

1 This Act has been printed by Grant Robertson in his Select Statutes, Doct. xxiii. A collation of Clauses I-III with VII shows that though this piece of legislation was hypocritically designed to 'quiet the minds' of Nonconformists by ratifying the toleration of 1689, its real purpose was to bar them effectually from all civil and military posts in the State (pp. 108-109).

2 C. J., VII, 600. In fact, a full list of the Committee is given on this page of the Journals.

3 On account of the anomalous computation of the legal year up to the reform of the calendar in 1752, 1658 would include all dates in 1659 up to *March 24*.

4 Nicholas: Annals and Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 105.

5 J. R. Phillips: Hist. Civil War in Wales, II, Doct. LXXXV, p. 285.

6 Cal. Comm. Compounding, I, pp. 161-162; *vide* also 'A Particular Charge or Impeachment . . . Against . . . Sir William Lewis (1647) Charge XVI, p. 11 (unsprinted 10), where the loyalty of Williams to the Parliament is seriously called in question (N.L.W., Catalogue, Civil War Tracts, p. 29, No. 96).

who had failed to recover his lost prestige under the Propagators or the Triers and who, perhaps on account of the evident Anglican proclivities of this very return, was displaced from his shrievalty and Lewis Jones of Trebinshwn appointed to complete his term of office.[1] The original document, therefore, would lack the judicial temper of the Montgomery return; however, it is in the highest degree unlikely that Williams would refer to ministers as being definitely set up by the Triers when the matter of fact could easily be put to the proof. And in the county of Brecon, the home of some of the petitioners of 1652 against the Propagation who had turned informers in the interests of the early Protectorate,[2] it is equally unlikely that illiterate men would dare 'have their pulpits' (as certain turns of phrase in this report have it) unless they had been duly approved by the supreme authorities in London. Of the general accuracy of the return, one example must suffice. The Sheriff asserts that a John Davies was appointed to the livings of Llandevally and Crickadarn with Broynllys in addition, each item of which is fully borne out by the Lamb. MS. 997, iii, f. 138. But some of his particulars are open to doubt. No living in Monmouth has hitherto been discovered as held by the Reginald Morgan who was settled at Vaynor in Brecon, the only person of that name in the former county acting in 1651 as farmer of certain tithes for Walter Cradock, and not too prompt in his payments[3]; and though a qualified pluralism was not unknown under the Triers, the practice was applied, as in the Llandevally group in Brecon, and in the Llanfaethlu centre in Anglesey,[4] to parishes situate in close proximity. Also, the literal rendering of the Sheriff's reference to Llanafanfawr cannot but suggest that Evan Bowen was introduced there immediately on the ejection of the old incumbent, William Williams, in 1650. As Bowen was an undoubted itinerant in Brecon and Radnor throughout the era of the Propagation,[5] his settlement there must be postponed to 1653-1654, to be followed at his death[6] by the Thomas Jones who succeeded there in 1657.[7] Indeed,

1 Nicholas: Annals and Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 105.
2 Thurloe St. Papers, II, pp. 124, 128, 129, 174, 226.
3 Walk. c. 13, f. 52.
4 Supra, p. 35.
5 H.P.M., p. 148 (and n. 1).
6 Bowen was alive to subscribe the 'Humble Representation and Address' to Cromwell from South Wales at the beginning of 1656 (p. 7, 'Evan ab Owen').
7 Lamb. 998, f. 446.

the 'succeeded' that so often figures in the report must connote in the majority of cases 'succeeded after a time,' and this interval is in some instances vouched for in the Lambeth records. The remaining instances will be entered with the necessary references in the list at the end of this chapter.

If the allied returns from Carnarvon and Pembroke had been preserved at the Lambeth Library mention would undoubtedly be made in the first of Griffith Pierce of Llanfairfechan, and in the second of William Lloyd of Bosherston and St. Petrox. Their names appear among the certificates of 'second admissions' granted after the Restoration by the respective diocesans, coupled with an Exchequer memorandum of the same 'made in behalf of the Remembrancer of First Fruits and Tenths.' Exact reference had to be made to the first admission by the C.A.P.P.: Pierce was admitted on 10 June, 1654,[1] and Lloyd on 18 February, 1656-7, the latter having been presented as far back as 10 October, 1656.[2] And in default of Lambeth corroboration, and in the regrettable absence of returns whether made to the Barons of the Exchequer or to Committees of Parliament, the information given to the 'third' Edmund Calamy[3] in writing his famous ninth chapter of the 'Abridgement of the Life of Baxter' (published in 1702 and this chapter as a separate volume in 1713), becomes invested with peculiar significance. This was a series of short biographical notices of the nonconformist clergy who had suffered deprivation between 1660 and the end of 1662, men who had been settled in benefices, some by the C.P.M., some by the C.P.C.W., some by the Triers. His information about sufferers in Wales came from James Owen of Oswestry,[4] one of the most exact and learned divines of the second Puritan generation. Owen's evidence suffers from not being strictly contemporary, and a good deal of it depends on his own 'ipse dixit.' But since he had spent twenty-one years in South Wales, one troubled year in Carnarvon[5]

1 Second Admissions, Pt. II, No. 46; Exch. Mem., Michaelmas, 14 Chas. II.
2 Ibid., Pt. VI, No. *244; Ibid., Hilary, 16 Charles II, and also 20 and 21 Chas. II.
3 The first Calamy was the 'EC' of 'Smectymnuus' and Baxter's chief coadjutor in rebutting the arguments of the Bishops at the Savoy Conference of 1661. It is said that *seven* of the name followed one another in direct succession.
4 'to whom most of the Characters of the Welch Ministers are owing'—Calamy's own remark in 'Account (1713),' II, 721; see also Preface, xxiv.
5 The Mostyn MSS. (lately lodged at the National Library) have disclosed the fact that Owen was preaching to a conventicle at Llangybi in Carnarvon at 10 a.m. on Sunday, 23 April, 1676. [238, 10].

and Merioneth, besides about twenty-five years in Oswestry when asked to make his census of the sufferers, it must be admitted that he was in an excellent position to make his statements good for all parts of the principality; and a man who had braved the direst rigours of the Cavalier Inquisition, faced (with others) the most eminent of the 'seven bishops' in public debate at Oswestry,[1] and was 'unwearyed in his labours . . . with little recompense' along the Anglo-Welsh border at the coming of the Toleration Act,[2] was one whose word was law with Calamy and the London Nonconformists. Confirmation is forthcoming for some of Owen's most obscure entries either from the return made by Bishop William Lucy of St. David's in 1665[3] to Archbishop Sheldon of ministers ejected for 'non-subscription or inconformity' or from the 'files' of bishops' certificates granted between 1660 and 1670. *e.g.*, where the bishop inadvertently forgets to name the living from which John Harries was ejected,[4] Calamy supplies it as 'Tregaron'[5]; among those that Calamy described as 'afterwards conformed' was the unordained Independent Maurice Meredith,[6] who appears after 1660 as first collated to the vicarage of Llanelly (5 Sept., 1665) and later promoted to that of Llanfihangel Yorath (6 Jan., 1669-70).[7] The unqualified acceptance of the Owen-Calamy evidence means that more of the strict Baptists of the Ilston group had followed Miles in accepting the principle and practice of State maintenance than has usually been believed; but Mr. Shankland has advanced no arguments[8] to rebut the testimony of the historian of 'black Bartholomew' and his Welsh coadjutor. In two instances, the two contemporary partisans complement each other in supplying the lacunae of the Lambeth Augmentation Books. Walker after examina-

1 This was on September 27, 1681 [Calamy, II, 716; Philip Henry: Diaries, p. 309].

2 Gordon MS. [Dr. Williams' Library], f. 62.

3 Preserved in Lamb. MS. 639 [forming part of the Codices Tenisoniani and *not* of the Aug. Books].

4 Ibid., f. 337.

5 II, 716.

6 Ibid., 721.

7 File 14 (St. David's). Schedules 20 October, 1664—20 April, 1665, and 20 October, 1669—20 April, 1670. It must be noted that to describe the terminal of the first schedule as '20 April, 1665' is an inaccuracy in the original MS.; it is a long schedule taking up 'two skins,' and the next in order ranges from 20 April to 20 October, 1667.

NOTE.—*Meredith* will not be included in the list at the end of this chapter, as there is no satisfactory evidence that he was settled in any benefice before the Restoration. He is introduced in the text as an instance of where Calamy's bare note is borne out by other and 'hostile' official records.

8 Seren Gomer, July, 1901, p. 201.

tion of certain papers he found at Lambeth, says that the vicarage of Llangunnor was filled by a tailor 'whose Name I cannot learn'; Calamy gives it as David Price.[1] Calamy, under 'Brecon' says that D. W. Probert was turned out from an unascertained place; Walker, quoting the Sheriff's return for 1659, makes him settled at Llandefaelog.[2] Where the two differ, as when the dissenter enters John Edwards as ejected from Cathedine, and the Anglican places the same person at Llangorse,[3] the latter must have the preference, as he quotes the same contemporary sheriff. On the ground of the lost Lambeth papers, Walker also asserts that 'a Felt-maker of Monmouth town,' Charles Williams by name, occupied the living of Dingestow for two years and had an 'Augmentation for his Distinguished Merit,' a satiric remark not borne out in the Trustees' books.[4] Calamy's list of Monmouth ejected do not contain his name, for which omission death or previous cession might easily account. However, it is a curious paradox that Walker's reputation for honest dealing must save the poor felt-maker from oblivion.[5]

Of the forementioned mass of papers seen by Walker at Lambeth one department, the reports of the petty constables (newest and strangest of all the inquisitors), ordered in 1662 to inquire into the whole ecclesiastical administration of the 'usurped powers,'[6] have been preserved as Lambeth MS. 1027, a volume absolutely distinct and separate from the Augmentation Books. These reports vary in information from the exhaustive summary of Llandenny[7] to the scrappy lines about Llangelynin,[8] and in nature of script from the neat caligraphy of the Cardiganshire constable at Llandyssul[9] to the undecipherable scrawl of those responsible for Llandanwg in Ardudwy.[10] Two names for North Wales are supplied by this MS. unsupported by any other testimony, and one of

1 Cp. Walker: Suff., Pt. I, p. 161 and Calamy, II, p. 720.
2 Ibid. p. 160. Ibid. p. 733. 'David William Probert.'
3 Ibid. Ibid.
4 Ibid. p. 161.
5 It is not impossible that he was the 'Mr. Charles Williams of Newport in Monmouthshire,' about whom Philip Henry is writing to his son Matthew in December 1685 (Diaries and Letters, p. 345).
6 Date of warrant to the constables = 15 May, 1662. Undoubtedly its moving cause is found in 13 Chas. II, cap. III, Clauses II-IV, but more especially Cl. III, 'Commissions of Discovery.' [Statutes at Large (1734), II, p. 538].
7 No. 23 (13 June, 1662).
8 No. 37a.
9 No. 35.
10 No. 33.

them, Thomas Jones of Llansantffraid in Edeyrnion, is described as 'Rector by Episcopal Authority,'[1] a term which might possibly be true, but is unconfirmed by the 'Liber Institutionum.' So are three names from Glamorganshire, each one described as receiving a definite sum of money for 'supplying the vakancy,' Jenkin Christopher at Llanblethian (£20), Rice Samuel at St. Bride's-super-Ely (£15 10s. 0d.), and Theodore Price at St. Athan with Llanmaes (£100). It may be added that Samuel and Christopher subscribed Cradock's 'Humble Representation and Address' to the Protector in 1656, within three names one of the other, the latter's name being inverted as 'Christopher Jenkin.'[2] Three ministers are vouched for by two sources highly differing in time: John Lloyd of Newborough by the Calendar of State Papers for 1658-1659, where he is referred to as one of the new ministers-assistant to the commissioners set up in August, 1654, for the ejection of scandalous clergy[3]; Moor Pye of Bishopston, a name extracted from the second of two accounts sent in by Edward Mansell of Henllys (dated 21 March, 1709-10[4]) to John Walker detailing the sufferings of Anglican ejected in that part of Glamorgan which was included in the diocese of St. David's; and the Rees Davies who is placed at Flemingstone in Mansell's earlier account of the Llandaff division of Glamorgan.[5] In the latter case, Walker's correspondent must be held to be nearer the truth than Calamy's, who associates Davies with St. Mary Hill[6]; the Lambeth books record with full circumstance the approval of William Thomas to that living.[7] One name has been recovered from the Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, a Peter Dormer who, on 24 October, 1654, begs the benefit of the tithes of Llandinam granted him by the Protector in August of that year; on the 7 November the Committee, no doubt after many cross-references to Triers and Trustees, decide that he can 'enjoy the rectory according to his Highness' grant.'[8] This intricate case demands some

1 No. 34b.
2 p. 8. (N.L.W. copy—Civil War Tracts, Cat., p. 68, No. 141.)
3 p. 110, August 5.
4 See letter to Walker prefixed to this account (MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 63a). Pye is referred in c. 4, ff. 72-72b.
5 Walker, c. 4, f. 69. 6 II, 733. 7 Lamb. 999, f. 57.
8 Vol. III, p. 1725.

Note.—The Cal. of the Comm. for Compounding records not only the transactions of the old Committee of that name, but also the doings of the new Commissioners for Sequestrations (after the early months of 1654). For the jurisdiction of these latter commissioners over livings and tithes, see Chap. V, pp. 88-93.

explanation. On 7 June, 1648, the C.P.M. had allocated the 'comporcionarie tithes' of six parishes in the county of Montgomery (worth altogether about £200 a year) to Ambrose Mostyn and Vavasor Powell for their maintenance,[1] but Dormer alleges that by their 'desertion,' a pungent reminiscence of Powell's (if not Mostyn's) bitter opposition to the Protectorate, the rectory of Llandinam 'stood void' and the order expired; despite this, the Committee gives instructions that all arrears be paid them 'if sufficient has been received therefrom.'[2] Dormer is mentioned in the 1658 return of the Montgomery sheriff not in the Llandinam summary, but as enjoying the profits of Llanwnog,[3] information incomplete in so far as those were only one of the six component parts of his revenue, and inexact in that it controverts the more authoritative evidence of the State Paper that Dormer was settled at Llandinam. Remembering Dormer's grant, it is difficult at first sight, without making the Protector and Triers guilty of haphazard dualism, to explain the appointment of John Osborne to the same rectory on 3 November, 1655,[4] especially when the jurors of 1658 emphasise the fact that both men held the contributory tithes as late as February of that year. Really the situation illustrates some of the difficulties of Puritan approvers and actuaries when faced with the traditions and vested interests of the old Anglican order: the rectory of Llandinam, an advowson of the Bishops of Bangor, had, like the allied case of Llansannan in the diocese of St. Asaph,[5] been held in two comportions, the last team in possession being Dr. Thomas Bayly[6] (son of the bishop who composed the 'Practice of Piety') and Dr. Hugh Williams,[7] both sequestered for delinquency before 1648. At this point it is a justifiable digression to state that in 1682-1685 a persistent effort was made by the then Bishop of Bangor to divert the tithes and profits that in the Propagation era furnished the salary of Mostyn and Powell and during the Protectorate supplied the revenue of Osborne and Dormer

1 Bodl. MS., 325, ff. 68-68b.
2 12 January, 1654-1655 (Cal. Comm. Comp., III, 1726).
3 p. 114.
4 Lamb. 996, f. 325; *vide* also p. 23 supra.
5 Lib. Inst., Assaphe, f. 150. [At Waddesdon in Bucks, there was the case of a rectory divided into *three* portions (Wood's Life and Times, IV, 77; Noncon. Mem., I, 308-309)].
6 Ibid., Bangor, f. 6; instituted 24 May, 1630.
7 Ibid. ibid. ; instituted ult. September, 1633.

to create a fund for the repair of the Cathedral, a project only delayed by the undisguised displeasure of Archbishop Sancroft reinforced by a strong protesting letter from the identical sheriff who supervised the returns of 1658.[1] Another minister referred to in the same Calendar is Morris Matthews of Erbistock, who held the living as early at least as 21 January, 1652-1653. But this date, and the fact that Matthews had sub-leased the tithes of Llanyblodwel from his deceased and sometime delinquent brother Robert and that the old Propagation approver Rowland Nevett of Oswestry speaks in derogation of his title, are sufficient reasons to see him excluded from the Triers' lists.[2] Other reasons keep out Griffith Jones of Dolgelly and John Evans of Oswestry. They are bracketed with the above John Lloyd of Newborough as ministers-assistant to the ejection commissioners of 1654,[3] but they were undoubtedly schoolmasters,[4] and the loose terminology can only mean that they gave voluntary help in the work of the ministry to incumbents of large parishes in their immediate vicinity, the learned Dr. John Ellis in the first case and Rowland Nevett in the second. Finally, the names of three additional ministers are supplied by the same Lambeth MS. 639 as furnished with Calamy the collateral authority for the inclusion of John Harries of Tregaron. The Bishop reports a group of clergymen in Brecknock who had been ejected before 1665 because they refused to subscribe the oaths and declarations required by the 1662 Act of Uniformity ; three of them were in possession of livings from which other clerics were ejected by the C.P.G.W. ; nor do their names figure anywhere in the official records of institutions after the Restoration up to the date of the Bishop's report ; the conclusion is irresistible that they came in between 1653 and 1660. The frequent references to ' successions ' in the presentations to livings on the Patent Rolls (1660 to 1662) are barren of results for the reinforcement of the Lambeth lists, as the predecessor named in each case is not the Puritan nominee holding the living at the last stage before the Restora-

1 For this somewhat complicated case, see Bodl. Tanner MS. cxlvi ; Bishop Humphrey Lloyd's letters to Sancroft in ff. 81-82, 86, 87, 90 ; Sancroft's sarcastic letter to the Bishop, f. 90 ; case printed with the Archbishop's autograph remarks, f. 91 ; Price's (or Pryce) letter to Sancroft, dated 24 July, 1685, f. 94. See also Walker : Suffs., II, 84.

2 IV, 2529.

3 Cal. St. Pap., 1658-9, p. 110.

4 Lamb. 992, ff. 89, 91 ; 995, ff. 236, 252 ; Calamy, II, 842.

tion, but the old Anglican incumbent long deceased or sometimes ejected, or both, *e.g.*, William Owen was presented to Rhoscrowther on 19 September, 1660, 'vice Lewis Phillips, deceased,'[1] who had been instituted rector there as early as 2 July, 1593,[2] and not a word is said of the old soldier Stephen Young[3] who held the living in 1659 or even of the Gregory Dickinson, who was described in October, 1650, as 'clerke and preaching minister.'[4] This practice must be deemed analogous in principle, though working conversely, to the legal fiction of describing the year 1660-1661 as '12 Charles II.' In submitting a list of ministers embodying the conclusions of the last paragraphs, it must be premised the basis of inclusion and exclusion conforms with that on pp. 20-24, but with the new precaution, due to Calamy's method of indiscriminately grouping together the ejected of 1662 with those of 1660 and 1661, of subjecting to close scrutiny the institutions of the two latter years on the Bishops' 'files' and the presentations entered on the Patent Rolls. For there were several cases of men newly instituted after the King's return who were evicted in August 1662.

And room must be found at the last moment for a John Davies, who ministered at Llangattock in Brecon for barely a year before the Restoration, but whose existence is handsomely vouched for by parishioners who regretted paying him the tithes during that short experiment.[5] From a similar source is discovered that an obscure Owen Evans was appointed minister at Llanddeiniolen in 1655[6] and that an even more obscure Richard Berow was 'authorised as an itinerant minister to preach the gospel in Porscuet [Portskewet] and elsewhere in co. Monmouth in 1657, 1658 and 1659 only, for which he was to have for his pains a certain salary out of the tithes in those respective places.' Berow happens to make the mistake that his benefactors were the C.P.G.W. and not the C.A.P.P.[7] Conversely, an Exchequer 'answer' made in

1 12 Charles II, Pt. 1, No. 140.
2 Lib. Inst., Meneven., f. 2. 3 Supra, pp. 31-32.
4 Lamb. 915, f. 139. Report of Pembroke parochial commissioners 2 October.
5 Davies had not arrived there at the beginning of 1659 when the Sheriff of Brecon drew up his indictment (as Davies was a tailor he would certainly be included); very curiously, the petty constables of the parish do not refer to him in their 1662 report (Lamb. 1027, Rpt. 30). The evidence of the Llangattock parishioners is to be found in the Exchequer Depositions (Mixed Counties [Brecon and Radnor], No. 8, Hilary, 15-16, Chas. II.).
6 Exch. Bills and Answers, Carnarvon, No. 3, Easter, 15 Chas. II.
7 Ibid. Monmouth, No. 11, Trinity, 14 Chas. II. The case arose from the desire of the once dispossessed rector of Portskewet, William Hurd, to get 'satisfaction' for his lost tithes.

1661 goes far to disprove Colonel Bradney's theory, probably derived from an unspecified 'Mr. Rogers' associated with Caerwent in the work of Calamy,[1] that Hopkin Rogers was placed by the Puritans in that living at this period.[2] It is certainly dangerous to combat the conclusions of the gallant and learned Colonel, especially where Monmouthshire developments are concerned. However, not only is corroborative evidence lacking, but what evidence there is seems to show that Rogers was never anything but a Puritan layman and always connected with Caldicot. With two others, he formed that sequestered living in 1652[3] (being responsible for the three acres glebe of Brimston Hill); he was holding the same interest as late as 1657 'towards a part of his salary as clerk or registrar to the [Cromwellian] Comrs. for Ejecting Ministers,' and not as ministerial nominee for Caerwent.[4] In this connection it would also be interesting to know what had happened to the Thomas Eales who was approved by the Triers for Caerwent in October, 1654?[5] And what of the deliberate statement of Playfair Field, driven out of the rectory of Penhowe by the Propagators,[6] that he (possibly at the death of Eales) was 'in or about the yeares 1658-1659 lawfully presented as parson of the parish churches of Caerwent and Penhowe by the patron of the same, and was immediately afterwards inducted and received by the parishioners.'[7] It is true that the same Rogers, still living at Caldicot, is described in 1669 as guilty of the subsidiary work of 'repetitioner' in the Netherwent conventicles, but in the company of several others, hardly any of whom were known as Puritan ministers before the Restoration.[8] Between them these factors reduce the possibility of Rogers ever being minister at Caerwent to vanishing point; they assuredly afford no ground for his inclusion in the following list.

1 Acct., II, p. 473.
2 Parish Registers of Caerwent (1568-1812), Introd., v.
3 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 54.
4 See his own statement as defendant in the Exchequer Caldicot case (Bills and Ans., Monmouth, No. 2, Michaelmas, 13 Chas. II).
5 Supra, pp. 30, 32.
6 H.P.M., p. 127.
7 Exch. Bills and Ans., Monmouth, No. 20, Hilary, 16-17 Chas. II. There exists indirect proof of this in a baptism in the church on *November 2, 1659*—the first entry since 1646 (Registers of Caerwent, ed. Bradney, p. 13).
8 Lamb. 639, f. 186b.

Minister.	Sphere of Labour.	MS. reference or other Authority.
Berow, Richard ..	Portskewet ..	Exch. Bills & Ans., Mon., No. 11, Trinity, 14 Chas. II.
Blindman, Richard ..	Chepstow ..	Calamy, II, 610.
Bowen, Evan ..	Llanafanfawr ..	Walker : Suff., Pt. I, 161.
Cary, Nicholas ..	Monmouth (town) ..	Calamy, II, 473.
Christopher, Jenkin ..	Llanblethian ..	Lamb. 1027.
Davies, John ..	Llangattock (Breck.).	Excheq. Depos., Hilary Term, 15 & 16, Chas. II, Mixed Cos.,No. 8.
Davies, Rees ..	Flemingstone ..	Walk. MS., c. 4, f. 69.
Dennis, John ..	The Hay ..	Lamb. 639, f. 337.
Dormer, Peter ..	Llandinam ..	Cal. Comm. Compounding, III, 1725-1726.
Edwards, John ..	Llangorse ..	Walker : Suff., Pt. I, p. 160 ; Calamy, II, 733.
Edwards, Thomas ..	Llandefaelog (Breck.)	Lamb. 639, f. 337.
Evans, Owen ..	Llanddeiniolen ..	Exch. Bills & Ans., Carn., No. 3, Easter, 15 Chas. II.
Evans, Thomas ..	Maesmynus ..	Walker : Suff., Pt. I, 161 ; Calamy (1803), III, 495.
Evans, Thomas ..	Trawsfynydd ..	Lamb. 1027, Entry 53.
Evans, Thomas ..	Ystrad (Cardigan) ..	Calamy, II, 717.
Harries, John ..	Tregaron ..	Lamb. 639, f. 337 ; Calamy, II, 716.
Harry, Anthony ..	Llanfihangel Talyllyn	Walker : Suff., Pt. I, p. 160.
Harry, Elias ..	Llanbedr Patrisho ..	Ibid. ; Cal. II, 733.
Hughes, Thomas[1] ..	Begelly ..	Calamy, II, 717.
Jackson, Christopher	Lampeter Velvrey ..	Ibid.
Jenkins, David ..	Bryngwyn and Newchurch.	Calamy, II, 735.
Jones, Morgan ..	Llanmadock ..	Ibid., 732.
Jones, Thomas ..	Llansantffraid in Edeyrnion	Lamb. 1027, Entry 34b
Joseph, Thomas ..	Llangeinor ..	Calamy, II, 732.
Lloyd, John ..	Newborough ..	Cal. St. Pap., 1658-9, p. 110.
Lloyd, William ..	St. Petrox and Bosherston	Second Admissions, Pt. VI, No. 244.
Morgan, Reginald ..	Vaynor ..	Walker : Suff., Pt. I, p. 160.
Pierce, Griffith ..	Llanfairfechan ..	Second Admissions, Pt. II, No. 46.
Powell, Rice ..	Lampeter ..	Lamb. 639, f. 337 ; Calamy, II, 717.

1 Calamy's exact entry reads :—'*Bily* : Mr. Thomas Hughes.' The Begelly question is rather confused by an order of the Trustees, under date of 28 April 1659, to the effect that a yearly sum of £20 be 'from time to time paid to such godly and painfull preachers . . . as *shall be* from time to time setled ministers [there]' for increase of ordinary maintenance (Lamb. 1004, f. 135). When was Hughes appointed ? If he was not at Begelly in 1660, it follows (almost of necessity) that he could not lose that living in 1662 (see infra, p. 405).

Minister.	Sphere of Labour.	MS. reference or other Authority.
Price, David ..	Llangunnor ..	Cal. II, 720; Walk.: Suff., Pt. I, p. 161.
Price, Lewis ..	Llangunllo (Card.) ..	Cal. II, 716.
Price, Theodore ..	St. Athan ..	Lamb. 1027.
Probert, David William	Llandefaelog ..	Walker: Suff., Pt. I, p. 160.
Proud, Thomas ..	Cheriton ..	Calamy, II, 731.
Pye, Moor ..	Bishopston ..	Walker MS., c. 4, f.72b.
Roberts, Jonathan[1] ..	Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd	Calamy, II, 716.
Samuel, Rice ..	St. Bride's-super-Ely	Lamb. 1027.
Taylor, John ..	Llandrillo in Edeyrnion	Archbishop's 'Landmarks,' Appendix G, p. 303.
Taylor, Richard ..	Holt ..	Calamy, II, 716.
Thomas, Howell ..	Glyncorrwg(chapelry)	Calamy, II, 732.
Vaughan, Thomas[2] ..	Llansanffread ..	Lamb. 639, f. 337.
Williams, Charles ..	Dingestow ..	Walker: Suff., Pt. I, p. 161.
Williams, David ..	Llanfihangel Penbedw	Calamy, II, 718.

One or two remarks are necessary in elucidation of some of the entries. Hughes and Jackson were two itinerant importations of Hugh Peters into South Pembroke during the Propagation.[3] Theodore Price cannot have long supplied the 'vakancy' at St. Athan, as Evan Price acceded there in 1658.[4] At Holt Richard Taylor cannot have come in long before the Restoration, as the Hugh Bithell, who was settled there in September, 1654,[5] was in receipt of £45 a year for some time after August 28, 1657,[6] while Mostyn ministered in the same neighbourhood and 'the places adjacent' from December 1656 until the same month in 1659, when he moved to Wrexham to succeed Llwyd.[7] In face of this double supervision, it would be interesting to know at what time exactly a letter, supposed by the editor of his diaries to have been written by Philip Henry to his old patron Dr. John Owen bewailing the lack of faithful pastors at Holt, was forwarded to the greatest of the Triers.[8] There exists no

1 When exactly Roberts settled here is unknown. Richard Edwards, one of the P.G.W. approvers, was minister in 1652 (Exch. First Fruits Ret., Denbigh, Feb., 1652) and Roberts appears as one of the certifiers of John Jones for Llanarmon yn Iâl at the beginning of 1656, but without any definite locality associated with his name (Lamb. 996, f. 594).

2 For a re-consideration of his case, infra, pp. 407-408.

3 H.P.M., pp. 165-166.

4 Supra, p. 22.

5 Lamb. 968, f. 28; Cal. St. Pap., 1654, p. 355; cp. list on p. 21.

6 Ibid. 992, f. 44; 993, f. 309.

7 Ibid. 987, ff. 200-201; cp. 977, f. 42.

8 Diaries, p. 17, note.* This letter happens to be in private hands, but the Editor is assured that it bears no date.

reliable evidence to decide whether the Lewis Price of Llangunllo is the same person as the Lewis Price of the Radnor list on page 24, nor whether the David Williamses of Henry's Moat[1] and Llanfihangel Penbedw have any connection the one with the other, although in the latter case the plurality return of the Bishop of St. David's for 1665 brings the contact as near as may be short of positive proof.[2] The writer must admit that he has no light to give on the Llandefaelog puzzle: Probert is definitely associated with the living by the Brecon Sheriff in 1659 and by Calamy's informant (with more vagueness) between 1660 and 1662[3]; Edwards is also definitely described by the Bishop of the diocese as having been turned out of the self-same living for nonconformity. Unfortunately, no help is forthcoming from the parish register, which contains no entries previous to 1715.[4]

1 Supra, p. 23.
2 Lamb. 639, f. 333.
3 Supra, p. 45.
4 A. M. Burke: Key to the Ancient Parish Registers of England and Wales, p. 104.

IV.

SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS.

Though the Approbation ordinance of 20 March, 1653-4, is strangely silent about the schoolmasters who were to act as complementary agents in the Puritan salvation of the country, the Trustees and Triers were before long at work sanctioning 'original orders' of the C.P.G.W. schoolmasters and granting them salaries and augmentations, usually observing the old standards and allocations. Lambeth MS. 1017, f. 42 is especially pertinent: on June 14, 1654, an order was issued that the schoolmasters within the thirteen counties were to receive all arrears accruing to them from the Welsh commissioners, and that the 'particular orders' on which their claims were grounded should be certified 'to the end that the same may be settled and put into an expeditious way of payment by the Trustees for the future.' The first to be thus approved was James Picton, master of the school at Tenby (Oct. 9, 1654).[1] Gradually, however, as the administration of the ordinance grew to full fruition it was seen that, while a valiant effort was made to increase the number of ministers, many of the Propagation schools were discontinued. In the absence of direct minutes or decrees of the controlling bodies the reasons underlying this somewhat startling change of front can only be a matter of surmise. The C.P.G.W. had settled many schools in desolate and remote parts of the country; probably a tacit condemnation of this aspect of their policy is found in a dictum of the Protector and Council in sanctioning a Welsh payment on July 22, 1656, that 'the Hay stood in greater need of a school than Llangorse.'[2] It is curious that of the nine schools founded in Brecknock by the Propagators, seven do not anywhere figure in the chronicles of 1653 to 1660. Of the seven or eight ejected clergy who were generously allowed by the Propagators to supervise the new

1 Lamb. 972, f. 6.
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1656-1657, p. 31.

schools not more than three survive under the new order: Moor Pye of Swansea, Henry Vaughan of Abergavenny, and Henry Williams of Carew.[1] It is practically certain from the wording of the Montgomery return for 1658 that William Hughes, son of the ejected vicar of Llansantffraid ym Mechain, had ceased keeping school there before April of that year,[2] and opportunity was soon found to dispense with the services of an old supporter of the Marquis of Worcester like William Porskin (or Poiskine), once schoolmaster at Newport.[3] And the Petitioners of 1652, though strenuously and not unsuccessfully opposed by the C.P.G.W., had undoubtedly affected adversely the authority and prestige of the latter's nominees. Four schoolmasters were accused by name, one for being 'a known Papist,' two for drunkenness, and one for lack of learning.[4] It is the latter alone, Philip Williams of Brecon, that emerges successfully into the annals of the Protectorate.[5] The only reasonable conclusion is that the three impeached by the Petitioners and the favoured Anglicans all fell a prey to the new engine of destruction forged by the ordinance of 23 August, 1654, for the eviction, among others, of scandalous schoolmasters.[6] The trial given to Roger Seys on September 5, 1653, during the continuing period of the Propagation, as schoolmaster at St. Fagans,[7] was evidently not crowned with success[8]; his name does not appear in later lists of salaries; and it is not unnatural to find him collated by the Bishop of St. Davids to the vicarage of Llangyfelach on 17 March, 1662-1663.[9] In none of the above cases were the schools continued after the disappearance of the schoolmasters.

And many schoolmasters being 'fit persons of approved Piety and Learning,' attracted too by larger maintenance and more congenial work, turned ministers. David Jenkins left Clyro for Bryngwyn in the same county, John Harris Bleddfa

1 The last heard of Williams is that he received £30 arrears due to him on December 25, 1657 (Commonwealth Exch. Papers, roll 290). It is not very clear from the Abergavenny entry in Lamb. 1004, f. 131, whether Vaughan acted as master there early in 1659 (order of 27 January).

2 Return of April, 1658, 119.

3 H.P.M., pp. 230, 233 (and n. 6).

4 True and Perfect Relation, p. 32.

5 Lamb. 992, f. 12; 993, f. 95.

6 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, 968-990.

7 Lamb. 1006, f. 186.

8 Mansell records a tradition that Seys was disinherited by his father for striking his mother (MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 72). W. R. Williams is probably referring to the same incident when he says that Evan Seys of Boverton succeeded to his property in 1639, 'his eldest brother, Roger . . . being disinherited.' (Hist. Parly. Repn. of Wales, p. 98.)

9 Bishops' Certifs., File 13, Schedule 20 Oct., 1662 20 April, 1663.

for Tregaron; and William Thomas, once schoolmaster at Cowbridge,[1] is 'supplying the vacancy' there as minister in 1656,[2] promoted to St. Mary Hill on 30 June, 1658,[3] and after the Restoration he naturally reverted to his old work by 'keeping School at Swanzey.'[4] The Welshpool school was dissolved by the master Grundman being made rector of Llandyssil in the same county, and the usher Nathaniel Raven, vicar of Welshpool itself in June, 1657.[5] Again, David Eyton left Denbigh for Bodfari, to which living he was presented by the Protector on 8 November, 1654[6]; and there is a strong temptation to see Peter Dormer, one of the Llandinam comportioners, in the Peter who received £50 2s. in 1651 for keeping an unnamed school in Glamorgan, but whose surname is so illegibly written that 'D..r..n' are the only certain decipherable letters.[7] Two of the transformed schoolmasters were men of many vicissitudes. Moor Pye was approved by the C.P.M. for Llanvapley, ejected from there by the C.P.G.W.,[8] was by them made schoolmaster at Swansea on 17 March, 1652-3,[9] is reported by Col. Philip Jones on April 16, 1655, as having left that sphere 'in the beginning of January last,'[10] evidently to take up his new pastoral duties at Bishopston[11]; in July, 1660, he petitions the Lords for restitution to his original living of Llanvapley.[12] Rice Powell in the first Propagation accounts for Brecon is by inference a schoolmaster at Talgarth; the next entries put him down as 'minister'; then 'schoolmaster' again[13]; the next step was to remove the school to the Hay,[14] for the mastership of which he successfully survived the claims of Smith, once head of the Puritan free school at Llangorse.[15] This change of venue so exasperated the parishioners of Talgarth, out of whose

1 Walk., c. 13, ff. 17b, 31b. M.A. of Jesus College, Oxon, and a man of 'Eminent Piety and Learning.' (Cal. II, 731.)
2 Lamb. 1027.
3 Ibid., 999, f. 57. [The identity of the preacher with the schoolmaster cannot be regarded as finally settled].
4 See n. 1.
5 Mont. Ret., April, 1658, 118, 119.
6 Lamb. 944, No. 11.
7 Walk. c. 13, f. 20.
8 H.P.M., pp. 67, 129. He was not ejected before July 22, 1650, as on that day the Royalist Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny paid him 12/- as tithes (Diary, ed. J. A. Bradney, p. 41).
9 Lamb. 1006, f. 184.
10 Lamb. 972, f. 137.
11 Supra, p. 40.
12 House of Lords MSS. Comm. Rpt., App. I, p. 121.
13 For these changes, see H.P.M., p. 228 (and n. 5).
14 Lamb. 977, f. 45; 987, f. 54; 1004, f. 19 (sub 21 July, 1656).
15 Cal. St. Pap., 1656-7, pp. 160-161.

tithes the salary at the Hay was still derived, that proceedings at law were contemplated by the authorities to enforce its payment: even as late as May, 1659, the Trustees are insisting upon the liquidation of certain arrears[1]; and long before that, the trouble over Powell and his school had lost the 'farmership' of the Talgarth tithes to the old tenant John Williams, and led to his substitution by the Englishman Francis Whitwick,[2] who happened to be son of the Samuel Whitwick who represented Brecon in the parliaments of 1658-1659.[3] In 1658, Powell himself decided once more to quit the vocation of schoolmaster, found favour with the Triers in a new capacity, and was appointed minister of Boughrood on 17 June,[4] with the added supervision of Llanbedr and Painscastle. After the Restoration, he conformed and combined, 'though once of another faction,' the duties of vicar and schoolmaster 'boarding many schollars in his house' at his old Puritan sphere of Boughrood.[5] It must be said that the lists of ministers and schoolmasters respectively contain some names of phenomenal similarity, but a close comparison of the former's approval dates by the Triers with the long lists of orders about salaries in Lamb. MSS. 992-995 precludes any possibility of their being the same persons. In most of the foregoing transformations, the schools fell into desuetude and decay. Alexander Griffith succeeded Powell at the Hay,[6] and Peter Meyrick was appointed in the room of Pye at Swansea on the day that the Colonel made his report.[7] Moreover, Robert Edwards for some obscure reason left the Llansilin school before 1 February, 1657-8,[8] and a Thomas Owen came in his stead[9]; at the end of 1658, James Picton of Tenby is described as 'late schoolmaster there,'[10] indirect evidence of the Quaker proclivities of a man who was after the Restoration to spend 'above nine yeares' in the prison of Carmarthen for the new faith that was in him.[11] Some re-arrangements had also to

1 Lamb. 980, f. 81.
2 Cp. Lamb. 987, ff. 15-16 [Entry D. 27] and 989, ff. 81-82 [Entry P. 29].
3 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Repn. of Wales, pp. 23-24.
4 Lamb. 968, f. 142.
5 Lamb. 639, f. 333 [Report of Bp. William Lucy in 1665]. And there is no reason to doubt that he was the 'Rice Powell of Boughrood' who in 1686 made a benefaction of £24 per annum to Jesus College, Oxford (for this indenture and the conditions, see Hardy: Jesus College, p. 84).
6 Lamb. 987, f. 54. 28 Nov., 1658.
7 Lamb. 972, f. 137.
8 The last recorded payment to him was £20 due at Lammas, 1657. (Comm. Exch. Papers, roll 290).
9 Lamb. 987, f. 239 [Entry M. 34]. 10 Lamb. 980, f. 381.
11 Extracts from St. Papers relating to Friends (ed. Penney), p. 354.

be made. A Roger Griffith appears in the lists in Lamb. MSS. 992 and 995 as assistant to Griffith Jones at Dolgelly[1]; in the same lists a George Seale comes on 26 May, 1658, to reinforce Andrew Barcroft at Cardiff.[2] The latter occasionally supplied the 'vacant' church at Llancarfan, and to all appearances fell ill at the beginning of 1659, as 'the Auditor was to allow Mrs. Jane Bearcroft her acquittance for receipt of £28 for her husband's use' (March 9, 1658-9).[3] A John Lewis also came in by an order of December 23, 1657, to give help to Ambrose Lewis and Andrew Maddocks, the two friends of Philip Henry, at the large and flourishing school of Wrexham, the only Puritan free school with a staff of three in the whole principality.[4] Of the Evan Llewellyn, who figures in the Ilston records as one of the helpers of John Miles at Aberavon, Swansea and Llangennech,[5] and is mentioned by Calamy's informant as schoolmaster at Swansea,[6] the Lambeth records have no trace.

Only a few constructive orders can be balanced against this discontinuance of schools and the general depletion of staffs. With the exception of Price's £45 at St. David's, the salary for a schoolmaster never rose above the standard of £40 set up by the Propagation Act, and in some cases it was ridiculously low, especially when the great theorist Samuel Hartlib (and alien immigrant to boot) was in receipt of £100 per annum from the Trustees by special order.[7] The £8 granted to Hugh Owen at Llanrwst by the C.P.G.W. was never raised under the new dispensation[8]; the £15 'original order' for Hughes of Llandegla was only raised to £20 on 27 January, 1658-9[9]; Rowland Lloyd of Carnarvon remained throughout at £15[10]; and the new master at Llansilin was given a £10 augmentation on the old allocation of the C.P.G.W. to Robert Edwards on the assumption that the Trustees received assurance that the place was 'a market town.'[11]

1 992, f. 89; 995, f. 236.
2 992, f. 126; 995, f. 541; also Calamy, II, 732.
3 Lamb. 992, f. 131; 995, f. 593.
4 Lamb. 992, f. 63; 995, A. 17.
5 Joshua Thomas: Hanes. Bed., p. 93.
6 Calamy, 1702 Ed., p. 486; 1713 Ed., p. 844; Third Ed. by Palmer (1803),—Llewellyn not referred to.
7 Audit Office, Declared Acct., bundle 2239, roll 1.
8 This was his salary for the year ending 16 January, 1657-8 (Comm. Exch. Paper, 290); and Lamb. 994, f. 209 says the same for 1658-9.
9 Lamb. 994, f. 209.
10 Ibid. f. 207.
11 cp. Lamb. 972, f. 127; 994, f. 209; 989, f. 99 (decision of Trustees on November 24, 1659).

These conditions notwithstanding, some ministers inexplicably turned schoolmasters. The old North Wales itinerant Richard Jones is described as 'present schoolmaster' at Denbigh in Lamb. 977, f. 63,[1] but the entry in 972, f. 217, embodying a decision of the Trustees on 26 July, 1655, according to which a 'Mr. Lloyd' is named schoolmaster and receives £40 maintenance, seems to suggest that in that year Jones acted as usher only. This Lloyd is nowhere else mentioned in connection with the school: Jones and Lloyd are never brought into contact: and it is very probable that the latter is to be equated with either Robert Lloyd of Ruthin[2] or William Lloyd of Efenechtyd, both approved ministers at a date later than 1655.[3] Very curiously, Jones' salary never rose to the £40 granted to Lloyd, although he was an M.A. of Balliol, possessed 'a vein of Poetry in Latin, English and Welsh,'[4] and was to translate in 1659 into an excellent native idiom Baxter's 'Call to the Unconverted.' Somewhat ambiguous is the case of Edward Carver, settled as minister at Tenby by the Propagation Commissioners. In Lamb. MS. 994, there is a record that unmistakably suggests he was receiving £21 per annum as usher to James Picton, though a long note written across the vertical columns in MS. 992[5] defining the tithe composition of the salary refers to it as an augmentation to his pay as minister; it is also surprising in face of Calamy's statement that Carver survived to be ejected (1660-1662)[6] that the entry in the MS. reporting the defection of James Picton does not announce the election of Carver to the mastership, analogous to the case of Pye and Meyrick at Swansea. It was in Pembrokeshire, too, at St. David's, that the new authorities found their one opportunity to supplement the efforts of the Propagators in opening a new school. An order was issued from the Trustees on 17 May, 1654, that £40 were to be paid out of 'the rents and profits of the tithes of the twenty cursal prebends of the parishes of St. David's and Whitchurch' for the maintenance of Richard Deane as

1 Dated 17 February, 1656-1657; see also Lamb. 1004, f. 32 (order of Trustees bearing date 2 January, 1656-57).

2, 3, (supra, p. 22).

4 Calamy, II. 844. It is certain that £15 was his salary for ¾ year ending 25 November, 1657 (Comm. Exch. Pap., 290).

5 f. 111; the above Exchequer Paper also describes him as 'minister' only in referring to a payment made to him at Michaelmas, 1657. According to an entry in Lamb. MS. 1004, f. 105, under 9 December, 1658, there was no schoolmaster in Tenby at that date.

6 II, 717, where his Christian name is wrongly put down as 'John.'

master[1], who was supplanted by Thomas Price on '16 or 17 of July, 1656,' at a higher salary by £5.[2] Out of the sixty odd schools established before the expiry of the Propagation Act, only 21 can with certainty be counted as flourishing at the Restoration; and if Bulstrode Whitelocke's remarks in his 'Memoirs'[3] are meant to refer to Wales *after* 1653, when he found there 'a schoolmaster placed in every town and in great towns two,' it must be concluded that his obsession with great affairs of state had obscured his conception of some elementary facts. Throughout the whole of South Wales only seven schools remained to the end,[4] not one in Carmarthenshire, and only two in Glamorgan. This latter fact lends point to the letter (dated October 29, 1662) drafted by Dr. Hugh Lloyd, then Bishop of Llandaff, appealing for subscriptions to set up "free schooles' under Anglican auspices. It would be rather much to expect one who fell into Horton's hands after the battle of St. Fagans,[5] ejected from the two rich livings of St. Andrew and St. Nicholas,[6] and penning his appeal when the feelings aroused by the Act of Uniformity were at their bitterest, to say a good word of the Puritan schools; but the complete absence of reference to them even by way of contempt and the picture of the utter educational stagnation of the county is a serious commentary on the efforts both of the Propagating and Protectorate agencies. 'Glamorgan . . . is most unfurnish't of meanes either to propagate to others, yea, or to continue to itself religion and learning . . . . is utterly destitute of schools.' He completes the moral with a pungent contrast between the aftermath of the Puritan revolution and 'the Christian schooles of old . . . . not utterly destitute before the dissolution [of the monasteries].'[7] Seven years before, in a letter of 21 December, 1655, James Berry, the Major-General for Wales, had bewailed the few good schoolmasters that were at work in North Wales.[8] Walker, grounding his dicta on the very prejudiced pamphlets of

1 Lamb. 973, f. 593.
2 Lamb. 987, ff. 213-214 [Entry A. 33]; 993, f. 306.
3 p. 518.
4 On 9 December, 1658, the Trustees set apart £20 a year for the maintenance of a schoolmaster at the town of Pembroke, but there is no further evidence that the Triers ever appointed one (Lamb. 1004, f. 105).
5 A List of the Prisoners taken . . . by Collonel Horton in South-Wales. . . . (N.L.W., Cat. Civil War Tracts, pp. 38-39, No. 107) p. 6 (misprinted 8).
6 MS. J. Walker, e. 7, f. 208b.
7 The whole letter is printed in Wood's 'Athenæ Oxonienses,' ed. Bliss. [Vol. IV p. 835].
8 Thurloe St. Papers, IV, 334—Berry to Thurloe, Secretary of State.

Alexander Griffith and of the Petitioners of 1652, rates the masters so low that the towns and parishes unsupplied were better provided than those which were, an opinion that came quite natural to a man who lent enthusiastic support to the Schism Act of 1713, with its ostracisation of Nonconformist teachers.[1] But his strictures concerning the exceeding fewness of the schools 'compleating the scandal of the Propagation'[2] were justified by a considerable background of fact. That this merited the 'abhorrence and astonishment of all professing Christians' is a flourish of rhetoric that must submit to judgment after a cold analysis of the conditions of the time and their attendant difficulties[3]; that the schoolmasters in the main were the mere clerks and servants of the Commissioners[4] who could read English and make a warrant, 'some of them fitter to go to school than to keep any,' is effectively traversed by the records of John Evans and Richard Jones, Ambrose Lewis and James Picton. Insularly Puritan in outlook, created 'de novo' and 'ad hoc,' with no traditions to inspire their corporate life, these schools automatically ceased at the Restoration with the disappearance of the Puritan authorities that erected and maintained them. Unfortunately, they did not awake the muse of any contemporary historian; the vague reference[5] to these institutions in the 1677 edition of 'Hanes y Ffydd Ddiffuant' is unworthy in a man who had been itinerant under the Propagation, presented by Cromwell to the rectory of Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant, and who had all opportunities of appreciating at its true worth this interesting Puritan experiment.[6] Of the unconscious influence of these schools as a formative factor in the strength and stubbornness of Puritan sentiment during the long night of persecution, we have no sure means of gauging. Morrice says that Calamy's informant, James Owen,

1 Walker's attack upon the schools is mainly concentrated in his 'Sufferings,' Pt. I, p. 161.

2 Here he uses 'Propagation' in its wider sense, not as narrowed down to 1650-1653.

3 Such an analysis is attempted in Chapter VII.

4 The satirist does not condescend to say whether C.P.G.W. or C.A.P.P., or both.

5 p. 206.

6 Nor does Charles Edwards say a word about the edition of the Bible published in 1647 under the auspices of Vavasor Powell and Walter Cradock. One must not judge him too severely, however. Both omissions are very probably to be explained by the significant fact that the 1677 Edition had received the imprimatur of Dr. Michael Roberts, once Principal of Jesus, who said (24 July, 1676) that he could discern nothing in it contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England. No doubt the proverbial 'blue pencil' had been applied to any statements too much to the advantage of the Puritan interregnum.

'was educated first under James Picton,'[1] but as Owen was only born in 1654, this was impossible before the schoolmaster surrendered his post at Tenby on conscientious grounds, and barely possible afterwards on account of his prolonged imprisonment. And the national college for the training of ministers, adumbrated in the triangular correspondence between Baxter, John Lewis of Glasgrug, and Dr. John Ellis of Dolgelly, remained a mere ideal[2]; if the forceful genius of Cromwell was unable to bring to fruition the projected University of Durham even when the regulations for its upkeep had been fully drawn up,[3] it is unlikely that such an institution for Wales was feasible while Vavasor Powell was sulking in his tent and the careers of Llwyd and Cradock drawing to their sombre close. The Durham experiment was rigorously opposed by Dr. John Conant, the Oxford don and rector-designate of Abergele, who pointed out the advantages of large universities and the danger which threatened religion and learning by multiplying small and petty academies[4]; therefore the ambitious idea of the learned rector of Dolgelly was not likely to find support from the Rector of Exeter College.[5] Nor is there the slightest evidence that the project was discussed by the London authorities.

These schools in actual working have been discussed in another work. But it is well to remember that the Puritan free schools were not the only educational agencies at this period in Wales. Mansell of Henllys in a letter to John Walker in 1709 says that the ejected vicar of Eglwysilan and Llanfabon 'went and taught a Grammar school twelve miles off for his sustenance'[6] and David Lloyd in his 'Memoires' published in 1668 speaks of Dr. George Griffith of Llanymynech 'rightly principling the most ingenious scholars of those times [of usurpation],'[7]

1 Wales in the Seventeenth Century, p. 178.

2 See 'Wales,' III, pp. 121-124—'An Early Attempt to found a National College in Wales,' by Mr. (now Principal) J. H. Davies.

3 Cal. St. Pap., 1655, 156, 218, 262.

4 Registrum Collegii Exoniensis (ed. C. W. Boase) Introd., cxxiii. (Vol. 27 in Oxford Hist. Soc. Publics.)

5 He was the same Dr. Conant, then vice-chancellor of the University, who refused permission to Anthony à Wood to inspect the university records 'in order to the drawing up a discourse of the antiquitie of the universitie'; 'he looked upon him as a yong man, and not able to doe such a matter' (Life of Wood [pub. 1848 by Eccl. Hist. Soc.], p. 104, sub 10 April, 1660). Unfortunately for Dr. Conant's judgment, that fiddling alumnus of Merton was to develop into the learned author of the 'Antiquitates' and of the 'Athenæ.'

6 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 65b.

7 p. 600.

conveying a strong suggestion that he also had joined the ranks of the schoolmasters. These activities find confirmation in Serjeant Charlton's speech in defence of the 'teaching' clause in the Act of Uniformity in which he dwelt on the great force of education and how 'it had been an oversight in the usurped powers that they had no care in this particular whereby many young persons were secured in their judgments as to the king'[1]; there is also a sentence in the old 'Parliamentary History' quoted in the Calendar of State Papers for 1655 that the Royalists were educated by the ejected clergy,[2] an ominous loophole in the penal laws that led the Council of State on November 20 of that year to decree that 'none of that party are to keep in their houses or families any ejected ministers or fellows of colleges as chaplains or schoolmasters.'[3] Neither Gamage nor Griffith are entered as official schoolmasters in any of the records; the only conclusion is that they lived the same kind of haunted life as the dissenters under the later Conventicle Acts, liable to be reported by the army of spies and other officials subsidised by the powers that be. Apart from these clandestine seminaries there were those schools, not far short of twenty in number,[4] endowed by private benefactions during the time of the later Tudors and the early Stuarts, almost all containing clauses either in will or charter as to the due observance of religious worship according to the Anglican ritual prescribed by the State. As early as April 1641 there was a resolution of the Commons to consider the state of all existing schools in England and Wales, more especially as to abuses of their revenue and government[5]; next, on 30 Jan., 1642-1643, an act received its final sanction from the Lords by which commissioners under the Great Seal were named for the separate counties of England and Wales to try by jury certain enumerated offences by clergymen and schoolmasters[6]; and in October of the same year the Commons

1 Docts. Act Unif., ed. Gould, p. 443. Charlton was the spokesman of the Commons of the Cavalier Parlt. in their Conference with the Lords to discuss certain changes in the re-drafting of the Act.

2 p. 411.

3 Cal. St. Pap., 1655-56, p. 28.

4 These have been conveniently tabulated by Mr. Shankland in Seren Gomer, November, 1901, p. 328.

5 C. J., II, 121.

6 For this hurriedly-passed law, see Shaw, II, 179 (note 1). Not much importance is to be attached to the legislation of January, 1642-3, as it was chiefly passed through Parliament to give its representatives points of vantage in discussing the 'Oxford Treaty' with the King. [Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, pp. 309-310.]

ordered the C.P.M. to inquire after schoolmasters who had left their posts to fight for the king.[1] Though no further records describe the practical working of these enactments as far as Wales is concerned, it is inconceivable that the old Anglican schools and their masters were left altogether undisturbed. That schoolmasters were ejected is illustrated by the case of Robert Mossom of Richmond, who in 1650 read the Prayer Book in contempt of the authority of Parliament.[2] In Wales, it is seen that the northern section of the C.P.G.W., at their Wrexham session on 21 November, 1650, delegate to Col. Thomas Madryn and four of their own number, or any two of the five, to inquire into the state of all the old free schools in the counties of Anglesey and Carnarvon and 'give stop unto the profits due thereunto till further orders.'[3] The historians of the Bangor Friars' School have failed to find any special result of this inquisition, but in the years just previous the school authorities found great difficulty in gathering their revenues. Five prominent Puritans sent in an exhaustive report on the subject to the Parliament in 1648-1649, making a very strong appeal in behalf of the governing body.[4] This appeal, together with other considerations, prove how difficult it was for the most intransigent Puritans to challenge with complete success the government of institutions which had woven close into the life of the people and where so many vested interests were intrenched. On this point the fortunes of the great Ruthin foundation afford a good commentary. The C.P.G.W., sitting at that town on 19 November, 1651, allow £20 for repair of the Ruthin free school 'now in decaye,'[5] a turn of phrase that must of necessity refer to the establishment founded by Dean Gabriel Goodman; and it is certain that Thomas Challoner, 'an admirable Greek scholar,' was allowed to be elected to the mastership after his ejection from that of Shrewsbury. It was the Protector's proclamation of July 3, 1655,[6] one of the many stringent reactions of the futile Penruddock rising in March of that year, with its special reference to ministers

1 C. J., III. 270.
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1655-56, p. 134. It is interesting that a cleric of this identical name was instituted rector of Llanynys in Denbighshire at the Restoration (Pat. Rolls, 12 Charles II, Pt. III, No. 114—16 July, 1660).
3 Rawl. c. 261, p. 28 [Cymd. Llèn Reprint].
4 Barber and Lewis: Hist. Friars' School, pp. 34-37.
5 Rawl. c. 261, [31].
6 Cal. St. Pap., p. 224.

and schoolmasters formally ejected retaining their old places or securing new ones, that wrought the greatest wreck to the traditional government of these schools. Challoner himself had to undergo a new ejection, and the school itself was in danger of dispersal, judging from the regretful tone of Major-General James Berry's letter of December 21 following,[1] a letter which shows he was but imperfectly informed of the content of Challoner's teaching, 'to whom that part of the country was very much beholding for keeping up the Principles of Loyalty, which he distilled into the vast company of Gentlemen bred by him with the Learning.'[2] Challoner's career, however, was not closed: on June 24, 1656, Berry was ordered by the Council of State to allow him to keep a public school at Newport in Salop 'without being molested by the late proclamation.'[3] To attain this end, the Anglican-Royalist schoolmaster had secured testimonials in his favour from sixteen ministers and others, men of diverse record and outlook responding to the appeal of an ingenious man of sterling worth.[4] Two of them deserve especial mention. John Roberts, recently elected vicar of Llanrhaiadr yng Nghinmeirch,[5] could hardly be a deep-rooted Puritan, as he brought certificates of good character to the Triers from George Griffith, a future Bishop, and Matthew Jenkins of Gresford, a future conformist,[6] and was himself to be re-instituted to the living by the Bishop of Bangor on 17 September, 1661.[7] The history of the other, Thomas Gilbert, is far different: in 1660 he was ejected from the vicariate of Edgmund in Salop: in the same year he is found giving candid advice to Henry Thurloe, a close relative of Cromwell's powerful Secretary of State, not to cherish the forlorn hope of representing Bridgnorth in the Convention Parliament[8]; and thirty years later in an interview at Oxford, he supplied Calamy with much information about the ejected Dissenters [of England].[9] Thomas Challoner was wise in his generation

1 Thurloe St. Papers, IV, 334—Berry to Thurloe.
2 These words are *not* Berry's, but those of the Royalist David Lloyd (Memoires, p. 565).
3 Cal. St. Papers, 1655, p. 386.
4 Ibid. ibid. 5 Lamb. 997, i, f. 66.
6 Philip Henry: Diaries and Letters, p. 225 (sub 1670).
7 Bps.' Certifs., File 1, Bangor—12 Chas. II, 20 April –20 April following.
8 Eng. Hist. Rev., xxii, p. 52.
9 Alex. Gordon: Freedom after Ejection, p. 270. Gilbert was an accomplished scholar, and proved a very skilful epitaph worker to prominent Nonconformists (Wood's Life and Times, ed. Clark, II, 30, n. 6). Though he supplied some important information to the author of the 'Athenae,' Wood usually and derogatively refers to him as 'old Gilbert' or 'old father Thomas Gilbert' (ibid., III, 60, 442).

to win a certificate from such a close confidant of the Thurloes. But the difficulties that beset the schools of Bangor and Ruthin were small in comparison with the desolation of Bottwnog, founded by Bishop Rowlands in 1616. Forty years after there were no pupils ; the trustees had discontinued the school ; the tithe-revenue for two years had been detained ; and on April 3, 1656, a petition was presented by Henry Morris to the Council of State that it might be removed to Pwllheli, ' where there are frequent meetings of godly persons who would have a good influence on the youth of the place.'[1] A trustee of the school in a letter of 23 April supports the petition by enlarging on the remoteness of houses from the school at Bottwnog and the greater convenience of Pwllheli ; the only doubt arises from the terms of the Bishop's benefaction which wished the school, ' if it may be,' to be situate in the parishes either of Meyllteyrn or Bottwnog.[2] On April 25 a committee of three appointed by the Council to ' learn the fact and fitness of the request ' recommend, after again emphasising the question of inaccessibility—' built in open fields, a mile from any house, inconvenient for the diet and lodging of the scholars, the nearest town being five miles off '—that the trustees dispose as well as they are able of the present schoolhouse, build a new one at Pwllheli with a house for the master, and apply to the maintenance the funds bequeathed for the original support of Bottwnog.[3] This order was approved by the Protector on May 12, but there is no evidence that the project was even tentatively carried out. The real interest centres in the trustee and the petitioner. The first was Henry Bodvel, some members of whose family were among the most rabid Royalists in all Wales[4] ; but he himself, though not such a prominent Puritan as his neighbours Thomas Madryn or Jeffrey Parry of Rhydolion, was even more whole-hearted, as witness the licence granted to ' Bodfel House near Pwllheli ' as a ' meeting place ' for Dissenters under the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence.[5] The petitioner

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1656, p. 252.
2 Ibid. p. 297.
3 Ibid. ibid. ' tithes of £30 a year.'
4 Col. John Bodvel of Llaneigrad in Anglesey, was M.P. for that county from 1640 until he was disabled in 1644 ; joined the King's army ; among the gentlemen of Anglesey surrendering to Cols. Mytton and John Jones, in October, 1648. [J. R. Phillips : Hist. Civil War in Wales, II, Doc. cxvii B, pp. 400-401 ; W. R. Williams : Hist. Parly. Repn. of Wales, p. 3].
5 S. P. Dom., Car. II, Entry Book, 38A, p. 238. Licence granted=5 Sept., 1672.

of April 3, Henry Morris, can with a large degree of certainty be equated with Henry Maurice, the annotator of 'Canwyll y Cymry,'[1] and associated later with Llannordineio, Criccieth, Church Stretton and Brecknockshire. It should be said that a vital part of the petition consisted in his being settled as master of the resurrected school at Pwllheli. Whether this favour was granted is involved in the same mystery as the fate of the project itself: the particularly full account of Maurice's labours given by Calamy, affords, for all that, no room to mention his possible career as schoolmaster[2]; nor does his own little diary furnish a natural context to pass under review past experiences in the Puritan cause.[3] In any case, the end of his activities in that capacity and (as far as he personally was concerned) the solution of the Bottwnog-Pwllheli problem came with his approval in 1658 to the living of Llannordineio. These sidelights on the history of the old North Wales schools serve to illumine at least two obscurities: how the management of an endowed Anglican institution could be assimilated to Puritan standards by the presence of Puritan trustees; and how the utter silence of the Lambeth records prove that such schools were outside the purview of the Trustees for Maintenance, pursued their own way apart, drawing upon their ancient revenues, though liable at all times (and especially after the proclamation of 1655) to violent intrusion from without on the part of authorities who suspected treason in all and every survival of the old order of things. Down south darksome days indeed had fallen upon the ancient foundation of Cowbridge in Glamorgan when, about 1649, young men of rank and quality hailing from that district betook themselves to the church-house at Llantrithyd, there to be taught by a young Jesus undergraduate called Leoline Jenkins, himself an 'old boy' of the school. Naturally, he was very soon indicted at Quarter Sessions 'for [keeping] a seminary of rebellion and sedition.'[4] It is almost certain, too, that the William Thomas who was paid £40 a year during Propagation times for teaching at Cowbridge acted as master of a Puritan free school set up

1 Supra pp. 24-25.
2 Account, II, pp. 567-572.
3 Dr. Thos. Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon. in Wales (1883), pp. 212-218.
4 E. G. Hardy: Jesus College, pp. 115-116; John Aubrey: 'Brief Lives' (1898 edn.), ii, 7.

in the borough (an institution quite distinct from the 'grammar' school).[1] Unexpected light comes from one of the Dolben Papers at the Bodleian, a letter written on 26 December, 1665, by Bishop Hugh Lloyd of Llandaff to Archbishop Sheldon.[2] In that letter, the aged Bishop declares that a graduate of Jesus, David Lloyd by name, had since 1656 'laudably for Nine yeares taught a grammar Schoole at Cowbridge,' inevitably with the approval of the Puritan authorities. But was not this David Lloyd preceded in the mastership by an Owen William Price, a native of Montgomery who was made Scholar of Jesus on 12 October, 1648 ?[3] At any rate, the registrar of Convocation in recording a dispensation granted to Price for 'accumulating' the degree of M.A. in 1656, explains his absence from Oxford (since 1652) by his being called 'to y^e^ charge of a publicke Schoole in Wales where he hath approved himselfe very painfull and industrious in y^e^ education of youth.'[4] The exact name of this school is not even hinted at. But several considerations, especially those arising from the date and the Cowbridge-Jesus connection, argue hard in favour of Price's pedagogic sojourn in the Vale of Glamorgan. Sidelights on other South Wales schools of this type are utterly wanting, a disaster only paralleled by the almost wholesale gaps in the parish registers of the time.

Hospitals in the old sense of 'almshouses' were not only bracketed with schools in some orders of inquiry into administration set up by the Long Parliament, notably in that of 16 April, 1641,[5] but schools also often enjoyed a collateral interest under the same benefactions as hospitals; besides, both institutions were equally excepted from the appropriating clauses of many forfeiture acts and ordinances for assessment, ranging in time from the ordinance 'for sequestering notorious Delinquents' estates' of 27 March, 1643[6] to the general assessment levied on 26 January, 1659-1660.[7]

1 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, ff. 17b, 31b.
2 Bodl. MS. Add. c. 307, f. 118.
3 Foster: Al. Ox., iii, 1206; Burrows: Register, p. 177.
4 Register of Convocation marked T (1647-1659), pp. 283-284.
5 C. J., II, 124.
6 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, I, 106-117.
7 Ibid. ibid. II, 1402.
For particular acts and ordinances with their excepting clauses, see Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., I, 302-303, 530-531, 883, 895-896, 958-984, 1077.
Ibid. II, 57, 84-85, 318, 416, 490, 722, 924-925, 1095, 1142.

But it followed as a matter of course that the personnel of the hospital 'feofees' or trustees as specified in the original instruments, the then Bishop of the diocese being invariably one, was made subject to Parliamentary action, and that the peculiar Anglican flavour of the founders' directions concerning the attendance at divine service should be eliminated. These founders were in all cases orthodox conformists of the days of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts, and the most authoritative account of the 'instruments of government' was embodied in a return made by the Bishops in 1665 in the form of answers to 'instructions'[1] drawn up by the King's Secretary of State and transmitted to the diocesans through Archbishop Sheldon. They contained nine questions, the last inquiring 'what Statutes, Orders or Rules the said Hospitals are governed by'; copies of these and circumstantial answers to the other eight were to be sent up with all convenient speed—all now preserved in the Tenison MSS. at Lambeth.[2] In this paragraph an attempt will be made, after a brief account of the history and working of the respective hospitals, to describe their fortunes during the later Puritan domination. First comes that of Llanrwst, founded by Sir John Wynn of Gwydyr, and maintained by the impropriate tithes of Eglwysfach in Denbighshire, worth about £100 per annum. The number of poor men to be kept intended by the founder was twelve, all to be single persons 'at the allowance of two shillings by the weeke'; but the value of tithes seriously deteriorating during the Puritan period coupled with the founder's ordering 'a free schoole'[3] to be maintained out of the same profits, caused only ten men to be found there in 1665.[4] The heir of Gwydyr kept the administration of this charity closely in his own hands without the co-operation of other governors, and 'ordered' it mainly through his own

1 Dated 26 June, 1665 (Lamb. 639, f. 355).

2 Lamb. MS. 639. The Hospital returns are found on ff. 356-357 (St. Asaph); ff. 358-364 (Bangor); ff. 368-369 (St. David's and short summaries of the longer accounts of Bangor and St. Asaph).

3 The line of demarcation between such 'free schooles' as the Llanrwst foundation and the Puritan schools created under the Propagation Act has been discussed in the H.P.M., pp. 223-224. It is also out of the purview of this chapter to follow Archdeacon Thomas and discuss the rival claims of the Gwydyr family and Williams of Dolwyddelan to the honour of erecting this school (Hist. Dioc. of St. Asaph, 1874 Ed., pp. 566-568). Some light on the subject was thrown by a correspondent of the Liverpool 'Brython' in the issue of December 11, 1913 [Correspondence col., p. 5], and probably more in the testimony of the Bishop in 1665 that both for hospital and school 'Statutes and Orders, I heare, were intended by the Founder, but not perfected and settled' [Answer 9—Llanrwst]. Can this be adduced as additional evidence of the traditional craft of the Wynns?

4 The Bishop was assured, however, that these 10 were 'verie duly paid.'

chaplain 'Mr. W. Brickdall' at a salary of £20 per annum. The latter could be no other than the William Brigdale instituted rector of Llanrwst by the Puritan Lords in July, 1648,[1] left unmolested by both C.P.G.W. and C.A.P.P., and who requited these mercies by suffering reinstitution by the Bishop of St. Asaph on 25 March, 1661,[2] a fact signifying that services at the hospital varied not very considerably from the old Anglican standard during the Puritan rigour. The town of Bangor also enjoyed a similar institution, founded by Bishop Rowlands with a maintenance of £40 per annum for 'six poore men' whose salary also was two shillings weekly, a gown to each at Christmas, 'with some supply of bedding and fuell.' By the founder's will they were to be elected from the parishes of Amlwch, Llangristiolus, and Penmynydd in Anglesey, and those of Bangor and Meyllteyrn in Carnarvonshire. These Bangor almsmen also were to be unmarried, and were to attend morning and evening service daily 'at y^e^ cathedrall.' No other member of the Anglican order was left to perform these services[3] except Thomas Meredith, whom the Carnarvonshire sheriff describes as vicar of Bangor and the chapelry of Pentir in 1652,[4] who was also left unaffected by later Puritan inquisitors, and lived to be promoted by the Bishop of Bangor to the rectory of Llanddeiniolen on 22 November, 1660.[5] Beaumaris hospital was founded by a David Hughes with a revenue jointly with that of the school amounting to £100 per annum. The number of poor men in residence was eight, pension 1/6 per week, with a gown at Christmas; curiously, all the almsmen had to be elected from the parish of Llantrisant in Anglesey. The founder's will, in naming the Bishop of Bangor and the Lord Bulkeley as the most important feofees, evidently thought a reference to the services of the Church of England as being quite unnecessary; that such services, and after their suppression those contained in the Presbyterian 'Directory,' were read at

1 L. J., x, 368.

2 Bishops' Certifs., St. Asaph, File 14—Schedules, October, 1660—April, 1665.

3 But neither Meredith at Bangor nor Brigdale at Llanrwst would be allowed to make any use of the Common Prayer Book which had been 'taken away' by a special ordinance of Parliament on January 4, 1644-1645 (Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., I, 582 et seq.). For possible evasion of this enactment, see pp. 263-265.

4 Exch. First Fruits Ret., sent in by February, 1652. The sheriff was inexact in describing Pentir as a 'chapelry'; it was a separate vicarage at this time (infra, p. 97).

5 Bishops' Certificates, Bangor, File 1.—Sched. 20 April, 12 Chas. II, to 20 April following.

the institution is illustrated by the peculiar and somewhat unfortunate definition of Dr. Rowland Chedle, rector of Llandegfan and the chapel of St. Mary's at Beaumaris, as also 'minister of Beaumaris Asylum' for the year ending January 2, 1649-1650.[1] As the Doctor, however, was ejected by the C.P.G.W. at their Beaumaris sitting on 18 September, 1650,[2] and as both the Anglesey parochial commissioners who came to the same town on the 22 November following[3] and the sheriff who made his first-fruits return for 1651-1652 are silent about the presence of any curates to carry on his work, it can only be surmised that William Fowler, who acted for eighteen weeks in 1650-51 as chaplain to the local garrison,[4] found time to give spiritual solace to the inmates, unless Chedle himself kept up an unofficial connection with the almsmen until his death in 1654.[5] From this latter date the Triers' nominees at Llanfaethlu and especially the John Davies who came to Llandegfan in 1658 were in a position to take some interest in the Beaumaris institution. A much more circumstantial account is given of the hospital at Penmynydd, a district which already derived some advantage from the similar institution at Bangor. This was founded by Lewis Rogers, revenue £60 per annum, pay of inmates at the rate of 30 - a quarter, the number maintained 'ten poore and honest persons, two whereof to be women' out of the four parishes of Penmynydd, Ysceifiog, Pentraeth and Llanddyfnan, always provided 'y^t each person soe to be chosen be of y^e age of fifty yeares or upwards & be of honest fame and conversation and have not been publickly reprehended or punished by lawfull authority for theft whoredom drunkenes or blasphemy at any time w^tin y^e space of three yeares before their said election,' the kindred of the founder to have first choice and preference.[6] Should any of the ten have children under the age of twelve they were before admittance to the hospital to give sufficient security to the collector and paymaster of the revenue rents that none of these children

1 Audit Office, Decld. Acct., bundle 367, roll 3.
2 Rawl. c. 261, Reprint, p. 20.
3 Lamb. 902, f. 38.
4 £25 were ordered to be paid him at the Conway session of the C.P.G.W. on July 30, 1651 (Rawl. c. 261, [30]).
5 Exch. First Fruits Cert. of 'second admission' of Wm. Lewis to the living of Llanfaethlu and the chapelry of Llanfwrog in 1661 [Pt. I, No. 1]. Chedle's name and the date of his death are introduced because for two years he held the living of Llanfaethlu in conjunction with Llandegfan (L. J., X, 383).
6 Article 2 in Bishop's copy.

were chargeable to the parish out of which he or she should be chosen. 'Nor shall it be lawfull or tolerable for any of y^e^ parties hereafter to be chosen and placed into y^e^ said Hospitall or Almshouse aforesaid at any time to receive or take into their roomes or houses any inmate or inhabitant their to reside and continue by y^e^ space of fourteen days upon paine of expulsion.'[1] Article 4 provided that none of the ten should be already married to a person under the age of fifty, and should they after election marry a person under that age, then the hospital was to know them no more. Discipline was rigid, and much of the orderly success of the institution depended upon the discretion of one of the inmates who, if a legible writer and distinct reader, was constituted 'president' or 'register,' in virtue of which he was to have the best and largest room in the house. He had to put in writing any breach of the hospital ordinances together with the day of the default and the names of the witnesses, all such evidence to be delivered to the collector on the quarter-day next following. The 'president' also, as three-quarters of the defaulters' fines for breach of rules were distributed among the residue of the inmates, not only received his 'part and share' of that among the rest, but the undivided quarter in addition.[2] It was well that the 'orders and ordinances' were on one day in each year, namely on Good Friday, openly read over by the 'president' in his room in the hearing of his fellows 'to y^m^ end that they and every of them may y^m^ better know and remember w^t^ they are to observe and keep.'[3] The only limit on fines levied for swearing, drinking, brawling and fighting was that those incurred within the quarter year should not exceed one-half of the quarter's pension; further, seven amercements arising out of the aforesaid offences within the space of one year meant that 'he or she stand at y^m^ discretion of y^e^ s^d^ Governors . . . to be expulsed.'[4] Absence from the hospital without leave from the revenue collector for the time being 'by y^e^ space of 3 dayes and nights together' incurred a penalty of 12d. and 6d. for each day over three. A whole quarter's pension was forfeited if any inmate should 'begg and aske alms as a beggar'[5]; fines in all cases were

1 Art. 3.
2 Articles 10 and 13.
3 Article 12.
4 Article 6.
5 Article 9.

deducted from pay.[1] All rooms were to be kept in 'reparation'; if not, the cost of repairs meant another deduction. The two women were expected to be 'intentive and take care of any y^e^ s^d^ persons their brethren whom God shall visit w^th^ sicknesse to y^e^ best of their ability and powers.'[2] Fortunately, no member of the house was to be finally expelled unless breaches of discipline were proved by at least three sufficient witnesses before three of the appointed Governors.[3] Article 8, that dealing with the death or removal of inmates before the full quarter-days of Michaelmas, Christmas, the Annunciation and Midsummer, presents an egregious self-contradiction: the opening sentences declare that no new person shall be placed in the hospital before 'one whole quarter of a yeare be fully ended' and that the unused quarter's pension be divided in proportion of one-third to the president and the residue to be kept in stock 'untill there be necessary occasion for y^e^ same'; the concluding section states that the same quarter's salary shall be paid 'to y^e^ use of the deceased' (meaning no doubt to his family) or to the benefit 'of them y^t^ shall be expulsed.' The statement, made also by the Bishop in his summary of the Penmynydd clauses, that the president 'hath no additional allowance'[4] might be technically correct, but is at variance with his beneficent interest in fines, and the advantage accruing to him (should the introductory words of Article 8 have any operating force) from natural causes or the sins of humanity. The religious clauses, on the other hand, are unequivocally clear. Article 13 imposed upon the president the important duty of reverently reading divine prayers every morning and evening to the rest of the inmates 'except upon such days as service is said at y^e^ Parish Church' of Penmynydd. On such days and on the Lord's Day they were to attend diligently there unless there was manifest let to the contrary, 'noe extra sicknes or reasonable cause appearinge.' The first neglect of this rule incurred a fine of 4d., the next 6d., the third 12d., the fourth 5/-, the fifth 10/-, the sixth 20/-, the seventh brought suspension of a quarter's pay, while any offence over seven within one year meant the certain pain of expulsion.[5] The men who

1 Article 10.
2 Article 9.
3 Article 11.
4 Lamb. 639, f. 369. 'Addition allance' in MS.
5 These fines are elaborated in Art. 5.

conducted these services in pre-Propagation days were either Dr. Robert White, who held the prebendal stall of Penmynydd in the cathedral church of Bangor or the curate, William Thomas, who was found serving the cure according to the Parliamentary surveyors of the 'Bangor deanery' in their report to the Registrar for Sale on 7 September, 1649[1]; and as the former was one of the most important governors of the hospital, it is likely that the last-mentioned clause was meticulously observed. Although to the retrospect made by the Anglesey Sheriff in 1651-52, White appeared 'a good ancient scholler and preacher,'[2] in the Beaumaris sitting of the C.P.G.W. held on 18 September, 1650, he was definitely ejected from all his ecclesiastical promotions in Anglesey,[3] partly, no doubt, because of the ardent Cavalier sympathies which found him ranged with the county squires of the island against the Puritan occupation of Col. John Jones of Maesygarnedd and other of the Parliamentary officers in 1648[4]; and by the time that the parochial commissioners came to sit at the Beaumaris Shire Hall on 22 November, 1650, the curate Thomas, who is not reported by the jurors as having been ejected by the Propagators, and had most probably been removed by death, had been replaced by a Richard Wynne, 'who doth frequently preach there and hath the small tythes to the yearly value of £8.'[5] which position and salary, as far as the records go, remained unaffected until the Restoration. As Richard Owen Tudor,[6] the reigning squire of Penmynydd, was the most influential of the hospital governors—and though his name figures as a commissioner for Anglesey in the ordinance of 23 June, 1647, for the 'raising of moneys' for the Parliament's forces under Fairfax[7] surrounded by those of men who were prominent in the Anglesey insurrection of the following year, yet the absence of his name from the delinquent list of 2 October, 1648,[8] and its appearance in the commission for the army assessment of 7 December, 1649[9] prove that his loyalty to the Puritan

1 Lamb. 902, f. 59. 2 Exch. First Fruits Return—by 3 February, 1651-1652.
3 Rawl. c. 261, Reprint, p. 20.
4 J. R. Phillips: Hist. Civil War, II, Doct. cxvii B, p. 401.
5 Lamb. 902, f. 40. 6 Article 1 in Bishop's copy—MS. has 'Tyddur
7 [illegible]
8 J. [illegible]
9 F[illegible]
The punctuation of this ordinance is faulty: instead of 'Richard Owen, Theodore Owen, Holland, Owen' it should read 'Richard Owen Theodore, Owen Holland,

government was exceptional in an Anglesey man—it must be concluded that the conduct of the services at this hospital and their prudent assimilation to accepted Puritan forms were supervised to some real effect. Probably the best known of all the hospitals, again in the diocese of Bangor, was that at Ruthin, founded in 1590 by Dr. Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster. It was maintained by lands and tithes in Ruthin and Llanrhydd valued at about £80 per annum 'communibus annis.' Ten men and two women were in residence, all to be single persons, each receiving for his or her upkeep 12d. per week; upon every vacancy, two persons out of any of the two contributory parishes together with those of Llanelidan and Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd were presented to the President of the Governors, the Bishop of Bangor for the time being, 'who hath the greatest Power' and whose privilege it was to nominate one of them according to his discretion. The head of the hospital was called 'Guardian' or 'Warden,' and received a salary of £26 13s. 4d. by the year; the right of presentation lay with the Dean and Chapter of Westminster; he had to be 'a priest by ordination according to the form prescribed in y' church of England'; in addition to the Wardenship, he was by himself or through sufficient curates to supervise the several cures of Ruthin and Llanrhydd. The aforesaid salary for governing the hospital and serving the two cures of souls was complemented by the possession of a dwelling-house and outhouses in the town called the 'Cloisters.' Dr. David Lloyd, the sometime Anglican warden, was ejected in 1650[1]; in 1652, the Denbighshire Sheriff reports the living of Ruthin, which went with the wardenship, as vacant[2]; and the negative force of the evidence associating Ellis Rowlands of Llanelidan with the hospital will be discussed in a later context.[3] It follows that unless Thomas Challoner, the master of the adjoining grammar school, exercised some vague jurisdiction over the almsmen until he was in turn ejected, that this hospital fell into the headless state of the Bangor and Beaumaris institutions in which, to the implied disgust of the Bishop, there were neither 'Master, Warden, Prior *or* Governor'; or that, until the

1 Rawl. c. 261, [20]; at the Wrexham Meeting, 16 July.
2 Exch. First Fruits Ret. of that year.
3 infra, p. 113.

arrival of the Puritan minister Robert Lloyd to the town in 1658,[1] it had to adopt some form of autonomy analogous to that which obtained at Penmynydd. At the Restoration, matters naturally reverted to their old groove, and on August 5, 1665, the date of the Bishop's report, the old post, from which David Lloyd, the D.C.L. who also held the living of Llangynhafal, had been ejected, was in the hands of a John Lloyd, M.A., whom the same Bishop in his list of 'inlyer pluralists' had to admit was also rector of Marchwiel, comportioner of Llansannan, and prebendary of St. Asaph.[2] From the large diocese of St. David's it is reported on July 12 of the same year—"nothing of any Hospitall to be found, but only some darke records of an Hospitall and College at Swansey, but now wholly lost." The Llandaff bishop is utterly silent.

NOTE: HENRY NORRIS AND EDWARD DANTESIE.

In a letter intercepted by the authorities and dated 11 April, 1654, the former person is referred to as a 'schoolmaster' concerned in subscribing a petition against the Protectorate and being indicted to appear, with Vavasor Powell and others, before the Montgomeryshire Sessions that spring (Thurloe St. Papers, II, 226). The present writer cherished a belief that this 'Norris' was a careless transcript of 'Morris' made by Birch when editing the original Thurloe Collection in 1742. This would involve the very sanguine assumption that this 'Morris' was Henry Maurice of Lleyn, the only known Puritan of that name flourishing at the time in Wales, and schoolmaster therefore in 1654, most probably at Bottwnog itself (assuming the validity of the Lambeth argument developed on pp. 66-67); this in turn, supported by the general non-Puritan atmosphere of the peninsula, would demand as a corollary the decline of the school under his headship and the very natural desire to seek the patronage of the Puritans of Pwllheli, numerous enough even in 1672 in that town and the near neighbourhood, counting 'teachers' and 'meeting-places' as having separate licences, to take out nine such documents under the Declaration of Indulgence (St. Papers Dom., Car. II., Entry Book 38A. pp. 238, 248). And it should be noted that out of the fourteen persons mentioned in the Thurloe letter, Norris alone has an English name; if he were indeed 'Norris,' not a single contemporary record but this refers to any Puritan of that name, much less as narrowed down to one profession; of the new world of characters, many of them hitherto obscure, brought into view by the researches of Miss L. F. Brown in her 'Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men' (1911) not one answers to the name of Norris. One great objection to the Maurice theory is that he is nowhere else associated in the remotest manner either with Montgomeryshire or with Vavasor Powell and his supporters. A more insuperable difficulty is that a close examination of the original MS. of the letter in the Bodleian (Vol. XIII—Rawl. MS. A. 13, 153) reveals that Birch made no mistake.

1 Supra, Denbighshire list on p. 22.

2 Lamb. 639, f. 303. The 'a' in the text makes John Lloyd unnecessarily obscure. He had been rector of Marchwiel since June 1, 1648 (Lib. Inst., Assaphe, f. 155) and remained unmolested until the Restoration (see especially Exch. Ret. for 1652, where he is described as 'present parson of Marchwyell'). 'Inlyer pluralists' were pluralists who lived 'within' the diocese as opposed to 'outlyers.'

and that the unknown writer unmistakably had some person named 'Norris' in mind. This same Norris appears in the Introduction to 'Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd' (II, lxx), derived, it is evident, from Birch's transcript; but it was not really germane to the biographer's argument to make any further digression after this mysterious schoolmaster. Before leaving this problem, it is well to say—a fact that may ultimately turn out to be of some importance—that Birch has not dealt with the original too faithfully: the Rawlinson fragment, undoubtedly, reads 'Noris' and not 'Norris.' As to Edward Dantesie (a variant of Dauncey) he seems to have been schoolmaster at New Radnor for some time in 1654-1655, as in the latter year he was in receipt of £14 derived from the 1654 tithe-arrears of Llanfihangel Cefnllys in the same county (testimony of Roger Thomas in the Cefnllys Exchequer case—Bills and Answers, Radnor, No. 21, Michaelmas, 13 Chas. II). Dantesie could not very well have held that post during the Propagation, seeing that another schoolmaster, David Evans, proved to the London Commissioners for Sequestrations that he had acted in that capacity up to the expiry of the Propagation Act and received from them an order (dated 16 November, 1654) for the liquidation of his arrears (St. Pap. Dom. Interreg., G.27, f. 165; Cal. Comm. Comp., I, p. 709). To Dantesie there is no further reference either in the Commonwealth Exchequer Papers or in the Lambeth Books; it is only known from the Cefnllys Restoration case that he was alive in 1661 and was ready to produce the aforesaid order by which he was to benefit to the sum of £14. The order itself is not entered in the record, and it is only by an examination of its exact terms that one can finally decide whether Dantesie was a Propagation usher under Evans or a new appointment made by the Triers. All turns on the right interpretation of '*then* schoolmaster.'

V.

TRUSTEES—SEQUESTRATORS.

More than one reference has perforce been made to the important body of men who acted as vicarious patrons of numerous sequestered livings and made arrangements for the payment of ministers and schoolmasters approved by the Triers. Their jurisdiction was five years older than that of the Triers, and embodied the considered judgment of the Rump on the vexing problem of maintenance as declared in the Act of 8 June, 1649.[1] By this instrument was vested the impropriate interests—whether rents or tithes, parsonages or prebends, oblations or obventions, advowsons or donatives —belonging to the late archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, beside the whole first-fruits and tenths of the entire kingdom, upon thirteen persons in trust for supplying salaries and augmentations to those 'settled or confirmed in living or place' by Parliament or its delegated committees. These valuable interests had been specially reserved from the ordinances for Sale of Bishops' lands passed on 9 October[2] and 17 November, 1646,[3] and from the allied and complementary Act for Sale of Dean and Chapter lands dated 30 April, 1649,[4] while the Parliament's order of January 27, 1647-48, had given unmistakable proof of the desire to dispose of them for the State maintenance of ministers[5] which was consummated in the Trustees' ordinance a year later. Certain manor and demesne lands possessed by the hierarchy were excepted from the seisin of the Trustees both by the Act of 1649 and the succeeding ordinance of 5 April, 1650,[6] but by the Protectorate ordinance of 2 September, 1654, 'for the better maintenance and encouragement of preaching ministers,'[7] all these outstanding possessions were added to the

1 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 147 et seq.
2 Ibid. ibid. I, 883 et seq.
3 Ibid. ibid. I, 895-896 et seq.
4 Ibid. ibid. II, 81-104.
5 C. J., IV, 446.
6 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, 369-378.
7 Ibid. ibid. ibid. 1000-1006; also Cal. St. Pap., 1654, p. 361.

trust unless they had been exposed for sale and transferred to third parties by the Act for Sale of 16 October, 1650. Thus was established what Dr. W. A. Shaw in one place calls, not altogether accurately, ' the Commonwealth anticipation of Queen Anne's Bounty '[1] and in another, with greater correctness, ' a board of ecclesiastical commissioners for a completely disestablished and a partially disendowed English Church.'[2] One proviso in the enactment of 2 September, 1654, however, introduced the restriction that ' this ordinance . . . shall not extend to diminish . . . any augmentation of a greater value than £100 per annum . . . already granted by His Highness and Council ' without their express consent; cities and market towns also were to receive specially favourable treatment in the degree of augmentation.[3] And there was danger that some of the Trustees' wide range of jurisdiction might be affected by the Act of 4 October, 1656,[4] and by the appointment of a committee on the 31 October to consider of new ways and means of upholding and settling the maintenance of ministers.[5] The termination of that Parliament left the matter unsettled, and the Trustees were left practically unmolested until in May 1660 they made voluntary cession of their trust.[6] The appointment of the Trustees in 1649 meant eventually the supersession of the previous double panel of trustees who had managed the episcopal and allied revenues under the aforesaid acts of 1646 and 1649, but the new Trustees were themselves subject to superior committees who gave direction as to the amounts of money to be paid to particular ministers and schoolmasters. From 1649 to 24 June, 1650, this supervising authority was the C.P.M.; for some obscure reason, the C.P.M. was substituted by the Committee for the Reformation of the Universities from June 1650, to 21 April, 1652; at that date the C.P.M. was revived and remained in power until the dissolution of the Rump in

1 II, p. 230.

2 Ibid., p. 195. It is Chap. IV in Dr. Shaw's work (published in 1900) that supplies the only authoritative account of the province of the Trustees. Unfortunately, his references are found passim in 111 pages devoted to general questions of patronage and finance from 1642 to 1660. Throughout he deals with guiding principles; and with the exception of a page or two about the C.P.G.W. (pp. 227-229), he draws his deductions exclusively from English counties. Those who had hoped for a newer and more exhaustive treatment in the chapter contributed by him to the Camb. Mod. Hist., Vol. IV (pub. in 1907), were doomed to disappointment (see pp. 454-5, 457).

3 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, p. 1002.

4 C. J., VII, 432.

5 Ibid. 448, 450, 580.

6 Lamb. 989, f. 196. The ' practically ' derives its force from the appointment of the revived C.P.M. of 1659-1660 as financial advisers to the Trustees (infra, pp. 94-95).

April 1653, to be revived a second time with that remnant's re-assembly in June 1659. It adds to the difficulty of unravelling the tangled records of the time that the C.P.M. was not altogether dissolved between 1650 and 1652, as numerous difficulties about institutions to various livings and disputes arising therefrom were referred to it by the Commons and the Council of State.[1] The other committee had originated in July 1646, in a desire of the Parliament to undo all nominations to masterships of colleges at Oxford made whilst the place was a garrison for Charles; these powers were enlarged in 1647; and two years later the care of regulating the sister University of Cambridge was deputed to the same body.[2] During this complex system of trilateral administration by Trustees and two committees Wales, almost providentially for the student of its religious history, enjoyed practical autonomy under the Act for the Propagation; and only two references to the principality, both indirect, emerge from the records of the Universities' committee detailed in Lambeth MSS. 978, 1104, and in the Sion College MS. somewhat incorrectly described by Dr. Shaw.[3] One was an augmentation of £100 a year granted on 22 January, 1650-51,[4] to Rowland Nevett, of Oswestry, who was *of* Wales but not *in* it; the other was a sum of £92 paid to Dr. Michael Roberts as Principal of Jesus for the years 1650-1651.[5] It was before the C.P.M. again, constituted a court of appeal from the decisions of the C.P.C.W., that the Petitioners of South Wales fought their persistent but unsuccessful battle with Harrison and Creed until the dissolution of the Rump.[6] The latter's fall meant the end of its derivative committees; and the appointing and approving powers of a body which had from 1644 to 1649 settled more than 130 ministers to preach the gospel in Wales[7] devolved in March 1654 upon the Triers, a change which accounted for the boastful outburst of an ejected Anglican in the Midlands that the C.P.M. 'was no legal authority.'[8] The Trustees, on the other hand, founded

1 Shaw, II, p. 221.
2 G. B. Tatham: The Puritans in Power, Chaps. IV and V.
3 Vol. II, App. IV, sub sect. 5, p. 466; the MS. is properly lettered A.R.C., L 40/2, E. 16.
4 f. 439; corroborated by Lamb. MS. 978, f. 519.
5 ff. 390-391. The order was made on 26 September, 1650.
6 H.P.M., Chap. XVII.
7 Ibid. pp. 63-70.
8 In 1655—Cal. St. Pap., p. 170.

by force of an ordinance of Parliament, remained, absorbed the extensive rights of patronage wielded by the C.R.U. and the C.P.M. and, subject to the Protector's interference, exercised full presentation rights to all livings once in the gift of the bishops and chapters. In one respect the powers of the Trustees fell short of the control once exercised by the C.P.M., who made money grants from livings impropriate in lay delinquents as well as in bishops, and made inroads upon the profits of ordinary county clergymen equally with the capitular interests: there is no evidence (for Wales at least) that the allocations of maintenance made by the Trustees went outside the trust specifically vested in them. Out of numerous examples three typical cases can be cited in proof. An augmentation of £60 was granted to Rice Powell of Boughrood on 31 December, 1658, made up of eight separate portions[1]—£11 from Beguildy, £9 from Llandilo'r Graban, £7 13s. 4d. from Llanelweth, £4 from the Radnor Llanstephan, £9 from Llandegley, £13 6s. 2d. from New Radnor, £4 0s. 6d. from Llandrindod, and £2 from the prebend of St. Harmons—each one of which was an impropriate interest once in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of St. David's.[2] Henry Walter's maintenance of £100 at Newport was derived from the rectorial tithes of Bassaleg (£32 9s. 0d.), those of St. Peter's in the Moor amounting to £21 6s. 8d., Newport (£4) and the tithes of Matherne (£41 4s. 4d.), all impropriate interests either of the Bishop of Llandaff or of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester.[3] Similarly an augmentation of £40 was granted to William Jones of Denbigh on August 28, 1657, compounded of £20 from the rectory of Diserth and the rest from the tithes of one township in the parish of Llansantffraid G.C., and of another in the parish of Llanelian, which brought in £10 each,[4] all ancient possessions of the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph.[5] In each of these three cases there were extra-hierarchical rectories lying nearer which could supply the necessary revenues. As a guide to their financial arrangements the Trustees referred to the surveys of all such

1 These are carefully tabulated in Lamb. 992, f. 118; 995, f. 478.
2 Lamb. 905, ff. 22-37 (passim). Report of Parliamentary surveyors presented on 8 November, 1649.
3 Lamb. 992, f. 23; 993, f. 173. For the surveys see 910, f. 35; 913, ff. 762-763. Walter was to get £100, but no computation will put the total made by the Trustees higher than £99.
4 Lamb. 992, f. 45; 993, f. 316.
5 For surveys see Lamb. 902, ff. 5, 9, 12.

possessions made under the ordinances of 1646 and 1649, presented to the Registrar-Accountant on various dates between 1647 and 1650, and reporting who the present incumbent was on the particular livings, the present rent, the present tenant of the tithes and profits, the maintenance of the present incumbent, and a detailed account of all charges issuing out of the premises. There is a specific instance on October 29, 1654, of the Trustees ordering their solicitor to make inquiry after the survey of seven livings in Monmouth belonging either to the Bishop or to the Dean and Chapter of Llandaff,[1] and another of 23 December, 1659, quoting the £55 6s. 8d. yearly value of tithes arising out of the prebend of Clyro in Radnor assessed by the surveyors of St. David's (Dean and Chapter).[2]

The Trustees had been in existence for thirteen months before the Propagation Act in Wales came into operation, but as their procedure was in course of crystallisation and the former Trustees for Sale of Bishops' Lands, etc., were in power until April 1650, not a single reference to Wales appears in the pre-Propagation pay-lists. The second ordinance (that of 5 April 1650) for the regulation of the Trustees' powers naturally contained an express clause that 'they were not to intermeddle with the Rents, Issues, and Profits of any of the impropriations and Revenues of North-Wales and South-Wales.'[3] There is, however, in Lamb. MS. 967, f. 270, an instructive reference to the Act of 31 May, 1650, 'for the better payment of augmentations' out of the estates of various impropriators,[4] an instrument which perforce excluded Wales from its purview, but nevertheless all arrears which had accumulated before 25 March, 1650 (the day when the C.P.G.W. entered on their work) 'as were due and payable to the trustees' had to be punctiliously accounted for. On May 19, 1656, the sum of £206 1s. 0d. is ordered to be paid to the responsible officials for 'their extraordinary pains, trouble, and expenses in the execution of their duties and in full satisfaction' of claims which had apparently been the cause of some agitating discussion for six years.[5]

1 Lamb. 1008, f. 28.
2 Lamb. 987, ff. 209-210.
3 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, p. 377.
4 Ibid., II, p. 391.
5 Lamb. 967, f. 270.

On the expiry of that Act and of its continuing period, and in virtue of the powers granted them by the double legislation of 1649 and 1650, the Trustees at once entered automatically as legatees of the impropriate possessions of the old hierarchy of Wales. As an urgent matter of business they decided to appoint four Receivers, usually known as the 'Receivers of Wales,'[1] whose main duty was to collect all arrears of rents and profits pending on the day of their appointment, 'receive' the revenues from the 'farmers' to whom the sequestered premises had been 'set and let,' and pay out of the proceeds the salaries and augmentations sanctioned by the Trustees. The exact date when the C.P.G.W. finally surrendered its authority was 25 March, 1654,[2] though a minute of the Trustees' proceedings on April 3, 1656, for retrospective payment of salaries make the Receivers to start work on 25 December, 1653[3]; and on 2 June, 1654, Col. Philip Jones is asked to advise with the Trustees 'from time to time concerning the tithes of Glamorgan to be let by them that they may get the best information concerning the same.'[4] This last entry furnishes good indirect proof that the transition from Propagators to Triers and Trustees was a time of considerable chaos and great difficulty; many letters, tinged with bitterness, passed to and fro; there was endless friction between dispossessed officials and the new Receivers; and the latter were often in the forced predicament of being unable to give complete and satisfactory accounts to their superiors in London. 1655, according to Lamb. MS. 1008, proved a most troublesome year. On January 8 a strongly-worded order was issued to the Receivers that all their accounts must be in the hands of the Trustees[5]; on February 1 the aforesaid Receivers appear before them in person, only to be further respited till the 8th[6]; one of them, Griffith Bowen, on the same day was ordered to consult James Phillips of Tregibby and Col. Philip Jones, both members of the first Protectorate Parliament, in order to arrive at 'a particular of the revenue of Wales'[7]; on St. David's Day Jones reports that his

1 Lamb. 967, f. 268.
2 Lamb. 974, ff. 33-35.
3 Lamb. 967, f. 268.
4 Lamb. 1017, f. 30.
5 f. 108.
6 f. 121.
7 f. 144.

papers being in Wales, he 'will send for them to be here within a month.'[1] The Trustees were determined that no interregnum should justify misappropriation of arrears: on March 19 they issue an order that the Receivers were to give in the names of all such persons reputed to have been employed in the receipt of any rents or profits since 25 March, 1653, the day of the Propagation Act's legal expiration[2]; on June 28 they instruct the same officials 'to take copy of all such acquittances as shall be produced unto them by any Tenant for money paid to any former person and not accompted for to these Trustees.'[3] Also they were to give in the names of all persons wilfully detaining rents; summons were to issue against all tenants of tithes refusing to produce leases; when these were produced, copies were to be taken of them 'with all carefulness and circumspection'; a caution is finally added that the leases should be free from 'razures' or any other alterations.[4] Nor were the Trustees, in those days of many dishonest officials, ready to trust too fully the Receivers themselves, for on 20 March, still in 1655, the latter were asked to subscribe bonds of security to the amount of £8,000 each, 'each Receiver on his security for himself and not one for the other.'[5] Other expedients for clearing up the intricate financial muddle were not left untried: on April 29 Cradock is desired to give in names of some gentlemen in Wales whose advice and assistance the Trustees may count on 'in the management of the Revenue of Wales'[6]; on July 3 they circularise fourteen prominent laymen in South Wales, mostly old C.P.G.W., to supply the Trustees' lack of knowledge concerning the revenue of impropriate rectories 'and what distribution there hath been of any part thereof.'[7] A similar letter had been sent to North Wales about a week before, the names of the 'gentlemen' there to be filled in by Col. Philip Jones,[8] a further testimony to his widespread authority during the early Protectorate. Probably in consequence of this last circular there appeared in person before the Trustees the sometime Treasurer of the C.P.G.W.

1 f. 146.
2 f. 165.
3 f. 280.
4 f. 165.
5 f. 166.
6 f. 183.
7 f. 265.
8 Lamb. 1008, f. 260. June 25, 1655.

in North Wales, Daniel Lloyd of Wrexham, in company again of Col. Philip Jones, 'to give them satisfaction and what information he could in the premises.'[1] By October 26 Jones himself desires to advise with them concerning the ecclesiastical revenue of South Wales falling 'within the charge' of the Trustees; the clerk desires him to appoint his own time and 'these Trustees shall be ready to give him a meeting.'[2] But in a return made in 1656 by the same Trustees to the Commissioners of the Treasury of the revenue in their hands, they had not even then received 'a clean accompt' from the treasurers either from the Propagators of the four northern counties of England or from those of North and South Wales.[3] However, by April 3 in that year the situation had improved, and as a token of their gratitude and 'upon consideration of the extraordinary expenses the Receivers of Wales have been at in the year 1655,' not only is their £50 yearly salary paid, but also expenses incurred by the four amounting to £71 5s. 2d.,[4] to be followed by supplementary expenses of £68 16s. 0d., on May 22.[5] Nor were the Trustees forgetful of the 'portions of tenths' that were due from certain possessors of benefices which usually 'stood charged' with such payments. The North Wales C.P.G.W. by an unusual oversight had allowed these incidents to be paid to the Receiver-General in London up to their meeting at Conway on 30 July, 1651; then they issued an order that their own Treasurer, according to the express provisions of the Propagation Act, was to receive them, and formulated a demand that the London Receiver 'from 25 March, 1650, to this time do make a just accompt to the said Treasurer of what is in his hands and make due payment thereof.'[6] Apparently some technical difficulties arose, or another arrangement not recorded in the Rawlinson MS. was made, as the Trustees on May 29, 1654-5, are informed that 'the late Receiver of Tenthes' in *Wales* was Thomas Critchley,[7] whom Palmer thinks was an old Parliamentary captain,

1 Lamb. 1008, f. 279.
2 Ibid. f. 337.
3 Lamb. 974, ff. 33-35.
4 Lamb. 967, f. 265.
5 Ibid. f. 270.
6 Rawl. c. 261, Reprint, p. 31.
7 Lamb. 971, f. 108. 'Crathly' (f. 108); 'Cratchly' (f. 121); 'Chuitskley' in Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, p. 991.

steward of Bromfield and Yale in 1649,[1] and uncle of the Joseph Critchley who made the voluminous notes of sermons delivered in Wrexham parish church in 1655-1656.[2] He was asked to deliver up his accounts and arrears by June 20[3] and a further order of July 2 requested him to pay such to the Treasurer by 31 July.[4] This most probably accounts for the £83 3s. 6d. opposite Wales as Tenths in the Trustees' report to the Treasury Commissioners in the beginning of 1656, although here again they regret that the account from Wales is not so 'direct' as ought to be the case.[5] It is abundantly clear from the phraseology of Lamb. 971, f. 87, that from March 1655 henceforward these small portions should be collected by their own Receivers. Critchley suffered no loss, as he had been nine months before this date transformed from being a Receiver of Tenths into a sub-commissioner for sequestrations in the six counties of North Wales.[6] It is not likely that the salaries and augmentations of ministers and schoolmasters were regularly paid during this medley of cross-references and cross-purposes. The fortunes of schoolmasters have been dealt with in another work.[7] As for ministers, Randall Proudlove at Holt, according to a petition presented to the Protector and Council in May 1655, continued his labours there after the expiry of the Propagation Act 'without salary,'[8] and on February 26, 165$\frac{4}{5}$, £20 was allotted 'forthwith without delay' to Edward Carver of Tenby on account of 'necessity.'[9] Two months later such arrears of salary had accumulated to Stephen Love of Haverfordwest that the Trustees order their Receivers to pay him £52 'by way of loan.'[10] £40 arrears were also due to Adam Hawkins of St. Ismells on February 12 of the same year.[11]

As all and every money arrangement made by the Trustees was subject to the approval of the Protector and Council, a supervision thorough and comprehensive as the Lambeth

1 Hist. Older Noncon. of Wrexham, p. 4.
2 Rawl. c. 261, ff. 1-108 (obverso); see reference by J. H. Davies in Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, Introd. li.
3 Lamb. 971, f. 108.
4 Ibid. f. 121.
5 Lamb. 974, ff. 33-35.
6 Cal. Comm. Compounding, I, p. 686.
7 H.P.M., pp. 244-245.
8 Cal. St. Pap., 1655, p. 194. No further information whatsoever is forthcoming about Proudlove.
9 Lamb. 972, f. 119.
10 Ibid. f. 163.
11 Ibid. f. 109.

MSS. and the State Papers bear testimony, it is difficult to hold them primarily responsible for either the virtue of generosity or the vice of niggardliness. Schoolmasters fared as badly under them as under the C.P.G.W.; and the original salary of the Receivers—£50 per annum[1]—was unduly low when their unpleasant duties and necessarily long journeys are taken into consideration. Not even the generous allowances for the arduous work of 1655 referred to above, reinforced by the more handsome payments made for 'incident charges' on May 11, 1658,[2] brought them within the range of the 10d. in the £ commission by which the English receivers seem to have been paid.[3] It is not surprising to read in Lamb. MS. 989, under the date April 21, 1659, that two of the Receivers for Wales pray 'further allowance for incident charges expended in their receipt besides what is already allowed.'[4] The Trustees could not see their way to recommend such a payment; but on March 20, 1659-60, they introduce the generous basis of paying them 1 - in every £ of the revenue within their charge, 'without,' however, 'any further expectation for . . . expences.'[5] Even the great influence in 1659 of 'Lord John Jones' [of Maesygarnedd] was not able to get better terms than these for one of the Sontleys of Wrexham who was given one of the vacant receiverships in April of that year.[6] As for ministers, the original intention in the Act of 1649 was that each should receive £100 or thereabouts per annum, and this was the ideal observed throughout the administration of the Trustees; it is this also which gives point and pungency to the otherwise ponderous rejoinder of the Presbyterian ministers to the Bishops at the Savoy Conference of 1661—'while the Usurper would quickly have brought livings to that competency as would have maintained able preachers . . . we find you charging them as desiring inordinately the honours and wealth of the world that would have had all able ministers to have had £100 or £80 per annum apiece.'[7] Some ministers had to be content with much less. For example, it was well that the Pembrokeshire parochial

1 Lamb. 967, f. 268.
2 Lamb. 992, f. 84; 995, f. 191.
3 Lamb. 974, ff. 307-314.
4 f. 46 [Entry G. 26].
5 Lamb. 987, f. 284.
6 Lamb. 989, f. 49 [Entry K. 27].
7 Docts. Act Unif., ed. Gould, p. 311.

commissioners in 1650 certified the living of Tenby to be worth £35 by the year,[1] as the largest augmentation made to Edward Carver was the £7 reserved him out of the rectory of Llanhowell and £7 out of the rectory of St. Edren's (both in the original allocation of the C.P.G.W.), £4 on February 19, $165\frac{4}{5}$, out of the profits of the rectory of Jeffreston, and £4 in 1658 out of the tithes of Clydey—£22 in all, and not £21 as added up in Lamb. MS. 992.[2] It remains a mystery why the £52 a year out of the impropriate rectory of Mydrim settled by the C.P.M. upon the Richard Jewell who came to Tenby in 1644 and was ejected by the C.P.G.W. in 1650 were not transferred to the credit of Carver.[3] A group of prominent ministers in Monmouth get £100 each—Walter at Newport, Symes at Chepstow, Abbott at Abergavenny, and Cradock at Usk.[4] The case of the latter is interesting and peculiar, and affords an illustration of how the dry Lambeth records are not able to conceal the human glamour of a great Puritan's personality. On February 21, 1654-5, Cradock, himself a Trier, was solemnly tried and approved for the living of Usk[5] and on the following 9 May for the vicarage of Llangwm.[6] This arrangement, though quite consonant with the policy of proximate pluralism which circumstances forced upon the authorities, was felt to be too anomalous when vested in the person of one of their own number, and in 1658 he is described as 'minister of Uske' only.[7] In fact, Cradock had not been able to 'enjoy the fruite' of the Usk allocation 'in regard of his discontinuance from the said place and his residence at Jameses [one of the London parishes of St. James]'; however, on finding that 'he hath been absent from Jameses neare halfe each yeare for these three yeares last past' preaching the gospel in West Monmouth, the Trustees proffered him £72 in satisfaction of these services and of the arrears due out of his annual salary of £100,[8] a sum that mysteriously diminished to £70 when the Receivers came to pay it.[9] About the same time (May 1658),

1 Lamb. 915, f. 104.
2 Cp. entries in Lamb. 972, f. 117; 979, f. 316; 992, f. 111; 995, f. 451.
3 That is, until Stephen Hughes became incumbent in 1655, and appropriated this sum by a grant of the Trustees. (Lamb. 972, f. 438; 977, f. 7; 1004, f. 5).
4 All four are entered in Lamb. 968, f. 3.
5 Ibid. ibid.
6 Lamb. 996, f. 79.
7 Lamb. 995, f. 177.
8 Ibid. ff. 204-205.
9 Lamb. 992, f. 85.

and nearly seventeen months before his death, Cradock decided to retire definitely to his native parish of Llangwm, accept the £80 that accrued to the incumbent out of various impropriate tithes in the neighbourhood, and surrender altogether his Usk emoluments.[1] This voluntary substitution of a smaller for a larger living and the scrupulous abjuring of over £200 at a time when Dr. Cornelius Burgess was receiving £100 for six months' duty as 'preacher in the Cathedral Church of Wells'[2] seemed rather inexplicable to materially-minded men like Strickland and Col. Philip Jones, who were delegated by the Protector and Council to confer with the Trustees over the final settlement of the whole question[3]; but it fitted quite naturally into the record of a man who had both in 1650 and 1651 devoted his £100 salary as approver under the C.P.G.W. for the use of 'divers godly Poore People' in the county of Monmouth.[4] The payments made to Richard Swayne of Clyro bring home the mortifying vagaries that often attended State maintenance and the nature of the influences brought to bear on the Trustees. As a Propagation approver he had been for three years in receipt of £100 per annum, but on his settlement at Clyro (4 December, 1655),[5] he found that the living could only furnish him £30, which was £10 less than the value certified to the C.P.M. in 1646.[6] The Trustees at the end of 1655 vote him an augmentation of £50, the order to commence from the day of the expiry of the Propagation Act, viz., 25 March, 1653.[7] A year later, on 16 December, 1656, a petition was read before the Council at Whitehall from Henry Williams 'on behalf of himselfe and the rest of the inhabitants of the parish'—two hundred families according to the C.P.M.'s information in 1646, 'of large extent and populous' according to this petition—that Swayne's salary did not rise above £70, and praying for a substantial increase. Though the Trustees' books could manifestly prove this sum incorrect by £10, they are recommended by the higher powers to give him a further

1 Lamb. 995, ff. 177-178.
2 Audit Office, Decld. Acct., bundle 2239, roll 1.
3 Cal. St. Pap., 1657-1658, p. 363.
4 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, ff. 45, 51.
5 Lamb. 968, f. 14.
6 St. Pap. Dom. Interreg., Fl., f. 273.
7 On *November* 7 according to the pay-lists in Lamb. 992, f. 131 and 995, f. 595; on *December* 7 says Lamb. 972, f. 366. The latter must be taken to be the more authoritative; otherwise, we have the anomaly that the Trustees made their grant before Swayne was actually approved by the Triers.

augmentation of £30.[1] But in December 1659, taking advantage of the expiry of a lease granted by the late prebendary of St. David's, they bring Swayne's maintenance down to £55 6s. 8d.,[2] only to increase it by £20 on April 3, 1660, ostensibly on the belated information that Clyro was a market town.[3] There is no record that any further change in his fortunes happened before the Restoration about seven weeks later. Dr. John Ellis of Dolgelly, on the other hand, enjoyed his large emoluments uninterruptedly throughout the period, despite the evident chagrin of the Surveyors of Bishops' Lands (Coventry and Lichfield in this case) who visited Towyn in 1648 and found £40 of the profits allocated to a rector 'living twelve miles off,'[4] and despite the equally evident surprise of the Trustees on 3 April, 1660, when Thomas Willington, the farmer of the tithes, produced receipts of its continual payment by him up to that date.[5] And yet his 'Clavis fidei' of 1642 and his 'Vindiciæ Catholicæ' of 1647 had given conclusive evidence of a suppressed Anglican sentiment that found freer vent in his 'Defensio Fidei' of 1660. It was well that Roger Wynne held the living of Conway conjointly with that of Llandudno, as he only received £20 maintenance out of the latter, 'the said Mr. Wynne repairing the chancel of the said parish church and defraying and satisfying all public taxes and charges upon the said rectory.'[6] Fortunately for John Weaver, the tenacious Puritan of marvellous memory and severe outlook who ministered at Old Radnor,[7] he had not to defray the expenses of building a new vicarage house there; that duty was inserted in the covenants of the lease signed and sealed by the farmer of the tithes.[8] Nor were the Trustees, more than the Propagators, very punctilious in observing the spirit of the Commons' resolution of 2 November, 1642, that, as a result of sequestering ecclesiastical property, allowances heretofore assigned for charitable uses should not be interrupted or diverted[9]; nor in observing the letter of definite clauses in

1 Lamb. 972, f. 52; also Cal. St. Pap., 1656-1657, p. 198.
2 Lamb. 987, ff. 209-210. The living of Clyro was annexed to one of the prebends.
3 Ibid. f. 323.
4 Lamb. 904, lib. iii, f. 124.
5 Lamb. 989, ff. 190-191 [Entry Y. 36]. Probably the Trustees were even more surprised that the Dr. received the money direct from the 'farmer' and not through the accredited Receivers.
6 Lamb. 972, f. 126. 7 Calamy: Account (1713), II, pp. 733-734.
8 Lamb. 989, ff. 123-124 [Entry S. 32]—dated January 13, 1659-1660.
9 C. J., II, 800-801.

the acts which dissolved the government of bishops and chapters that provision be made for some of the poorer dependents of the cathedral staffs[1] –provisions that devolved upon the Trustees as administrative heirs of the Trustees originally appointed under those enactments of the Long Parliament and the Rump. One only, 'Constantine Smith heretofore poore Chorister at Landaugh,' received a grant of £13 6s. 8d. from the Glamorgan branch of the C.P.G.W., and that for 1650 merely,[2] unless he be the 'Mr. Smith' who received exactly half that sum in 1651 and 1652.[3] And opposite 2 October, 1657, a Stephen Deare 'member choire Llandaff Cath.' is made the beneficiary of £3 arrears arising before 6 January, 1649-50, the day on which the Trustees first commenced duty[4]; and the same person gets a further £3 by order of October 21 under the heading 'allowances to Cathedrall men.'[5] Nothing more is heard of any donations to choristers either in this or any other of the four Welsh cathedrals.[6]

Most of the Trustees' orders were for increases of maintenance. The necessary information to act as a base for these augmentations were supplied by the returns made to the Court of Chancery under the Act of 8 June, 1649, by which the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal were authorised to issue writs to a specified number of persons, empowering them, or any five of them, 'by the Oathes of good and lawful men,' to find out the true yearly value of all benefices and livings, the names of the incumbents, proprietors and possessors thereof, and the person or persons that received the profits.[7] The only Welsh returns of this kind that have survived are lodged in the Lambeth Palace Library, Anglesey in MS. 902 and Pembroke in MS. 915; these inquisitions would serve as complements to the surveys of episcopal and capitular interests in Wales found interspersed in MSS. 902,

1 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., I, p. 883; II, pp. 84-85.
2 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 17.
3 Ibid. ff. 27, 32.
4 Lamb. 992, f. 65; corroborated by 995, f. 21.
5 Ibid. f. 55.
6 It might be expected, remembering that the late Dean and Canons of Windsor were feofees of the trust, that church revenues diverted to the upkeep of the 'poor knights of Windsor' would fall under the control of the Trustees. But governors had been named 'ad hoc' for the purpose by the Parliament, with the result that the Trustees have to say in 1659 that they do not exactly know what tithes were appropriated by these governors, what where the charges 'thereout,' or how they were disposed (Lamb. 1004, f. 137). In Wales this benefaction drew sustenance from the tithes of Abergwili and Llangors.
7 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, pp. 147-148.

905, 910 and 913. It must be distinctly noted that Wales, as far as the Trustees' administration was concerned, formed an area absolutely autonomous, a policy practically imposed on the committee as legatees of the national Propagation experiment. Wales, as already stated, had its own receivers of revenue; no impropriate interests across the Border were diverted to the benefit of Welsh livings; no revenue arising in Wales was allocated to increase the salary of any English rector or vicar, the only approximate instance being the award of the tithes of Llansilin to the support of Richard Roberts of Morton Chapel, tithes, however, which arose from lands 'in the counties of Denbigh and Salop.'[1] Even the maintenance of the old Propagation approver and seconder of Vavasor Powell against Dr. George Griffith in the notorious Newchapel debate, Rowland Nevett of Oswestry, a man intimately associated with Wales both as regards situation and nationality, was made strictly derivative from English parishes, whether as in 1648-1654 from the tithes of Llanyblodwel within the Shropshire border,[2] or as in 1657 from three parishes in Herefordshire.[3] In one peculiar respect Wales suffered from this administrative insularity. An arrangement was made between the Trustees and the Remembrancer of First Fruits and Tenths that this particular portion of ecclesiastical revenue, in which the contributions of Wales were indiscriminately merged with those of England, should appear as a separate account, with receipts and detailed disbursements, in the balance-sheets of the Trustees. These disbursements prove conclusively that none of this money found its way back to Wales in payments to ministers and schoolmasters; it was all spent east of Offa's Dyke, more especially in grants to Heads of Colleges in the two Universities.[4] This being so in 1656, matters would be unlikely to improve when an Act of that year seriously diminished this part of the revenue by a proviso that in cases of sequestrations first-fruits should not be payable save on the *death* of the person ejected or sequestered.[5] Somewhat conversely to this, a

1 Lamb. 987, ff. 59-60.
2 Cal. Comm. Compounding, IV, p. 2529.
3 Lamb. 992, f. 30; 993, f. 222.
4 Audit Office, Decld. Acct., bundle 1216, rolls 86, 87, 88, 89 (1656-1660). The account for 'tenths' *only* appears in bundle 2239, roll 1 (December, 1657—December, 1658). In neither of these is there a single reference to any Welsh beneficiaries.
5 Cal. St. Pap., 1657-1658, p. 18 (reference to 1656 Act); Shaw, II, 260; Scobell: Ordinances, I, 511 et seq.

charge was brought about 1658 by ten clergy, all but one hailing from the poor county of Merioneth, that the agents of the Trustees were demanding from them certain gratuities called 'lactualls and annualls formerly by some given to the Bishops and Archdeacons in Wales to defray their charges at convocations and visitations and not otherwise.' They proceeded to point out that sixteen years had elapsed since they were last demanded; that they were not even then demandable by law; 'and,' added these knowing men of Merioneth, 'they were not nominated in the acts that convey the Bishops revenues to the said Trustees . . . neither payd by our brethren the ministers of the Gospel in England.'[1] As this charge stands absolutely by itself, unsupported by any collateral evidence either in England or Wales, it is not prudent to press it too closely. If true, it shows how attentuated was the margin of financial safety in the Trustees' balance-sheets. Adverting to the principle of autonomy, this restricted orbit of action led the Trustees to the thorough honeycombing of the sources of revenue 'within their charge and receipt.' Of this there are some curious examples in the Lambeth MSS. The £80 augmentation granted to Marmaduke Matthews at Swansea was drawn partly from the tithes of Llanedern and Llancarfan in Glamorgan and partly from those of Llandingat and Llanfairybryn in Carmarthen; the £50 increase granted to David Davies at Neath come out of the rents and profits of Pendoylan and Pentyrch.[2] The revenue of the rich living of Eglwysilan was divided between Benjamin Flower of Cardiff (£60)[3] and John Miles of Ilston (£40),[4] the former having in addition £20 out of the tithes of Llandaff and Canton. The Swansea schoolmaster and usher drew their salaries from livings in Carmarthenshire: the former's salary of £38 made up of £22 from the rectories of Llanfynydd, Llangadog and Llanddeusant and £16 from the rectory of Llanarthney; the latter's £26 were drawn from the rectory of Llandisilio.[5] The

1 Bodl. Rawlinson MS. D. 843, 84. This letter gives the names of the demanding officials, in the forefront being one John Griffith; and their gravamen receives pertinent corroboration in the fact that a John Griffith was one of the Surveyors of Bishops' Lands under the Act of 1646, *e.g.*, he and another surveyed Carew in Pembroke (November, 1648) [Lamb. 905, ff. 2-5]; and one of the Declared Accounts of the Audit Office records payment of salary to him (bundle 367, roll 3).

2 Both orders were made upon December 25, 1655 (Lamb. 972, f. 379); for previous orders of December 11, see 1004, f. 1.

3 Lamb. 972, ff. 438-439; 977, f. 7.

4 Lamb. 992, f. 102.

5 Both arrangements are described in Lamb. 972, f. 129. The Bala allocation falls within the same folio, all being decided on March 12, 1654-1655.

Bala schoolmaster drew his £35 salary from the rectory of Northop. The £30 augmentation granted to Humphrey Thomas of Llanbedr in Ardudwy were gathered for him by the Receivers from three far distant corners of the county of Merioneth, in the proportion of £15 from Llandecwyn and Llanfihangel-y-Traethau, £10 6s. 8d. from Gwyddelwern, and £4 13s. 4d. from Towyn,[1] the last grant being from those extensive tithes of Estimaner which Dr. John Ellis hoped to see diverted to the upkeep of the proposed National College.[2] It is easy to see that the source of benefit and the ultimate beneficiary are often far apart from each other, the extreme case being the diversion of a part of the tithes of Diserth in Flint for an increased maintenance to John Luntley at Llanstadwell in Pembrokeshire.[3] This centrifugal system must have called for swift horses and alert actuaries, and there is strong evidence that above two years before the Restoration the Trustees felt the incongruity of this aspect of their proceedings. This explains why, more especially as certain leases granted by the old order fell out, it became the habit to annex the tithes inalienably to those particular rectories or vicarages from which they were derived and to no other: in May 1658 the revenues of Llangwm in Monmouth were so attached to that vicarage[4]; the same procedure was adopted at Clyro in Radnor in December 1659, with the natural consequence that 'the said tithes of Clirow be left out of the charge of the revenue vested in the Trustees whereof the Auditor is to take notice' and that the Receivers were to 'forbeare any further intermedling with the said tithes annexed as aforesaid.'[5] These annexations had after the restoration of the Rump in May 1659 been greatly accelerated by one of the resolutions passed on July 4 which read that 'special care be taken that those ministers living *at* or *near* the places out of which the maintenance and augmentation doth issue be provided for out of the same in the first place.'[6] It was also significant that on 15 March 1659-1660, the last day but one of the restored Long Parliament, it meditated the appointing of entirely new Trustees for the control of

1 Lamb. 992, f. 119; 995, f. 486.
2 Wales, Vol. III, pp. 123-124—letter of Dr. John Ellis to John Lewis of Glasgrug.
3 Supra, pp. 25-26.
4 Lamb. 995, f. 177.
5 Lamb. 987, ff. 209-210.
6 C. J., VII, 702.

augmentations; in fact, the Rump itself on June 22 of the previous year had resurrected the old C.P.M., not for its accustomed purpose as an appointing and sequestrating authority, but to make a report on the whole working system of State maintenance.[1] Were any of the Rump members aware of the anomalous arrangement made between Charles Price, minister of Cardigan, and the parishioners of Llanbadarn Fawr, and sanctioned by the Trustees on April 26?[2] Price was to receive the whole 'rents profits and tithes' belonging to the last parish and amounting to £200, on condition that his own previous salary of £59 originally granted by the C.P.G.W.[3] and approved by the Trustees on December 12, 1655,[4] should be bestowed upon any 'painfull preacher' that might be settled in the valley of the Rheidol. This phenomenally large salary was, doubtless, a resultant of the merger of five parishes in South Cardigan approved by the Protector and Council on August 27, 1657.[5]

This fissiparous system of the Trustees did not fit in very successfully with the policy of annexed tithes recommended by Parliament or with too extensive appointments made by the Triers: the more impropriate interests tied up the less the capital revenue to draw from; a new minister approved for a place poorly provided for presupposed for the Trustees a new cycle of transfer and revision. The coming of Stephen Hughes to Mydrim appropriated the £52 (and an additional 10/-) that had once served to keep Richard Jewell at Tenby and furnished the loan to the distressed Stephen Love at Haverfordwest[6]: the appointment of Simon Lloyd to Llanynys meant the transfer of the £30 salary enjoyed by Robert Boyle, the Abergele schoolmaster, from the tithes of Llanynys to those of Gresford, the first order 'being delivered up to be cancelled by the said Mr. Boyle'[7]; Lloyd undoubtedly received the remaining £40 arising from the profits of Llanynys that had once been diverted to make up the salary of the schoolmaster named Lloyd at Denbigh, and the fact that the latter's name is not even mentioned in the forced re-arrange-

1 C. J., VII, 689.
2 Lamb. 989, f. 49 [Entry M. 27].
3 Lamb. 1006, f. 55.
4 Lamb. 994, f. 203.
5 Infra, p. 122.
6 Supra, p. 86 (n. 10); 88 (n. 3).
7 Cp. Lamb. 972, f. 218 and f. 529.

ment fortifies a previous suggestion that he had joined the ranks of the ministers.[1] On 27 November, 1654, Hugh Bithell was to draw £35 from the profits of Henllan; the coming of William Salesbury to the latter living compelled the Trustees to discharge the 1654 order and rearrange the constituent elements of Bithell's total salary of £45 thus—£10 still reserved from Henllan, and the remaining £35 from Diserth and its neighbourhood.[2] And the Trustees would naturally be much concerned at the vigorous effort made in January 1657 by Dr. Anthony Tuckney, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, to secure the fruits of the rectory of Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant, the old sphere of Evan Roberts and Oliver Thomas, for 'himself and his successors'; if the learned Doctor were successful, then a fitting maintenance for Charles Edwards (who had been vested with that living on 13 March, 1652-3, by the C.P.G.W.) and the annuity of £30 each that had to be paid out of the revenue to the widows of his two Puritan predecessors, would depend for their continuance upon the success of the Trustees in discovering some impropriate interest of the bishops and chapters hitherto uncharged or in re-shuffling more or less fortuitously those that were. Fortunately, the situation was saved by the Protector and Council referring the whole matter to the consideration of the Trustees[3]; their report on April 10, puzzled though they were by the mysterious erasure of a postscript to the Propagation Order of 1653, was not encouraging to the Cambridge professor[4]; and exactly five weeks later the rights of the old Oxford man were placed beyond attack by his formal re-investiture with the Llanrhaiadr interest through the direct presentation of Oliver himself and the moving of the Triers by the testimonials of no less than fourteen Puritan ministers of the Border.[5] Again, the annexation of the tithes and profits of Llanwnda to Llanwnda two years later involved no little change in the disposition of salaries of two other ministers in the same county of Pembroke. Up to this time, £16 5s. 0d. of these profits went as an aug-

1 Lamb. 972, f. 217.
2 Lamb. 992, f. 44; 993, f. 309.
3 Cal. St. Pap., 1656-1657, p. 244—January 20, 1656-7. The calendarist writes the name 'Llan-Rayder Amoughnant.''
4 Lamb. 1004, f. 50.
5 Lamb. 998, f. 34. Two matters are still calling for more light: the reasons for erasing the postcript of the C.P.G.W., and the necessity, if the 1653 appointment was thoroughly valid, for a *new* presentation in 1657.

mentation to Adam Hawkins, once of St. Ismells, but who had now succeeded Stephen Love at Haverfordwest[1]; and £28 to John Luntley at Llanstadwell.[2] On 11 February 1658-9, the £16 was transferred to the tithes of Llanreithan and Manorowen, both once impropriate in the Vicars Choral of St. David's Cathedral,[3] and the £28 split up between the revenue accruing from the prebend of Lawhadden (£10) and the tithes of Llanstinan (£8), the latter once belonging to the 'subchaunter of St. David's,[4] *amounting to yᵗ said yearely sume of eight and Twenty pounds.*'[5] It was this very peculiar ciphering of the £28 that led the Trustees within the year to re-allocate them on a portion of the tithes of Diserth in Flint.[6] Notwithstanding this arithmetical mistake, with others of less moment, and the grounds for ridicule given by some of their decisions, the Trustees, mainly composed of solicitors and accountants, were a thoroughly expert and business-like body, and performed their duties with great circumspection. They are careful to remind the Receivers of the exact date when Ambrose Mostyn left Holt and entered upon his work at Wrexham on the death of Morgan Llwyd, so that he will be in no danger of receiving the benefit of a double salary of £100[7]; on May 20, 1658, an order is given to the officials to forbear payment of any augmentation to John Hanmer for Llanfihangel y Creuddyn 'since he left the said place'[8]; and the same Receivers are put on their guard not to mistake the date when Rice Powell abdicated the school at the Hay and Alexander Griffith took his place.[9] And notwithstanding this meticulous but justifiable caution, the Trustees (in conjunction with the Protector and Council) could on occasion display a laudable measure of generosity, as witness the case of Deborah Love, 'a distressed woman' and difficult to please. She was the widow of Stephen Love the minister of Haverfordwest who died in May 1655.[10] On August 8, 1656,

1 Lamb. 1004, f. 14.
2 £30 had been allocated to him on 17 February, 1656-57 (1004, f. 52); brought down to £28 on 24 July (987, ff. 103-104, supported by ff. 176-177).
3 Lamb. 915, ff. 124, 127. These quotations from the reports of the parochial commissioners of 1650 are inserted in order to emphasise once more the hierarchical associations of the Trustees' interests.
4 Lamb. 915, f. 131.
5 Lamb. 987, ff. 176-177, where the whole Llanwnda entanglement is discussed.
6 Ibid. ff. 103-104 [Entry A. 30].
7 Ibid. ff. 200-201.
8 Lamb. 992, f. 81; 995, f. 174.
9 Lamb. 987, f. 54 [Entry R. 29].
10 Lamb. 972, f. 580.

an order issued from the Trustees to pay her £45 out of the tithes of Llanwnda and Longhouse ' belonging to the late Canons of St. David's,'[1] and three weeks later she was also paid posthumous arrears of her husband's salary counted up to 25 March, 1656, plus ' a moiety of one halfe year since y^e^ said 25th of March,' derived from the same impropriate sources of Love's former maintenance.[2] That these payments were unprecedented receives curious support from their insertion in the pay-lists of MS. 992 at the end of the volume marked off by a distinct line.[3] Evidently the Trustees felt that they could safely go no further, as on July 15, 1656, Adam Hawkins of St. Ismells was appointed to the living of Haverfordwest, and entered upon his predecessor's profits.[4] Apparently Mrs. Love was in London when the two ' augmentation ' orders were issued ; not having come into contact with the money bags of the Receivers, she on September 9, 1656, sent a petition, not devoid of sarcasm, direct to the Protector and Council, acknowledging their great tenderness towards her and her helpless children, but adding that she could not return to Wales ' to perform my necessary maternal duties ' without some more overt manifestation of such tender feelings.[5] This brought her on December 8 an order from the Council for a £30 per annum pension for life, and the funds of the Treasury Commissioners were specially drawn upon (additional evidence of the Trustees' difficulty is making all their ends meet), the pension to commence from September 29, payable every half-year.[6] All this notwithstanding, the widow again petitions the Council in February 1658 for £52 due as ' her husband's allowance in 1653.'[7] This was referred to a committee of five prominent Pembrokeshire men to examine, but as the Trustees could inform them that this money had been paid her husband by their order of 26 April, 1655,[8] coupled with the very probable conviction in the minds

1 Lamb. 995, f. 578. It is a mere coincidence that precisely the same order figures in a folio of precisely the same number in MS. 972. The authority for the ' canons ' is Lamb. 915, f. 126.

2 Lamb. 995, f. 519. There was an added injunction that if the Receivers had not collected these particular profits, the amount must be paid out of ' other rents.'

3 MS. 995, however, as illustrated by nn. 1 and 2, did not make any distinction.

4 Lamb. 972, f. 555.

5 Cal. St. Pap., 1656-1657, p. 102.

6 Ibid. p. 205.

7 Cal. St. Pap., 1657-1658, p. 287.

8 Lamb. 972, f. 163. If the widow had heard of Vavasor Powell's sermon at Whitehall in 1651, she would in her mortification quote its pungent dictum that the petitions of poor Puritan sufferers were only used by the high authorities to light tobacco (Cal. Comm. Compounding, I, 543).

of fair-minded men that she had no great room for complaint, it is only to be expected that there is no further reference to Mrs. Love's case in the records.

An entry made in Lamb. MS. 989[1] according to which the Trustees are asking for the assistance of Lord John Jones 'in procureing some fitt persons to ayde . . from time to time in disposeing of such tithes as shall come out of lease in Walles' bespeaks a more complex and universal problem than the distress of the isolated widow of Haverfordwest. It was their custom, like the preceding C.P.M. and C.P.G.W., to allow valid leases of church property devised by the old Anglican order to pursue their course without interruption despite the fact that this Puritan concession to legality rendered many of the impropriate interests less accessible to the Trustees. But the powerful committee were not to be completely defeated: a yearly 'reserved rent' was due to them from every ecclesiastical entity thus conveyed; no lease was valid if granted by the Bishops or Chapters after 1 December, 1641; and they watched with unceasing vigilance for days of expiry and possible concealments. A few typical examples must serve as illustrations. The possessor of the Llanarthney tithes was accused of withholding them from the Trustees by colour of a lease executed five years after the date of invalidation: the Receivers were to inquire into the true yearly value, and the concealer was summoned to 'account and answer' for the 'mesne profitts' falling into his hands 'since the same have been concealed.'[2] A similar delinquent in Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd—the lease in this case having expired on 29 September, 1652—refused to appear and answer for the interim profits, and the Trustees proceed by course of law to recover the arrears.[3] The tithes of Llangernyw, on the other hand, had been demised just fifteen months before the fatal day; on the tenant's appeal they appoint a sitting to consider the restitution of certain rents and profits paid by him over and above the yearly reserved rent.[4] The tenant of Henllan in Denbigh was so much behind with his due payments that the Trustees threaten the extreme step of forfeiting and avoiding his lease; they give

1 f. 28 [Entry X. 23].
2 Lamb. 989, f. 8. [Entry H. 22]; f. 124 [Entry W. 32].
3 Ibid. f. 18 [Entry Q. 22].
4 Ibid. f. 27 [Entry Y. 23].

him five weeks to think the matter over to the end that 'if he will not doe the same the Trustees may sue him for the said arrears and dispose of the said tithes to some other for the future.'[1] Nor did they have much patience with the lady lessee of the tithes of Lamphey in Pembroke and her specious excuse that she had long ago ordered her agent to pay the arrears that were due[2]; their annoyance was the keener because they had by an order of 25 June, 1657, enjoined their Receivers to pay £69 19s. 8d. to her deceased husband, John Griffith, 'for his expences and damages laid out and suffered in a suite at law' against the claims of a former lessee.[3] The difficulties besetting the Trustees over Anglican leases bred a new type of interested parties known as 'discoverers,' secular Puritans with axes to grind who thrived on forfeitures and re-demises; their existence, however, had some justification in the care taken by the late Bishops and Chapters to preserve in their own possession or that of loyal well-wishers all 'Bookes and Records' relating to the aforesaid transactions. For this reason John Jones of Maesygarnedd found his enjoyment of the Gloddaeth and Gogarth manors conveyed to him by the Rump's officials in 1650 greatly impeded,[4] and he had to go so far as to advise his 'cozen' Ellis Hughes 'to use ways and meanes of discovery untill God perswaed their conscience that it is their duty to bring trueth to light.'[5] In the same category, therefore, as Ellis Hughes would fall Thomas Fowle who professed that he had spied out concealed tithes at Bassaleg and Mynyddislwyn,[6] the George Hooper who reported on the Llanarthney evasion,[7] and the Robert Weaver, possibly[8] a relative of the minister John of that name, who announced from Old Radnor two townships where not only tithes were concealed, but even

1 Lamb. 989, f. 58 [Entry X. 29].
2 Ibid. f. 188.
3 Comm. Exch. Paper, roll 290. It ought to be added that Griffith entered the suit *on behalf of the Trustees*. He also lost the case; therefore, the arrears in the text were those of rent due from the deceased husband.
4 For a record of this conveyance (dated 18 July) and the price paid (£322 odd), see Rawlinson MS. B. 239, p. 50, marked 546.
5 In a letter addressed from Dublin on 24 May, 1653 (David Davies: Ardudwy a'i Gwron, Letter XII, pp. 207-208).
6 Lamb. 1008, f. 28.
7 Supra, p. 99.
8 A supposition on the whole unlikely. A *Robert* Weaver was M.P. for the boroughs of Radnor in 1659 (Williams: Hist. Parly. Repn. of Wales, p. 180), members of whose family had been sheriffs of the county and connected by marriage with the Harleys of Brampton Bryan. *John*, on the other hand, was entered as 'pleb.' at St. John's College, Oxford (Alex. Gordon: Freedom after Ejection, p. 278).

left unsurveyed in the years 1647-1649.[1] Another was Thomas Duckett, who marshalled such objections to the lease of the rectorial profits of Llangyfelach granted on 26 October, 1641, by Dr. Roger Mainwaring, late Bishop of St. David's, to William Thomas of Swansea for twenty-one years, that the Trustees had perforce to call in the expert advice of Sir Edward Atkins, one of the acutest lawyers of the day and in 1662 to be 'one of the Barons of His Majesty's Court of the Exchequer.'[2] These objections were all the more dangerous since Duckett was one of the four lynx-eyed surveyors of Bishops' Lands who examined the deeds on November 1, 1647.[3] Counsel's opinion, however, went against his suit, and the exceptions were 'overruled and discharged.'[4] Very slightly removed from the common discoverer was Major Richard Creed, one of Cradock's sons-in-law, who was granted a lease of the Llangwm tithes on 6 November, 1655, 'in order to y^e^ trying y^e^ title of these Trustees unto y^e^ same,' the suspicion being that the old Anglican lease had expired. This did not happen, unfortunately, till 1658, and the new policy of annexing tithes to the local living prevented Creed taking advantage of his collusive experiment; in fact, the Trustees insisted that 'y^e^ counterpart of y^e^ said Lease and bond by him entered into may be delivered up to be cancelled and vacated.'[5] This Creed contract shows that the Puritan bodies themselves had no scruples about beneficial leasing. The C.P.G.W. had let the tithes of Warren in Pembrokeshire for a term which on 17 May, 1654, was 'yet in being,'[6] but James Phillips of Tregibby and Col. Philip Jones acting as delegates of the Trustees to inquire into the claims of a certain Lewis Powell grounded on a 'former contract' decide in favour of the latter.[7] On the due expiry of old leases and on production of evidence that the former tenant had scrupulously observed his covenants, promptly paid his reserved rent, and could produce the legal acquittances of

1 Lamb. 989, f. 83 [Entry V. 29].
2 Ibid. f. 9 [Entry B. 22].
3 Lamb. 905, f. 1.
4 March 4, 1658-1659 (Lamb. 989, f. 9).
5 A full account of this Llangwm transaction is given in Lamb. 989, f. 166 [Entry A. 36].
6 Lamb. 1017, f. 15.
7 Ibid. f. 20. The Comm. Exch. Pap., 290, suggests very strongly that the profits of Warren and Lamphey were let in conjunction; that being so, the Trustees must have disregarded the advice of Jones and Phillips and revoked their own decision of 1654 by re-letting the tithes to the John Griffith who lost the suit at law, presumably against Powell. [Supra, p. 100 and n. 3).

the Receivers, the Trustees had no objection to allow him a new estate in the old profits 'without a competitor,' of which Lambeth MS. 989 supplies numerous instances. In some cases, this grace was withheld; then the Trustees' usual procedure was to ask the Receivers, some of whom were qualified surveyors, to make a new inquiry into the yearly value of the interest in question, certify their doings by a specified date, 'when these Trustees,' as the formula runs, 'doe appoint to let the said tithes whereof publique notice is to be given in y^e^ said parish.' Not even then, with the jurisdiction of the committee quite unfettered, were all problems solved. Sometimes the local minister desired to eliminate the 'farmer' and get direct access to the source of his maintenance, as in the case of Humphrey Prichard at Gyffin in Carnarvonshire,[1] and of the unbearded youth who held the livings of Talgarth and Llyswen in Brecon.[2] In both cases the Trustees uphold the rights of the accredited lessees; and in the case of John Brigdale of Llannefydd, they order that his augmentation must be 'respeighted' till he give a satisfactory account within two months of a portion of the Uwchymynydd tithes which report said he had misappropriated and prove that he has given the Receivers no obstruction.[3] And they were so exasperated with the schoolmaster-minister Rice Powell, who found such favour with the Triers, converting to his own use the tithes of Llanbedr-Painscastle, that they decided to withhold from his £60 maintenance not only the amount of the abused tithes, but also a proportion of the Talgarth salary corresponding to some unexplained absences of his when schoolmaster there four years before, besides reserving in the hands of the Receivers nearly £20 out of his Boughrood augmentation.[4] Again, some lessees of the Trustees' own creation proved even more refractory than the old: this was especially the case with a large group of hierarchical interests in Monmouth grouped around Llanddewi Fach let by them to a Thomas Powell at a yearly rent of £250, whose arrears had so accumulated that the Trustees have to appoint two of their own number to take 'speedy

1 Lamb. 1017, f. 47.
2 Lamb. 989, f. 154 [Entry K. 35]; also supra, p. 31.
3 Lamb. 992, f. 108; 995, f. 436. 'Vckminith' in MS.
4 For Powell's delinquencies, see Lamb. 987, f. 248 [Entry M. 34], opposite date February 14, 1649 (mistake for 1659-60); also 989, f. 182 [Entry P. 29].

and especiall care ' to prosecute him at law.[1] Conversely, there were occasions when they had to listen to dramatic tales of obstruction given to their own tenants in collecting the rents and profits, as happened to Peter Pierce of Rhuddlan. So bitter were the quarrels between the latter and the neighbouring Royalist squire Henry Conway[2] of Bodrhyddan, and so bent were the committee on defending their new lessee, that they were willing to allow him all costs arising from suits instituted at the Exchequer to defend ' his just title to the premises ' ; also of other suits ' in the country formerly had between him and y^ said Henry Conway or any other by his meanes or procurement ' ; finally, the arrears of rent remaining in the hands of Pierce were respited on 9 March, 1658-1659, to the end of the following Trinity term.[3] The Trustees had to interfere in favour of John Weaver who was defrauded of part of his augmentation at Old Radnor through the haggling delay of a dismissed lessee[4] ; and David Maurice the Puritan minister at Llangernyw complained that portions of his maintenance were in arrear through the dilatoriness of David Williams, the identical tenant of the premises who had been so justly and generously treated by the Trustees.[5] The latter, too, gave a very patient hearing to the grievances of Thomas Willington, farmer of the Towyn tithes under an old lease from the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who was £200 in arrear at the beginning of 1660[6] ; on April 3, they gave him a letter of attorney to sue for them from the defaulting parishioners in the Trustees' name, upon his furnishing them good security ' to save them harmlesse and indempnified ' from all costs and damages incurred.[7] But no credence was given to the story of John Pugh, farmer of the tithes of several parishes in mid-Cardigan, that he had paid several arrears upon an order of the C.P.G.W. ' besides £25 13s. 4d. [reserved rent] already paid unto the Treasurer of the Trustees,' until their Receivers, the fit and proper persons to receive the money, had made a full inquiry.[8]

1 Lamb. 989, f. 144 [Entry D. 35].
2 Conway is thus correctly described ; he was created Knight and Bart. on 25 July, 1660 (Williams : Parly Repn. of Wales, p. 17).
3 Lamb. 989, f. 12.
4 Ibid. ff. 123-124 [Entry S. 32].
5 Cp. Lamb. 989, f. 27 [Entry Y. 23] with f. 214 [Entry V. 31].
6 Lamb. 989, ff. 190-191 [Entry Y. 36].
7 Ibid. f. 195 Ibid.
8 Lamb. 1008, f. 100.

Another important interest that came partly under the jurisdiction of the Trustees by the Act of 2 September, 1654, were those impropriations purchased in from lay delinquents by the Committee for Compounding, the powerful body, meeting first at Goldsmiths' Hall and afterwards at the Haberdashers,' which authorised sales of sequestered estates at six or eight years' purchase in order to raise money for the general forces under Fairfax and later to satisfy the stringent requirements of the Covenanters from Scotland. Soon, under the stress of urgent necessity, the Committee was ordered to 'compound' with delinquents, prisoners only at first, any that tendered themselves after March, 1644-1645; and orders were given that without a special note from the Parliament, compositions could be arranged before *this* Committee and before no one else.[1] 'In case of a delinquent Royalist layman compounding for his estates being seized of an advowson, or an impropriation of tithes or rectory, on his making an allowance out of his estate for the maintenance of a Puritan minister in that particular area or near his estate, an equivalent capital amount was remitted from his composition fine.'[2] This principle is well illustrated in the case of William Thomas of Swansea, a gentleman already referred to in the last paragraph as tenant of the profits of Llangyfelach. His total fine as a delinquent, decided on September 26, 1646, was £786; but on his settling £45 a year out of his impropriate tithes of Llandilo Talybont upon the minister there, the fine was brought down on 26 November to £336, thus remitting £100 on every £10 that was settled.[3] This arrangement was embodied in a legal conveyance, Edward Rich of Lincoln's Inn acting as registrar; thus these interests were tied up and lay quite outside the purview of both C.P.M. and C.P.G.W. But it gradually dawned upon the lawyers of the Protectorate that old delinquents of the above category had escaped punishment somewhat too easily: though the legal conveyance was to stand, and no change in the sum allotted to the minister was made, the Trustees' Receivers were to 'set and let' the impropriate tithes, pay the appointed salary to the incumbent (as in the case of Richard Steele of Hanmer[4]) and

1 Cal. Comm. Comp., Vol. I, Introd., pp. v-vii.
2 Shaw, II, p. 199.
3 Cal. Comm. Comp., II, 1175.
4 Cp. Lamb. 970, ff. 139, 199.

hand over the surplus profits to the Treasury. As early as July 4, 1654, a committee was appointed to revise the whole system of compounded impropriations[1]; as a result Rich, on 26 January, 1654-5, is reluctantly giving up his deeds and evidences to the Trustees with a recommendation from his old masters—the Committee for Compounding—that he should have some allowance for his pains, 'which, although he should have it, this Committee hath no power to grant.'[2] Apparently nothing was done, for on May 15, 1660, Rich presented a long petition to the Convention peers, explaining how his papers in 1654 were put into the hands of John Phelps (sometime clerk of the C.P.M., later of the Trustees) with an unhandsome addendum that 'the Commissioners,' as he incorrectly calls them, 'shared the profits among themselves, their officers, and such mechanic preachers as they found fit for the purpose.'[3] As a result in turn of this transference, the Trustees on 12 April, 1655, address peremptory orders that the following compounders by different dates in the succeeding May were to give them a full account of the rectory rents, the arrears thereof, and how the profits had been disposed: to Sir Rice Rudd, of Aberglasney, for the rectory of Newchurch in Carmarthen (by 24 May)[4]; to Morgan Owen of Glasallt for that of St. Ismael's (by 20 May)[5]; to Sir Thomas Hanmer regarding the tithes of Bettisfield (by 28 May); to Philip Lord Herbert and Algernon Sidney for the rectory of Llandilo Talybont as 'trustees for execution' to William Thomas of Swansea (by 24 May); to Sir John Aubrey of Llantrithyd for the rent of the manor of Gelligaer (by 20 May); and to two brothers named Ash who farmed the tithes of two chapels and two rectories in Pembrokeshire compounded for by Sir John Stepney of Prendergast (by 28 May).[6] Response to these requests could hardly have been perfected before a new order dated 13 August emanated from the Barons of the Exchequer that the above premises were 'vested and settled' in *them*, and that the Receivers of Wales were 'to let or otherwise dispose of the said rectories

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1654, p. 242.
2 Cal. Comm. Comp., I, p. 718.
3 House of Lords MSS. Comm. Rpt., App. I, p. 84. Rich seems to have forgotten the boundary lines between Triers and Trustees.
4 Lamb. 970, f. 11.
5 Ibid. f. 12.
6 All these are recorded in Lamb. 970, f. 13.

from henceforth until 25 December next,[1] an order to be supplemented in turn by an ordinance of 8 January, 1655-56,[2] directing not only that such sequestration moneys were to be paid unto the Exchequer, but that the Trustees were to pay only such ministers as the Treasury Commissioners certified, doubtless after the approval of the Triers. Thus, by a tantalising complexity of procedure the Trustees would have to surrender their rights of presentation to any future vacancies *in this rather small group of impropriations*, and become merely mechanical payers of salaries through their Receivers. The explicit terms of the January ordinance brooked no contravention, and on July 31, 1656, the Commissioners of the Treasury, Bulstrode Whitlocke and William Sydenham, present their first and only list to 'our loving friends' the Trustees for payment of augmentations.[3] The parishes enumerated on this list opens up the distracting problem of the group of impropriate rectories in the southern districts of Carmarthenshire possessed before his delinquency by Lord Henry Percy, brother of the then Earl of Northumberland. As early as June 3, 1646, the C.P.M. were ordering £50 out of the Llanstephan impropriation 'to and for' the increase of the salary of the parish minister, and on August 31 of the same year complaint was made to them that Sir Henry Vaughan, the 'farmer' of the six livings and agent of the Percy estates as far back as 1 January, 1642-1643,[4] had obtained a lease from the Committee of Revenue for £600 a year 'whereby the state is defeated of the said Impropriacions and this Committee disabled to dispose thereof for Augmentation of small benefices.'[5] By September the Earl of Northumberland himself, who happened to be one of the Puritan peers had interfered, with the result that the C.P.M. decide to take no further action 'without first acquainting his lordship thereunto.'[6] Further, and by the same influence, the sequestration of some of Percy's estates was discharged for a time in August 1647 in order that the 'farmer' and his agents

1 Lamb. 988, ff. 14-15.

2 Dr. Shaw is misleading when he says this ordinance was issued in 1655 (II, 230 (n. 3)). It is abundantly clear from the reference to 'the 8th of Jan. last' in Lamb. 977, f. 35 which records an order of 31 July, 1656—that it was in the year 1656 (N.S.).

3 Lamb. 977, ff. 35-36.

4 Harleian MS. 4713, f. 225. Vaughan was brother to the Earl of Carbery, Jeremy Taylor's patron and protector.

5 } The whole question is discussed in Bodl. MS. 323, f. 53.
6 }

might pay a debt of £1,500 contracted by him before his delinquency.[1] Vaughan continued farmer of the livings under the Propagators,[2] and the comparatively low rent paid by him which brought upon the C.P.G.W. the ire of the Petitioners of 1652[3] more than suggests that a transaction was arranged between them analagous to the compounders of the Aberglasney-Newchurch and other allocations. This suggestion receives curious support from the arrival in London (staying at the Pump in Chancery Lane) in March 1655 of Thomas Evans, one of the South Wales sub-Commissioners for Sequestrations, who had been summoned to appear before the central body at 10 a.m. on March 16, to deliver to them the lease of the Llanstephan tithes.[4] One must assume that this document was afterwards handed over to the Trustees, and later still, after the ordinance of January 1656, to the Treasury Commissioners. In any case, the latter in their certificate of July 1656 already referred to explain to the Trustees that the estates of Percy are under sequestration, that the ministers named in their list have had former augmentations granted them out of these estates, that they had applied for their continuance, and that they (the Commissioners) hoped that the Trustees would take measures to pay them. Samuel Jones of Llanegwad applied for £40 out of the impropriate rectory of Llandyfaelog; John Miles, lecturer at Llanelly, for £40 out of the impropriate tithes of Llanelly; Nathaniel Ible of Carmarthen, £50 out of the tithes of Llanstephan; Meredith Davies of Llannon, £60 out of that impropriate rectory; and John Powell of Llangyndeyrn, £60 out of the similarly described rectory of Llangyndeyrn.[5] Doubtless they were paid, but their names do not appear in the Trustees' pay sheets (Lamb. 992-995), as the money came

1 Cal. Comm. for Advance of Money, II, 829.
2 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, ff. 19, 21b, 38.
3 True and Perfect Relation, p. 26 (misprinted 18 in original).
4 Cal. Comm. Compounding, I, p. 720. The complications of the Percy rectories were to tax the patience of the Restoration lawyers also. In the Michaelmas term of 1660 Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, was suing certain Puritan 'farmers' for the rents of his brother's livings which had accrued since Lady Day, 1659 (Lord Henry had died in the February previous) [Exch. Bills and Ans., Carm., No. 1, 12 Chas. II]. Then on 28 March, 1664, complaint was made before the Lords that a certain William John had been turned out of the possession of lands at Llangennech 'at the suit of the vicar, James Rice, contrary to the privilege of the Earl of Northumberland under whom the lands were held' (House of Lords MSS. Comm. Rpt., App. 1, p. 175). On 3 November, 1662, the Earl seems to have sold his rights in the impropriate rectory of Llanstephan to a Henry Champion of the Inner Temple, and the latter's plaint at the Exchequer in 1664 shows that he had become legatee to a host of difficulties (Bills and Ans., Carm., No. 8, Easter, 16 Chas. II).
5 Lamb. 977, ff. 35-36.

not from their peculiar fount of revenue, but from the general fund of the Treasury. However, when an augmentation of £40 was approved by the Council at Whitehall (23 Sept., 1657) for John Miles at Ilston ' in lieu of the like sum formerly graunted him as Minister of Llanelly in Co. Carnarvan '[1] (two little mistakes[2] by the learned Henry Scobell, then Clerk of the Council and compiler of the ' Ordinances '), his name at once does appear, because the £40 was drawn from the impropriate rectory of Eglwys Ilan, once belonging to the Chapter of Llandaff[3]; and so does a further augmentation of £20 granted him on 8 December, derived from the prebend of Whitchurch in Glamorgan.[4] The next and last reference in the records after the Treasury order to the Trustees' administration of these compounded interests occurs under October 9, 1656, when they order their Receivers to ' inquire out some responsible person or persons to whom may be lett the tythes hereafter mentioned whereof they are to give public notice within the respective parishes.' In case more rent will not be obtainable, then the original conveyers are to take out leases at the old rates ' or give further security to make good the said yearly values according to their covenants.' This order was to apply to William Thomas of Swansea and Sir John Stepney only, pretty sure evidence that in the opinion of the Trustees they had compounded on too easy terms.[5] Finally, one cannot escape the conviction that the dealings of the Trustees with this particular group, tied as they were and extra-hierarchical, was foreign to their particular trust and that their Receivers were simply automatic instruments of convenience to other aggressive courts and commissioners.

And it sounds somewhat paradoxical to say that the allocations of the Trustees affected but a small minority of ministers at work in Wales, *e.g.*, the numbers that figure in the orders of Lambeth 995 reinforced by those of the second

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1657-58, p. 108; also Lamb. 970, f. 80 (Mr. Shankland has f. 85 in Seren Gomer, March, 1901, p. 85). This had been suggested by the Trustees five months before (1004, f. 51).

2 The mistakes are :—' Minister ' instead of ' Lecturer ' and ' Carnarvan ' for ' Carmarthen.'

3 Lamb. 992, f. 102; 993, f. 344; 995, f. 29.

4 Cal. St. Pap., 1657-8, p. 206; also Lamb. 977, ff. 104, 105; 992, f. 72; 995 f. 112.

5 This order is cited in full—Lamb. 970, f. 195.

column of MS. 992 only amount to 35 ministers and 16 schoolmasters; and the total is not appreciably increased by an examination of the names in MS. 994.[1] The explanation is that the remaining incumbents were settled in parishes where the profits were deemed self-sufficing: they did not have recourse to the ingenuity of the Trustees; or if they did, their appeals, or the appeals of interested parishioners on their behalf, were left unhearkened to. These livings, not being once impropriate in the Bishops and Chapters, on the expiry of the Propagation Act would be administered by the Committee for Compounding, who were after February 10, 1653-4, transformed and called by the new name of Commissioners for Sequestrations,[2] working in Wales through two groups of sub-Commissioners for North and South, who in turn directed and supervised the activities of the county committees—all controlling estates of delinquents, cleric and lay.[3] On June 23, 1654, three months after the *final* expiry of the Propagation Act, the London central sequestrators issue a drastic order to their officials in North Wales to enter upon rectories sequestered by the C.P.C.W. as still continuing under sequestration and receive the rents for the use of the State[4]; this was re-emphasised in a letter of July 4, according to which they were to receive the arrears of rent that were unaccounted for both before and since the expiry of the Act.[5] In actual practice the local sequestrators, which accounts for the numerous references to them in the two Montgomery returns for 1658, would 'set and let' the ancient profits associated with a living to local farmers, and on their receipt pay out the traditional maintenance to the minister[6]; should there be a surplus, it must eventually find its way to the Exchequer[7]; if the living were vacant, the whole revenue. If an augmentation were asked for and granted after 25 March, 1654, and especially after 2 September of the same year, the minister's

1 A few additional names, both of ministers and schoolmasters, are supplied by the Comm. Exch. Paper 290.
All Puritan *schoolmasters* were directly dependent upon the Trustees and their Receivers for their maintenance.
2 Cal. Comm. Comp., I, 668.
3 One or two depositions in the Caldicot Exchequer case make it appear that the new Cromwellian commissioners for the ejection of scandalous ministers (infra, p. 235) had something to say in the letting of certain sequestered tithes and glebes (Bills and Ans., Mon., No. 2, Mich., 13 Chas. II).
4 Cal. Comm. Comp., I, 688.
5 Ibid. 689.
6 *i.e.*, if appointed or approved by the Triers.
7 Cal. Comm. Comp., I. Introd., viii—instruction of 11 December, 1654.

name would before long appear on the Trustees' books; and it is obvious from the Monmouth entry in one of the State Papers that the new Commissioners for Sequestrations were saddled with the responsiblilty of paying all augmentations heretofore granted by the C.P.M. and C.P.G.W. and derived from the premises of *lay* delinquents.[1] Thus the Sequestrators became collateral heirs with the Trustees of the Propagation revenues and the C.P.M. settlements; and with them too, they suffered from the embarassing uncertainties of a time of transition. On August 26, 1654, the London Commissioners in a letter to North Wales are under the mistaken impression that *all* impropriate possessions, including those of Bishops and Chapters, fell within their province, and even refer to possible orders for augmentations being given to their county officials, and not to the Receivers who had performed that duty for well-nigh eight months[2]; and we have seen the natural reluctance of the Commissioners, as heirs to the old Committee for Compounding, to transfer the deeds of Edward Rich to the Trustees.[3] Such being the confused outlook in the capital, it was not better in the country. John Peck and Thomas Critchley, two of the sub-commissioners for North Wales, are on July 18, 1654, in doubt what to do with vacant livings whose revenues had been sequestered by the C.P.G.W., inquiring if they were within their commission to 'set and let' and remarking that the tithes ought to have been let long before[4]; but Thomas Evans, a corresponding official in South Wales, was busy in October letting on good security such rectories as were not disposed of by the Propagators 'or had no other obstruction' in the shape of demises by the old disestablished order. His chief complaint is that the parishioners are backward in paying their tithes to whom he calls the 'engagers,' they being much prejudiced thereby and calling daily for redress.[5] Under these conditions the old officials of the C.P.G.W. had to bear the double fire of Trustees and Sequestration Commissioners. It is brought against Daniel Lloyd, the late treasurer in North Wales, that he refused to supply salient information about sequestered

1 S. P. Dom. Interreg., G 22, f. 1486a.
2 Cal. Comm. Comp., I, 697.
3 Supra, p. 105.
4 Cal. Comm. Comp, I, 692.
5 Ibid. 705.

rectories[1]; the London Commissioners on 4 May, 1655, order him without qualification to deliver up to them all his accounts[2]; seven weeks later they are calling for the full arrears of moneys received by him since the [first] expiry of the Act.[3] Lloyd, however, the 'sequestrating saint' of the Wrexham ballad of 1647[4] and one among other members of Morgan Llwyd's 'gathered church' at Wrexham, who on March 8, 1654-5, sent a letter direct to Secretary Thurloe containing important information about movements in North Wales arising from the unrest caused by the Penruddock rising,[5] was well endowed with the secular astuteness that was characteristic of many of the Puritan officials. On a visit to London early in July of the same year he interviewed both Sequestrators and Trustees: on the 3rd, he convinces the former that they were not the statutory inquisitors into Propagation accounts,[6] especially as by an ordinance passed 30 August, 1654,[7] Parliament had appointed special Commissioners to scrutinise them with great care, Commissioners also who were at that particular time busy at work; on the 9th, he paved the way for a successful meeting with the Trustees by taking with him the all-powerful Col. Philip Jones.[8] Not old officials only, but new ministers also were in difficulties: Thomas Jones of Castell Caereinion[9] and Rees Jones of Bettws[10] in Montgomery had to go, one for seven months and the other for five, without salary because, though both had received presentation from the Protector and a parchment from the Triers, the county sequestrators would not pay it without an express order from London; the county committee for Denbigh, using as a pretext the continuing sequestration of Dr. David Lloyd, the old Anglican rector, kept on reserving the profits of Llangynhafal as late as November 1654[11] to the disadvantage of Rice Williams, appointed there on 18 July[12]; similarly, Henry Parry of Cemmes went

1 Cal. Comm. Comp., I, 692.
2 Ibid. 723.
3 Ibid. 726.
4 H.P.M., p. 52 (n. 6).
5 Thurloe St. Pap., III, 207.
6 Cal. Comm. Comp., I, 727.
7 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 990-993.
8 Lamb. 1008, f. 279.
9 Lamb. 997, lib. ii, f. 168. Approved September 4, 1654. Cp. Cal. Comm. Comp., V, 3235.
10 St. Pap. Dom. Interreg., G 22, f. 1493a. Approved 29 September, 1654. Cp. Cal. Comm. Comp., V, 3235.
11 Cal. Comm. Comp., IV, 3132.
12 Lamb. 997, lib. ii, f. 83.

unrewarded because the tenants of the premises would not pay the profits to him without reference to the authorities in London.[1] This was also the time chosen by Owen Evans, once rector of Heneglwys in Anglesey, to test the temper of the new dispensation and to benefit from the preoccupations of the local officials. On 3 August, 1654,[2] he wrote a letter direct to the London Commissioners stating that he was never a delinquent, nor scandalous, nor an absentee, nor had accepted another benefice in defiance of the plurality ordinances, reasons sufficient, in his own opinion, to move the Commissioners to grant him the fruits of the living 'on good security.' Taking him at his word, irritated also by the dilatoriness of their local representatives in Anglesey in presenting a report on his case, the Commissioners are willing to allow him him the aforesaid 'fruits' for six weeks. When the report did arrive, doubtless pointing out how Evans had been ejected from his living by the C.P.G.W. at their Beaumaris meeting on September 18, 1650,[3] had afterwards carried on Anglican ministrations in the parish without let or licence,[4] and could not produce any new approval by the Triers, it is practically certain that his continued tolerance would cease and his six weeks' benefit be confiscated. There was also a nebulous borderland where the interests of Trustees and Sequestrators did not easily subject themselves to definite lines of demarcation: if the Dean and Chapter of Llandaff had leased the tithes of three rectories in Monmouth to the Marquis of Worcester, and he had been officially posted up as a notorious delinquent 'excepted from pardon,' who was to relet the tithes in 1654? The Sequestration Commissioners on 10 August grant them to Capt. William Herbert, one of the three Monmouthshire Herberts who were Commissioners for the Propagation,[5] but Hector Morgan declares on 10 October that the Trustees have let them to *him*, and complains of disturbance by Herbert.[6] The Commissioners admit that all turned on whether the old Anglican lease was expired or no; they readily admit the claims of the Trustees if it is. Apparently, however, on the Captain's mere assertion

1 Cal. Comm. Comp., V, 3231.
2 Ibid. 3217.
3 Rawl. c. 261, Reprint, p. 21.
4 Exch. First Fruits Ret., Anglesey, 1652.
5 Cal. Comm. Comp., III, 1713.
6 Ibid. V. 3221.

that he never had the lease in his possession, knew not where it was, but believed it to be unexpired, the appeal of Morgan is passed over. The Trustees mollified him with a new grant of the Llanddewi Fach group of impropriate tithes of which he was possessed on March 4, 1658-9,[1] to be soon replaced by the unsatisfactory Thomas Powell.[2] It was otherwise with the Brecon tithes of Llangattock-Crickhowell-Cwmdu which were exclusively impropriate in the delinquent Marquis; in these cases, the Sequestrators had the undoubted right of deciding between John Games of Brecon who offered to give £160 for the whole tithes and profits and a Londoner named Birch who was only willing to give £150.[3] There is no explaining the perplexing mystery of the comportionate interests of Llandinam, 'an advowson and presentation of the Bishops of Bangor,' being left out of the cognisance of the Trustees and figuring in the records of the Committee for Compounding[4] except on the assumption that the Protector, who presented first Dormer and then Osborne, haphazardly interfered, found Llandinam a self-sufficing entity, and left it to be administered by the new Commissioners for Sequestrations. The latter themselves, like the Trustees, sometimes made mistakes: even a prominent clergyman like Edward Ellis of Guilsfield, once nominated for a seat in the Westminster Assembly of Divines, was discharged 'from the order of delinquents' (but not restored to his living[5]) because he made good the assertion that he had been mistaken for another man.[6] To unlettered peasants and unsophisticated ministers it was a time of distracting chaos, and the intellectual anarchy that daily presented to them the word of God coupled with strange and ever stranger revelations only deepened the confusion caused by a plethora of orders and officials, by an accumulation of ordinances and supplementary ordinances, and by the intrusion upon the spheres of Triers, Trustees and Sequestrators of the Protector's all-pervading influence. Of the Welsh sequestrators themselves, some possibly might correspond to the description given of their predecessors by John Griffith, the Royalist poetaster of Llanddyfnan, as 'scum

1 Lamb. 989, f. 3.
2 Supra, pp. 102-103.
3 Cal. Comm. Comp., III, 1712.
4 Ibid. 1725
5 Of course, such restoration did not lie with the Sequestrators, but with the Triers.
6 Cal. Comm. Comp., IV, 3056.

y byd '[1] ; but the groans of the ejected and the grievances of the ' decimated ' delinquents testify to their rigorous efficiency in the service of the Parliament. There is no evidence that they, like some Cornwall agents of the old Committee for Compounding, allowed warrants and orders to bulge out their pockets and remain there[2] ; nor is it easy at this juncture of time to discover what modicum of truth lay behind the reviling retrospect of Huw Morus :—

> Troi'r esgob o'i raddau, drud werthu'r degymau
> I brynu modrwyau a lasau hardd lun ;
> Chwi welsoch fawrhydi fab un o'r comiti,
> A rhenti'r eglwysi ar ei glosyn.[3]

NOTE : A MYDDFAI LEASE (UNEXPIRED).

This case brings to view an interested ' discoverer ' who managed to mislead the Trustees on a matter of fact. According to Howell Traunter of the Castle of Hay in Brecon, the tithes of Myddfai (granted by Roger Mainwaring, Bishop of St. David's, to Morgan Owen) were *out* of lease, and he succeeded on 29 March, 1655, in obtaining from the Trustees a lease of the same for a term of six years at the rate of £60 yearly. Then Traunter, ' well knowing the lease was a void lease,' conceived the idea of assigning it upon Owen Price of Glanclydach, ' pretending much benefit to him as his habitation was near Mothvey, and therefore convenient when the tithes should be due.' The assignee was to pay £50 down, another £50 yearly for the tithes, besides entering into a bond for £200 that he would carry out the covenants ; in return, Traunter promised to save him harmless from any possible claimant to the tithes and to reimburse him the £50 in case of ejection at law. Very soon after this assignment Price was successfully sued in the Protectorate Court of Chancery by William Williams of Myddfai, who proved that *he* held an assignment of the same tithes from Morgan Owen of Glasallt, the gentleman who had originally obtained the lease from the Bishop—for 21 years dating from 1640. This meant to Price legal expenses amounting to £80, and not one penny of the tithes received ! In the Easter term of 1659 he took his grievances against Traunter to the Commonwealth Exchequer, and asserts that matters there turned out in his favour ; but the execution of the judgment was delayed by the defendant dying intestate and his relict Joan suing forth a ' scire facias.' Price countered this move by entering a ' bill of Revivour ' at the Restoration law-courts, to be again capped by Joan assigning the bond for £200 to a Robert Symonds ' in order to pay her husband's debts to him (Symonds).' Whether Owen Price of Glanclydach ever recovered the lump sum of £50 or the bond for £200 is not reported in the Exchequer records ; but the tilting of these secular Puritans over an

1 ' Ymddiddan rhwng Mr. John Griffith a'i ewythr Mr. Bwlclai ' (1647) (Hen Gerddi Gwleidyddol (1901) p. 18).

2 Cal. Comm. Comp., I. 543. The strictures of the Anglesey bard and the Cornwall agents might very well apply to certain collectors of Army assessments (*infra*, p. 127) but not to the sequestrating officials.

3 ' Cerdd i Olfur Cromwel a'i Wyr,' st. [11]—printed in ' Cymru,' Vol. xxi, September 15, 1901, p. 111.

Mr. J. H. Davies calls it ' Drych yr Amseroedd ' (Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, Introd., xliv).

unexpired Anglican lease must have been food for sardonic amusement to the Royalist judges, especially as the plaintiff Price admitted that he 'cannot make such strict proof of the premisses as is required by the common law' (Bills & Ans., Chas. II, Carm., No. 9), and remembering, too, that the same judges had before them in another Exchequer case the following deposition—'Thomas Lewes of Mothvey, aged 70, states that one Sunday shortly after the Bishop's death [Morgan Owen of Llandaff, uncle of the Morgan Owen in the Myddfai case] he saw Owen Price with about 50 troopers carry off a trunk, pretended to have been the Bishop's trunk, from the house of Thomas Llewellin in Llywell, co. Brecknock, whither the Bishop had sent it for safety, to his [Price's] dwelling-house, the trunk containing the Bishop's papers, plate and jewels' (Bills & Ans., Mixed Counties, No 9, Mich., 13 Chas. II). One thing is certain, that Bishop William Lucy could proceed in 1661 to grant a new Myddfai lease in the good old fashion, quite unhampered by the now defunct race of Puritan 'discoverers.' Not so certain is it how a year after that the Chancellor and the Exchequer judges would square Price's admitted dabbling in one Bishop's lands and the circumstantial allegation of his secreting the valuables of another Bishop with his own solemn deposition that he was a Royalist all the time, that in 1657 his cattle were 'taken up' to pay the decimation money, that he was for a time imprisoned in a Parliament ship, and that in 1658 he was 'deprived of liberty for a fortnight' (see Exch. Bills & Ans., Mixed Cos., No. 12, Mich., 14 Chas. II).

VI.

UNION AND DIVISION OF PARISHES.

One branch of the administration of the Trustees, the inquisition into the feasibility of uniting or dividing parishes, was by the ordinance of 2 September, 1654, reserved exclusively in their hands, subject, as usual, to the revising powers of the Protector and his Council. The preamble to this ordinance stated that many parishes were without 'constant and powerful preaching' through want of 'competent maintenance and encouragement,' that some parishes on account of their small area and their 'propinquity and neighbourhood and the situation of their Churches or places of meeting' were convenient to be united, while other parishes were so populous and of so great an extent that all their inhabitants could not with proper accommodation 'resort to their respective Parish-churches.'[1] Precedents for such union or division could be found in particular acts 'ad hoc' passed in the early days of the Long Parliament, in which parishes were re-arranged, chapels transformed into parish churches, and rectories wholly disappropriated. Dr. Shaw gives instances of some such proceedings in Kent and Lancashire, but not in Wales.[2] Also the Committee 'for Tithes' appointed by the Saints' Parliament in July 1653 had reported on 2 December that it would be well for special commissioners to (among other duties) 'unite 2 or 3 Parishes together, so that none be above Three Miles from a Publick Meeting-Place.'[3] Now, however, the Trustees, 'or any five or more of them,' were authorised to send into the Court of Chancery for the actual returns, or true copies of the same, made by such commissions as had issued under the Great Seal in pursuance of the Act of 8 June, 1649, described as an instrument for 'providing maintenance for preaching

1 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, p. 1000.
2 II, p. 248 and n. 3.
3 C. J., VII, 361.

Ministers, and other pious uses.'[1] Some of the provisions of this Act have been noticed in the last chapter[2]; for the present purpose it is to be noted that the commissioners appointed for each county (and the local jurors whom they summoned to swear of their personal knowledge about the various parishes) were to enquire how certain churches and chapels were situated and 'whether fit to be united within the Limits of such Counties and Cities.'[3] Under the Act of 1654 the Trustees were particularly requested to find out any defect or imperfection in the 1649-1650 returns, and in case of laxity in 'the issuing forth of any such Commission' they were empowered to send forth new writs 'according to former tenor'[4]; a further clause made all such new commissions ask for the yearly value of all livings *without* cure of souls, what person or persons now received the profits and for whose use, who was the patron thereof; and new authority was given the Trustees to divide parishes as well as to unite them.[5] Of the only two Welsh counties whose proceedings under the 1649 Act have survived in the records, the Pembroke authorities recommended union in no less than 38 groups of parishes,[6] while the Anglesey commissioners seem to have overlooked altogether this clause in the Act, not a single reference to propinquity of churches occurring within the 21 folios of their return.[7] On the other hand, the Trustees (whose proceedings under this head are mainly chronicled in Lambeth MSS. 990 and 991) proceeded with their usual vigour. The recommendations made in 1650 were meticulously examined, parties concerned in the proposed change—such as patrons, present incumbents, and substantial inhabitants—were interviewed, provisional orders for union were made 'unless good cause to the contrary' were specified before a certain date, and (if found expedient after the lapse of the forementioned day) certificates of union or division

1 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, pp. 147-148.
2 Supra, pp. 91-92.
3 It is not devoid of interest that a draft commission for this purpose to be issued to the various counties was presented to the Commons on 8 February, 1649-1650, but being in Latin was rejected, and substituted by another in English on 14 February. (C. J., VI, 359, 365.)
4 Lamb. MS. 1000 is mainly a record of letters addressed by the Trustees to the Commissioners of the Great Seal asking for the appointment of local panels for such inquiries (with names supplied).
5 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 1002. The possibility of *union* only was suggested in the enactment of 1649.
6 Lamb. 915, ff. 86-182 passim.
7 Lamb. 902, ff. 36-57.

were presented by them to the Protector and Council. If approved, these certificates were returned to the Trustees accompanied by an official approbation 'made upon' them; the document was then 'acknowledged' by five of the Trustees in the presence of one of 'the Masters in Chancery in ordinary' and finally inrolled in Chancery by another of the Masters. And Lambeth MS. 991 contains direct evidence that this vigour of the Trustees was complemented by the enthusiasm of certain interested parties, *e.g.*, the inhabitants of Llanfihangel Nant Melan sent them a petition desiring the union of that parish with New Radnor[1]; important parishioners, like Thomas Evans of Lampeter in Cardigan,[2] James Phillips of the Cardigan Priory,[3] Rees ap John of Llangunllo[3] and Henry Vaughan of Cilcennin in the same county,[3] expressed the strong wishes of 'themselves and the rest of the inhabitants' of those parishes for such unions (detailed in the lists below) as would greatly enhance the prestige of the particular churches they were attached to; while Edward Carver and Peregrine Phillips agitated for the perfecting of such arrangements[4] as would cause the rectories of Tenby and Llangwm respectively to 'stand and bee endowed wth all tithes rents duties and profits'[5] hitherto payable to the incumbents of the livings proposed to be annexed—a proviso which applied indiscriminately to all the new unions. In fact, the good Puritan Peregrine cherished such eagerness in the quest that he was in London on 8 July, 1656, to receive a copy of the actual certificates for Tenby and Llangwm sent up for approval to the Protector and Council, dated 1 July in the former and 3 July in the latter.[6]

But the suggested unions, though founded on the 1650 returns and many of them representing the genuine desires of the local population, often presented elements of great difficulty. The Trustees could not see their way to recommend Llangwm to be allocated St. Ishmaels as a contributory area, especially as the Commissioners of 1650 had suggested the fusion of the latter with Marloes and Dale, with Marloes as a centre[7]; it is doubtful if the Nant Melan petitioners expected

1 f. 12. 2 f. 24.
3 f. 25 (all three).
4 Lamb. 991, f. 26 (both cases).
5 Lamb. 990, ff. 18, 20.
6 Lamb. 991, ff. 99, 100 [endorsements in margin.]
7 Lamb. 915, f. 95.

a provision that they ' pay their ratable part and proporcons for the repairing and amending of the said Church [of New Radnor] . . . and for all other thinges necessary to be had or used in or about the said Church '[1]; and an entry in Lambeth MS. 989[2] corroborated by another in MS. 991[3] referring to the exceptions against Charles Price, minister of Cardigan, enjoying the profits of certain united parishes, notwithstanding that such a union was the only one decreed by the previous C.P.G.W.,[4] are eloquent of the disaffection aroused in that quarter by the new policy. It is more than possible, too, that the argument from proximity which underlay most of the suggested fusions was driven rather far by both Commissioners and Trustees. The latter say, somewhat vaguely, that all the parishes of the extensive Cardigan[5] and Lampeter[6] groups were ' but three miles distant from each other,' and very dogmatically that the remotest houses in either of the parishes Petrox and Bosherston were but one mile from the parish church of Bosherston,[7] also that the furthest houses in either of the three parishes of Hodgeston, Manorbier and Penally were but about a mile and a half from the church of Manorbier[8]—all leading to their inevitable conclusion that these groups of parishes formed natural entities and could not in either case ' without great inconvenience be united to any other parish.' Moreover, the regulating of the presentation rights of patrons under the new régime required very delicate adjustments. The Trustees solved the problem by taking as standards the yearly values of the separate livings as certified in the 1650 returns, and making the patron of the more substantial have the first choice. As the yearly value of Llangwm in Pembroke amounted to £20, the vicarage of Rosemarket to £5, and the rectory of Freystrop to £8,[9] it followed that the patron of Llangwm exercised the presentation right for the ' two first turnes,' Freystrop next, and Rosemarket last of all, Llangwm in the words of the Trustees' clerk ' choosing twice for the others once from time to time.'

1 Lamb. 991, f. 120.
2 f. 14 [Entry S. 21].
3 f. 523.
4 H.P.M., p. 241 (and n. 11).
5 Lamb. 990, f. 11.
6 Ibid. f. 108.
7 Lamb. 991, f. 565.
8 Ibid. f. 567.
9 Lamb. 915, f. 101.

Naturally in the cases of Tenby (£25) and Gumfreston (£18),[1] the patron of Tenby presented on the first avoidance. On the union of the two 'vicarages perpetuall' of Bangor and Pentir,[2] whose joint valuation was given in a capital sum of £60 over and above all 'legall charges and reprizes,' the patron of such of the said vicarages as were then void were to present the first turn 'to be acco[ted] from and after the next avoidance of the other of the said vicarages.'[3] The same principle adopted for the Lampeter centre in Cardigan allowed the patron of Lampeter itself, beginning with the next avoidance of that living, to present on the first and second turns, Cellan on the third and fourth, Bettws Bledrws fifth and sixth, Silian seventh and eight, Llangybi ninth, and Lampeter again the tenth and eleventh, 'and so from time to time according to the said proportions and for the like turns successively,' making Llangybi always come after Silian, although the yearly value of the first was £5 and the second £5 'or thereabouts.'[4] A like basis prevented the patron of Cardigan exercising premier rights after avoidance of that vicarage. The first two turns fell to Llangoedmor (to which the chapels of Mount and Llechryd were attached), Aberporth came third, Verwick fourth, Cardigan (with the chapel of Tremaen) fifth, and Llandygwydd last, a rota that directly traversed a proviso expressed a few lines previously that the patron of Verwick should present 'twice for each other of the patrons once.'[5] Some of the orders, especially those of Lampeter and Cardigan, inserted a clause that the union was not to prejudice the title or interest of the present incumbents (if any), adding the clumsily-worded caution that such mercy was to flow 'as to the said Benefices so full as aforesaid only.'

Nothing shows the independent mind of the Trustees better than the judgment meted out by them to the thirty-eight recommendations for parish unions made by the 1650 Commissioners in Pembrokeshire (the only Welsh county

1 Lamb. 915, f. 104. Tenby was certified as worth £35 in 1650.

2 Pentir is described as 'otherwise called Kedell.' A special commission, (whose personnel, as usual, was suggested by the Trustees) seems to have thoroughly inquired into the advantages of this union (Lamb. 1000, f. 27v, with 24 December, 1656, as the date).

3 Lamb. 990, f. 67.

4 Ibid. ff. 108-110. These far-reaching arrangements look pathetic, if not ridiculous, in view of the nearness of the Restoration.

5 Lamb. 990, ff. 111-114.

where a comparison is possible). Twenty-eight of them were indiscriminately rejected, including the very excellent ideas that the lower part of St. Lawrence parish together with Hayscastle should attend at Brawdy church[1] and the upper part with St. Dogwell's at Letterston[2]; it is not surprising that the absurd suggestions made in the Llandeloy,[3] Cilgerran[4] and Rudbaxton[5] groups that certain churches should be attended alternately were no more heard of. The Tenby advice was adopted without change[6]; in the Llangwm constituents the Trustees substituted Freystrop for the Commissioners' Burton.[7] Of the seven suggestions adopted by the Trustees but not 'completed' by the Council of State, two contained important variations: the Pembroke town group were to meet (though the order is obscurely worded) at St. Michael's and not at St. Mary's[8]; while the Trustees certified to the Council that Hodgeston, Penally and Manorbier could well meet at the latter, the Commissioners of 1650 had added to them St. Florence and Caldy Island, all to meet at Manorbier and St. Florence by turns.[9] In only one case, the Begelly group in the hundred of Narberth, did the Trustees certify to the Council a case for union not regarded as necessary or expedient by the local Commissioners and jurors.[10] Nor did the Trustees adopt in its entirety the one order for union made by the C.P.G.W. at their (South Wales) Roath meeting on 26 March, 1652, that the parishes of Verwick, Llangoedmor and Aberporth 'be consolidated unto Cardigan'; they added to them the parish of Llandygwydd, with the exception of that portion of it known as Uwch Hirwern.[11] A summary of the doings of the Trustees under this clause of the 1654 Act will include (A) unions certified by them to the Protector and Council and 'perfected' by order as attested by entries in the Lambeth MSS. and, in the majority of cases, by confirmatory references in the Calendar of State Papers.

1 Lamb. 915, ff. 128-129. St. Elvis was also in this group.
2 Ibid. ff. 130-132.
3 }
4 }Lamb. 915, ff. 121-122; 147-149; 171-173.
5 }
6 cp. Lamb. 915, f. 104 and 990, ff. 19-20.
7 cp. Ibid. ff. 100-102 and Ibid. ff. 18-19.
8 cp. Lamb. 915, ff. 140-142 and 991, f. 74.
9 Ibid. ff. 143-146 and 991, f. 567.
10 Ibid. ff. 110-112 and 991, f. 112.
11 Cp. Lamb. 990, ff.111-114 and 1006, f. 54.

County.	Parishes to be United.	Approved Centre for Worship.	Date of Protector and Council's Approbation.	Date of Final Enrolment in Chancery.	MS. Reference or other Authority.
Cardigan ..	Cardigan (with Tremaen)	Cardigan ..	27 Aug., 1657	25 Sept., 1657	Lamb. 990, ff. 111-114; 991' ff. 25, 142, 238; 1015, ff. 20-21; Cal. St. Pap., 1656-7, p. 82.[1]
	Verwick				
	Llangoedmor (with Mount and Llechryd)				
	Aberporth				
	Llandygwydd				
	Lampeter	Lampeter ..	27 Aug., 1657	25 Sept., 1657	Lamb. 990, ff. 108-110; 991, ff. 24, 142, 240; 1015, ff. 20-21; Cal. St. Pap., 1656-7, p. 81.[2]
	Silian				
	Bettws Bledrws				
	Llangybi				
	Cellan				
Carnarvon	Bangor	Bangor ..	27 Aug., 1657	15 Sept., 1657	Lamb. 990, ff. 67-68; 991, ff. 192, 208; 1015, ff. 20-21.
	Pentir				
Pembroke ..	Llangwm	Llangwm ..	10 July, 1656	21 July, 1656	Lamb. 990, ff. 18-19; 991, ff. 26, 99; 1015, f. 4[3]; Cal. St. Pap., 1656-7, p. 15.
	Rosemarket				
	Freystrop				
	Tenby	Tenby ..	10 July, 1656	21 July, 1656	Lamb. 990, ff. 19-20; 991, ff. 26, 100; 1015, f. 4; Cal. St. Pap., 1656-7, p. 15.
	Gumfreston				
Radnor ..	Llanfihangel Nant Melan	New Radnor ..	7 Aug., 1657	(Not recorded)	Lamb. 991, ff. 12, 74, 120; Cal. St. Pap., 1656-7, p. 62.
	New Radnor				

1 The calendarist writes 'Llangodmore,' 'Leckryd,' 'Llandogway.' 2 The calendarist writes 'Bettus, Bledrus,' 'Llangibby,' 'Keston.'
3 By some mischance, the scribe—William Jessop, 'cl. of ye Councell'—entered 'Penrith' instead of Freystrop within the bracket at the head of the confirming order; the content of the latter leaves no doubt that Freystrop was really meant.

Secondly come unions that were not 'completed,' much in the majority, and all curiously arising from the counties of Cardigan and Pembroke. Only the day of hearing for the petitions of Cilcennin and Llangunllo is recorded; the cases of Begelly and Steynton came to an obscure end with the provisional order, there being no further reference to the final lodging of objections or to the all-important certificate of the Trustees. Indifference, strong opposition, even clerical inadvertence, played their part in delay and effective obstruction. The provisional order for the Llanarth aggregation[1] was repeated no less than twice before the certificate was issued, those for Pembroke, Lawrenny, Clydey and Llandyssul once; in the last case 'no appearance was made on either side' the second time, possibly because the Trustees expected a hearing on 20 July, 1658, although their clerk had appointed the 7 June for that purpose—the case disappears from the records after a new hearing for November 4 had been decided upon. Indeed, the outlook for both Llangunllo and Llandyssul in the last resort was far from reassuring, as *both* had included Bangor and Henllan as component portions; it may be inferred, however, that the Trustees were inclined to favour the latter's claims, as the same date (October 9, 1657,) sees a decision to hear the case of Llangunllo for the first time, and also a provisional order to the effect that the two parishes were to attend at Llandyssul parish church. In the Pembroke town case the Trustees repeated their provisional order (unless good cause shewn, etc.) sixteen days before the grace for appeals against the first had expired. Worse still, the Trustees' own arrangements for two of the suggested unions appear quite unconvincing: after remarking of the St. Petrox-Bosherston group that none appeared to oppose they decide that on one part of the Lord's Day and of days set apart for public fasting and thanksgiving the grouped parishioners were to attend at St. Petrox and on the other parts at Bosherston; one part of devotional days at Manorbier and the other at Hodgeston and Penally alternately. Nor would the Council of State be slow to notice the defective drafting of a certificate

1 The writer has not thought it expedient, in face of the tabulated lists on pp. 125-126, to quote seriatim the ff. of MS. 991 which furnish the authority for the facts on this and the next page.

which made the patron of Manorbier present on the first and *next* avoidance, the patron of Hodgeston on the *second*, the patron of Penally on the *third*. Most probably the unsatisfactory presentation turns of the Llanarth amalgamation proved the undoing of this certificate: though the yearly value of Llanarth cum Llanina was only £8, Henfynyw £10, and Llanllwchaiarn £20, yet the patron of Llanarth was to present the first turn, leaving Llanllwchaiarn to choose on the second and third, and Henfynyw last, although its yearly value was £2 in advance of Llanarth itself. There comes to view very conclusive evidence that some of the attempted unions did not come to fruition in other Lambeth MSS., dealing principally with appointments and allocations in 1658-9. In November of the latter year Roderick Davies, the Puritan minister at Llanarth, received an augmentation of £10 a year from the profits of Henfynyw only, while the £35 of Llanllwchaiarn (void of incumbent) were left wholly unaffected[1]; on 13 December of the same year £20 out of the impropriate tithes of Aberarth were granted, not to any minister at Cilcennin, but to Richard Davies, the minister of Penbryn, already in receipt of £70 per annum[2]; further proof that another of the projected unions had fallen through is given by the appointment on 13 May, 1658, of Evan Hughes to Llandyfriog[3] (one of the proposed Llangunllo components) and to Llanfair Trelygen on 17 November, 1659,[4] which happened to be another of the suggested components. As the revenue of Llandyfriog, an interest 'founded in the Cathedrall of St. David's,' fell strictly within the jurisdiction of the Trustees, there is a significant entry in Lamb. MS. 987 (under November 29), granting it to Evan Hughes and to none other.[5] The coming of John Evans to Bangor and Henllan[6] and Luntley to Llanstadwell[6] tells the same story of the Llandyssul and Steynton applications. The following summary (B) of the unsuccessful attempts at union supplies also the authorities for the facts cited in this paragraph.

1 Lamb. 987, f. 77 [Entry D. 30]. Evidently the Trustees had found good reasons for increasing the value of Llanllwchaiarn from the £20 of 4 Nov., 1658. (Lamb. 991, f. 484).

2 Lamb. 987, f. 132 [Entry S. 31]. See also the 'suggested union' at the beginning of the next list.

3 Lamb. 983, f. 100.

4 Ibid., f. 162.

5 ff. 142-143 [Entry N. 32].

6 Supra, pp. 21, 23.

County.	Suggested Union.	Dates of Important Orders or Certificates.	MS. Authority.
Cardigan ..	Cilcennin, Aberarth, Llanbadarn Odwyn, Trefilan	25 Dec., 1655—decision to hear grounds of petition ..	Lamb. 991, f. 25.
		12 Feb., 1655-6—date of hearing	
	Llanarth cum Llanina	3 Oct., 1656—prov. order for union unless good cause, etc.	Ibid. f. 141.
		9 Dec., 1656—final date for appeals	
		28 Aug., 1657—provisional order repeated	Ibid. f. 242.
		10 March, 1657-8—date of new hearing	
	Llanllwchaiarn	10 Sept., 1658—order again repeated	Ibid. f. 406.
	Henfynyw	2 Nov., 1658—date of third hearing	
		4 Nov., 1658—certificate presented to Council of State ..	Ibid. f. 484.
	Llandyssul Llanfair Onllwyn, Bangor, Henllan.	9 Oct., 1657—prov. order unless good cause, etc. ..	Ibid. f. 345.
		11 Feb., 1657-8—final date for appeals	
		19 March, 1657-8—order repeated	Ibid. f. 406.
		7 June, 1658—date of new hearing	
		20 July, 1658—no appearance of either side	Ibid. f. 461.
		2 Nov., 1658—date of new hearing	
	Llangunllo, Troedyraur, Llanfair Trelygen, Llandyfriog, Bangor, Henllan	9 Oct., 1657—decision to hear grounds of petition ..	Ibid. f. 25.
		11 Feb., 1657-8—date of hearing	
Denbigh ..	Llanarmon Llandegla	6 Aug., 1658—Trustees direct inquiry by local commissioners into possibility of union or other re-arrangement	Lamb. 1000, f. 74.
Pembroke ..	Begelly, Jeffreston, Loveston, Rinalton, Williamston	15 July, 1656—prov. order unless good cause, etc. ..	Lamb. 991, f. 112.
		4 Nov., 1656—final date for appeals	

County.	Suggested Union.	Dates of Important Orders or Certificates.	MS. Authority.
Pembroke .. (*con.*)	Clydey, Cilrhedyn, Llanfihangel-Penbedw	18 Feb., 1657-8—prov. order unless good cause, etc. ..	Lamb. 991, f. 393.
		6 May, 1658—final date for appeals	
		2 Dec., 1658—order repeated	Ibid. f. 531.
		17 Feb., 1658-9—new date for hearing	
	Lawrenny, Martletwy, Mainweare, Yerbeston, Newton, Mounkton[1]	18 Feb., 1657-8—prov. order unless good cause, etc. ..	Ibid. f. 392.
		6 May, 1658—final date for appeals	
		17 Feb., 1658-9—order repeated	Ibid. f. 543.
		3 May, 1659—new date for lodging objections ..	
	Manorbier, Hodgeston, Penally	17 Dec., 1658—prov. order unless good cause, etc. ..	Ibid. f. 506.
		15 Feb., 1658-9—final date for appeals	
		15 Feb., 1658-9—cert. of Trustees presented to Council ..	Ibid. f. 567.
	Pembroke, St. Mary's	22 May, 1656—prov. order unless good cause, etc. ..	Ibid. f. 74.
	,, St. Michael's	*26* June, 1656—date for appeals	
	Mounkton[2], Lamphey, Cosheston, Nash	*10* June, 1656—order repeated	Ibid. f. 80.
		23 Oct., 1656—new date for lodging objections ..	
	St. Petrox, Bosherston	2 Nov., 1658—Trustees direct inquiry by local Commissioners	Lamb. 1000, f. 81[v3].
		17 Dec., 1658—prov. order unless good cause, etc. ..	Lamb. 991, f. 506.
		15 Feb., 1658-9—final date for appeals	
		15 Feb., 1658-9—cert. of Trustees presented to Council ..	Ibid. f. 565.
	Steynton, Hubberston, Johnston, Llanstadwell	10 June, 1656—prov. order unless good cause, etc. ..	Ibid. f. 79.
		27 Oct., 1656—final date for appeals	
	27 parish churches and chapels (mainly in North Pembroke)	25 Jan., 1658-9—inquiries directed by Trustees into feasibility of unions (or divisions)	Lamb. 1000, f. 96.

1 Narberth Hundred (Lamb. 915, f. 116). It should be added that on 17 Sept., 1658, the Trustees ask for a new inquiry by local commissioners (Lamb. 1000, f. 78 verso), with the result that six months later they see well to reaffirm the provisional order made early in 1658.

2 Castlemartin Hundred (Lamb. 915, f. 140).

3 According to the terms of the letter addressed by them to the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the original idea of the Trustees was to unite under one minister not only Petrox and Bosherston, but Stackpole Elidir, Hodgeston, Manorbier and Penally as well. Evidently the report of the local commissioners cured them of that obsession.

Thus the unifying activities of the Trustees were disappointing in their cumulative results, the reasons for which must receive due consideration in any conspectus of their general efficiency; besides, their hopes of escape from further refinements of financial honeycombing were to that extent frustrated. The Triers also were deprived of additional avenues to supply a moderately sufficient ministry. However, the survivors of both Puritan bodies and of the Parliamentary statesmen who advocated the policy of parish-unions in the Rump commissions of 1649-1650, in the December report just preceding the dissolution of the Saints' Parliament, and made it the subject of express legislation in the Protectorate ordinance of 1654, saw the difficulties that surrounded the administration of the Clarendon Code forcing Anglican jurists to adopt not dissimilar methods for apparently different motives and with some seriously varying provisions. This was an act of 1665, next in order after the Five Mile Act, 'for Uniting Churches in Cities and Towns Corporate.'[1] The preamble bewailed the great ruin of many churches in city parishes, the insufficient maintenance for many of their ministers, and their mean and 'stipendary' character, many of them depending upon the goodwill of their auditors, and under the temptation of 'too much complying and Uniting their Doctrine and Teaching to those men's Humour (. . . great Occasion of Faction and Schism).' The practice of the Trustees was imitated over alternate presentation, 'respect being had therein to the Difference of the Values of the yearly Maintenance belonging to such Churches,'[2] over effecting union after first avoidance, and over making the incumbent of the new church presentative receive the tithes and duties of all the annexed churches or chapels[3]; nor was it foreign to the policy of the Triers and Trustees to appoint (if it were possible) no one but graduates of one of the two Universities as new incumbents of the united churches,[4] and to exempt from union, if the parishioners so desired, churches having maintenance exceeding £100 per annum clear.[5] But

1 17 Charles II, cap. III (printed verbatim in 'Statutes at Large" (1734), Vol. II, pp. 675-676).
The Five Mile Act is found on pp. 674-675.
2 Clause III.
3 Clause I.
4 Clause VI.
5 Clause V.

the registering of the consummated union in the book of the Bishop of the diocese[1] and the necessary consent of the latter at all stages in the arrangement were provisoes unknown to the Puritan committee, as the bishops had been finally expropriated nearly three years before the Trustees were even originally appointed.

Whatever difficulties the Trustees experienced in uniting parishes were multiplied tenfold when they attempted the work of division. As far as references to Wales are concerned, this troublesome work was undertaken in English Flint only, and is especially interesting in affording instances of the formation of new parishes in Wales divorced from parent churches situated over the Border; it also to some extent shows the Trustees receding from their practice of treating the principality as a strictly autonomous area. First comes the proposed severance of the township of Iscoed, containing the chapel of Whitwell, from the parish of Malpas in Cheshire.[2] The Trustees issued a provisional order to this effect on June 4, 1657, 'unless good cause were shewn to the contrary' before 27 October.[3] Evidently some objections were lodged, for on November 26 'parties on both sides' were heard, and the opponents pressed for a new inquisition; the Trustees did not then reach any final verdict, but allowed them until 3 December 'to be farther heard in the case.'[4] The next entry comes under Jan. 13, 1657-8, which states that by consent of both parties the matter was respited until 4 May, when the conflicting interests were to be thoroughly examined once more[5]; on that day the opponents press a motion, which is agreed upon, to postpone the question until the 20th.[6] A new demand was then made for a new commission 'in regard of the defects of the former Inquisition'; this is granted, but with a proviso that unless it reports by 9 November the Trustees threaten to proceed upon the facts already in their possession.[7] This last commission, with an old C.P.G.W.—Luke Lloyd of Bryn—at their head, complied with the strictures of the deciding body, and their actual

1 Clause IV.
2 Malpas is wrongly described as being in the County of *Flint* in Lamb. 991, f. 220.
3 Lamb. 991, f. 220.
4 Ibid. f. 361.
5 Ibid. f. 371.
6 Ibid. f. 414.
7 Ibid. f. 442

report is embodied in MSS. preserved at Emral and printed by the editor of Philip Henry's diaries[1]; besides, a summary of the same return is found in the certificate of division at last granted by the Trustees and presented by them to the Council on November 16, 1658.[2] Malpas is described as a huge parish of above twenty townships with an ecclesiastical revenue of £450 and having two 'Jointe fellow incumbents' who supplied the chapel of Whitwell with curates 'who had some small salaries for their paines.' These facts, and the further evidence that the chapel was distant from Malpas about three miles and some parts of the Iscoed township four miles, and that the river Elfe with 'another brook which frequently makes the way of the inhabitants dangerous and impassible' was cited by the dividers, weighed down the scales against the persistent opponents. The records are silent as to the Protector's decision, and one is left to conjecture whether the curate Joseph Hanmer ever received the £50 per annum advised by the Trustees in lieu of the 'tithe corn and hey' of Iscoed allowed him by the rich rectors of Malpas.[3] The procedure in the Overton-Bangor-Worthenbury cases was even more distracting, as they brought the nimble wit of Justice Puleston of Emral into conflict with the stubborn will of Robert Fogg, the half-soldier half-minister who held the large rectory of Bangor Monachorum. It was probably on Puleston's petition that the Overton case was pressed, a theory supported by a marginal note endorsed on one of the most important decisions in the case that a copy was delivered to John Hollinson, clerk to the Judge.[4] The records actually open with the Trustees' provisional order for division (17 July, 1657), all objections to be lodged before October 27[5]; on that day there was a battle-royal between the two parties, the opponents denouncing the old survey and demanding a new commission to be issued. This was granted, and the names of likely men were to be exhibited by both sides in order ultimately to arrive at an impartial jury.[6] Much time was spent in securing this new panel, as on December 3, at another hearing given by the Trustees, Puleston supplied

1 pp. 125-126.
2 Lamb. 991, ff. 547-548.
3 Philip Henry: Diaries, p. 125.
4 cp. Lamb. 991, f. 351, with Diaries, p. 112.
5 Ibid. f. 233.
6 Ibid. f. 351.

the names of several persons, but Fogg was to be notified of them, that he might make objections before 28 January, 1657-8, when arguments for and against were again to be exhaustively heard.[1] It was only at that meeting that both sides consented that a writ should be issued by the Commissioners of the Great Seal to ten persons 'indifferently nominated' to deal with the case.[2] And that is the end of the matter both in the Lamb. MSS. and the State Papers. Perhaps the Trustees or the Council thought that an official decree of separation was not very urgent seeing that eight years before Fogg had been forced to relinquish the supervision of Overton by the Propagation Commissioners[3] and that his own son Orlando had held the living since 1654.[4] This unsatisfactory conclusion to the Overton dispute is more than compensated by the interest and intensity of the Worthenbury struggle, in the story of which the prosaic testimony of the London records is illuminated by the Emral documents and the diaries of Philip Henry. They all show the question at issue to be unusually complicated: the long feud between the former Anglican rectors of Bangor with the Pulestons of Emral, the uncertainty that hung over the patronage of the parish church[5] of Worthenbury, the existence of an 'ancient chapel' at Emral side by side with this parish church, both besides being situated in a constituent township of the large parish of Bangor and therefore ecclesiastically speaking under the jurisdiction of the rector of that parish; to these problems were added the exasperation of Robert Fogg over the Overton case and the measures taken by Justice Puleston not only to secure both chapel and church under his own patronage, but also to erect the township of Worthenbury into a separate parish. The new trouble really started with the coming of Philip Henry in 1653, not at the invitation of the rector of Bangor, but by what seems to have been a private arrangement with Judge Puleston and his lady.[6] Fogg was not the man to hide his mortification: he soon reminded Henry that *he* was 'minister of Worthenbury'[7]:

1 cp. Lamb. 991, f. 363. 2 Lamb. 991, f. 380.
3 Rawl. c. 261. Reprint, p. 18.
4 Supra, p. 22.
5 The term 'parish church' is used here to maintain a contrast with the chapel of Emral: accurately speaking, its use ought to be postponed until the division of Bangor was actually consummated.
6 Diaries, pp. 15, 29-30.
7 Ibid. p. 19.

and when on September 14, 1657, the protégé of the Pulestons published his intentions to be ordained by presbyters, Fogg entered a caveat against it because 'he conceiv'd it an intrenchm[1] upon his right in Worthenbury and a præjudice to his proceedings for recovering [it] by due course of law.' It was, however, mutually decided that Henry should ask for the collusive 'consent' of Fogg, which was given 'in Scriptis' coupled with a blessing upon Henry's labours in the parish. Good feeling was not altogether restored; "I expect," said Henry, "hee should talk big of my submission to him herein, but I value it not."[1] The situation becomes piquant when it is known that three months before this agreement the Trustees had issued a provisional order for the dividing of Worthenbury from Bangor.[2] The duel regarding Overton was repeated; indeed, was fought to a great extent parallel with it. The usual cycle was run of objections to the order, denunciations of the old survey of 1650, the grant of a new commission of 'indifferent' persons after Puleston and Fogg had eliminated persons not satisfactory to them.[3] The writ for the new inquisition was dated from the court of Chancery on 18 February, 1657-8, to be executed on Monday the 19 April 'at the dwellinge-house of Robert ap Prichard in Bangor,' where the jurors with Andrew Ellis of Hanmer, an old C.P.G.W., at their head, were to assemble by 'eight of the clocke in the morninge.'[4] At this juncture the Justice greatly strengthened his case by a very significant act: he granted by indenture of the 5 March to Philip Henry his newly-built brick house (begun in August and completed on November 12, 1657[5]) and the croft where it stood to have and hold for sixty years (should he not accept a better preferment) at the nominal rent of sixpence payable at Michaelmas.[6] This development, coupled with the admittedly large revenue of Bangor and the equally admitted remissness of pastoral interest taken in Worthenbury by the rectors, found the dice against Fogg too heavily loaded. The Trustees' order

1 For a full account of this incident, see Diaries, p. 38. It must be remembered that it was in his private papers that the remark was made.
2 Lamb. 991, f. 351.
3 Ibid. ff. 361, 364, 380.
4 Diaries, p. 24.
5 Ibid. cp. pp. 56, 63.
6 Ibid. p. 120. The Editor puts the date as March 5, *1657*, which seriously detracts from the importance of the indenture as a tactical move in the struggle with the strong Bangor interests.

of May 20, 1658, to take into consideration the report of the April commissioners on 16 November was mere matter of form, as on that date they present a certificate for division to the Council of State.[1] Six days later a letter was addressed by Puleston to the Trustees[2] reiterating the facts about the house; and some time early in the next January he called in the old lease in order to strengthen its provisions so that it 'might bee the better secur'd to the said Church of Worthenburye for ever.' At the same time he signed and sealed 'a lease and release' of all the tithes both of corn and hay which he held in the parish for the use of the minister.[3] The desired result was now practically assured; on 25 January, 1658-9, the Protector and Council give their approbation 'to y^e^ end that so good and pious a worke of y^e^ s^d^ Sergeant Puleston may receive all due encouragement furtherance and success'; it was inrolled in Chancery on February 1.[4] The victory was not even yet complete, for though the chapel of Emral had been annexed to Worthenbury and the latter made a distinct parish, the Trustees followed their usual custom of allowing the patron of the parent church to present on the first avoidance. In this case it was Thomas Lloyd of Halghton, who about 1653 had bought it (the patronage of Bangor)[5] together with the manorial rights of the western parts of English Maelor from the Stanleys of Derby.[6] Lloyd also advanced some real or assumed rights to the patronage of the chapel of Emral as well as to the parish church; whatever these were, 'for divors consideracons him thereunto moveing' he granted all the advowson and rights of patronage to Justice Puleston on 14 March, 1658-9.[7] The way was at last clear to present Henry three weeks later in full legal form, subject to the approval of the Triers, to the interest he had

1 Lamb. 991, f. 505.

2 Thus says Henry himself in his Diaries (p. 114); but much more probably the letter was sent to the Council direct, as the case was closed as far as the Trustees were concerned.

3 Diaries, p. 112. Though these documents were drawn up under the direction of the Justice of the Common Pleas, the lawyers of the Restoration would have it that, taken together, they had rather weakened than strengthened Henry's hold upon the house and tithes.

4 Lamb. 990, ff. 219-220; Lamb. 1015, f. 45. The Protector in this case was Richard Cromwell.

5 The Editor of Henry's Diaries (p. 23) refers to some doubt in the jurors' minds (in the return of April 19, 1658, given on pp. 26-28) whether Sir Thomas Hanmer had any right over the patronage of Bangor. As a matter of fact, Hanmer's name is not mentioned. He also places a (sic) after the name of 'Thomas Lloyde, Esq^r^.' in the same return for no apparent reason. Lloyd was without doubt an 'Esquire.' Or was it the 'Lloyde' that aroused his curiosity?

6 Diaries, pp. 22-23.

7 Ibid. pp. 23-24—copy of 'Ondenture.'

heretofore held by private arrangement and always open to challenge.[1] It is curious to notice that the witnesses of the Judge's seal were Katherine Painter, one of the maidservants at the Hall, and his illiterate[2] bailiff, Robert Bicklys, at whose house some of the monthly conferences of the church were held,[3] and whose child, to the evident surprise of Henry, Ambrose Mostyn refused to baptize.[4] Mr. Shankland, therefore, is technically correct in placing 1659 opposite Henry's name in his list of 1901 ; but such a bare entry without a word of explanation tends to obscure too heavily the six most romantic years of this Puritan's life, during which in an undemonstrative manner he was probably the most constructive Christian force in all Wales. It is also well to know that the clouds between Fogg and Henry were cleared away by the storms of the Restoration : on February 6, 1661, the latter is acting as arbitrator in some dispute between Fogg and Jenkins of Gresford[5]; on the 22nd he is 'feasting' with him at Bangor[6]; and on March 5 the redoubtable old rector is advising with the gentle Oxonian about his perplexities under the Act of 1660.[7] Finally, the divorce of Penley from Ellesmere in Salop was much more easily accomplished. The provisional order was issued on November 6, 1657, the usual appeals to be ready before the following 11 February[8]; this date was postponed until the 16th[9]; on some later day in the same month the Trustees' certificate to the Council was presented, pointing that Penley was distant three miles from Ellesmere, that the patron of Ellesmere was to present on the next and every avoidance, and adding the somewhat novel proviso that the incumbent of the parent living was not to be prejudiced 'without his consent.'[10] The Calendar of State Papers supplies the information that the Protector and Council agreed, their order being made on April 22, 1658[11]; the same information is attested on ff. 33-35 of Lambeth MS. 1015.

1 Lamb. 947, No. 17 ; also supra, p. 17.
2 He only makes a mark.
3 Diaries, p. 64.
4 Ibid. p. 42.
5 Ibid. p. 77.
6 Ibid. p. 79.
7 Ibid. Ibid.
8 Lamb. 991, f. 350.
9 Ibid. f. 400.
10 Ibid. ff. 395-397. The entries on ff. 395-397, 400, are misplaced, and by some strange clerical error the date of the Trustees' certificate is 'February, 1616' —it ought to be February 1657 [—8].
11 1657-1658, p. 376.

VII.

THE SUBSIDISED PROPAGATION

(1654–1660).

Such was the elaborate machinery of certification and maintenance, of Triers, Trustees and Sequestrators. It remains to examine how far the mechanism of London committees affected the Welsh countryside, how deeply the Puritan leaven had permeated a land where in 1647 the inferior people publicly professed that 'they would not offend their landlords, come what may,'[1] where the smiths had sullenly refused to shoe the horses of the Parliament's army in 1648,[2] and where, in counties like Cardigan as late as 1651, 'a Jury will doe noe good where little of the Gospell hath yet been.'[3] They certainly did reinforce the thin and far-flung line of ministers with some arresting personalities: the literary group of Henry Maurice, Stephen Hughes, and David Jones of Llandisilio Nevet; Philip Henry, the son of a Whitehall keeper, a witness of the execution of Charles I, and one who made a valiant effort to set North-eastern Wales on a new Presbyterian orientation[4]; Marmaduke Matthews, native of Swansea, an M.A. of All Souls, troubled vicar of Penmain in the days of the High Commission, and an emigrant to New England[5]; Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd, friend of Baxter, founder of the first school for ministers in Wales, and the author of that comprehensive letter to the Archdeacon of Llandaff in 1665 about re-ordination which looms as a prominent landmark in the annals of the Anglican persecution.[6] But not even the greatest of these attained the highest stature of the heroic; fortune had not decreed them to be at once sober architects of a great moral insurgence

1 Cal. Comm. Compounding, I, 61.
2 J. R. Phillips: Hist. Civil War, II, Doct. CVII, p. 359.
3 Col. Philip Jones to Lieut.-Gen. Fleetwood, 'touching Cardigan rebellion' and the affray at Llanbadarntawr June 19, 1651. (Tanner MS. LIV, 90.)
4 Infra, pp. 164-176.
5 Dr. Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon. in Wales, p. 53; Gordon: Freedom after Ejection, p. 362.
6 Ibid., pp. 232-235.

and warlike knights worthy of a new Round Table ; they had not been ' plundered ministers '[1] ; they had not the fine frenzy that produced the imprudent glories of the Propagation. Rather were they essentially moderate men placed by an unkind fate between two incongruent extremes, the uncompromising ' non possumus ' of Vavasor Powell and the inexpugnable rigidity of Gilbert Sheldon. They were men, as was typical of the mellower season of the Revolution, of undoubted courage, of considerable learning, also of genuine Puritanism, but without much sympathy with the picturesque excrescences of thought and practice that relieved some minds and dumbfounded others in a time of practically unfettered liberty. The new school lacked the dogmatic precision of Miles, the mystical-millenarian ideas of Llwyd, the almost inhuman fortitude of Powell. And, unfortunately, the infusion of this moderate element among the fervid fanatics who in the punning word-play of Alexander Griffith had made the ' Propagation ' of the Gospel into an ' Abrogation '[2] did not solve the perennial problem of filling all the empty churches either with preachers or with hearers. Even when Whitelocke's round number of 150 ministers at work in 1653[3] is added to those definitely appointed by the agency of the Triers, yet the latest dispensation of settlements old and new working under a common harness was absurdly far from supplying the needs of a principality which at the beginning of 1654 had above ' 700 parishes in the 13 counties ' devoid of incumbents and sometimes twenty churches within a radius of ' a 12-miles ride ' with not ' one door opened.'[4]

The Triers began with a new policy and accentuated old difficulties. Affected by the pungent ridicule of the Anglican pamphleteers and in deference to the conservative prejudices of Marshall and Rous, the itinerant experiment was discontinued, and inevitably more churches were closed. Then the old system had to be partially revived, and remained in comparative vigour until the Restoration. As early as July

1 The case of Matthews is on the border line. He might be described as a persecuted minister but not ' plundered,' a term invariably reserved for those who were driven from their livings by the victorious advances of the Royalist armies in the earlier stages of the Civil War. It was to meet their exigencies that the ' Committee for Plundered Ministers ' first came into being (H.P.M., pp. 35-36).

2 Letter of A.G. in answer to Vavasor Powell (bound up with the Petition of the Six Counties of South Wales et seq.), p. 17 (misprinted 19) ; also challenge to debate with Powell, p. 21 (m.p. 23).

3 Memoirs, p. 518.

4 Strena Vavasoriensis, p. 5.

1656 the London authorities are sanctioning an augmentation of £50 a year to Nathaniel Ible for work in the town *and county* of Carmarthen,[1] an order reminiscent of the days when David Walter was given liberty to roam throughout all Glamorgan[2]; and on October 16 of the same year the Protector and Council recommend the Trustees to pay £100 to Morgan Llwyd for preaching the gospel at Wrexham and the 'places adjacent,' and £100 to Ambrose Mostyn similarly at Holt and the neighbouring parishes,[3] orders similar in principle, but not in geographical range, to the old injunctions of the C.P.M. in 1644 and 1648 authorising them to cover the whole of North Wales.[4] Cradock also, when free from his London duties, is described as 'preaching the Gospel in the said p'ish of Uske and other places adjacent' from 1655 to 1658.[5] It is not clear from the text whether John ap John's wrangling during the service took place at Evan Griffith's own church at Oxwich or in Swansea, but the preacher Roberts who 'haled him out of the steeple-house by the hair of his head' could not be other than John Roberts of Loughor, an old Propagation itinerant who was not proof against wandering in search of the new religious excitement caused by the Quaker crusade of 1657-1658.[6] More legitimate movements, which also brought some recompense in hard cash, are recounted by the constables of 1662: Benjamin Flower of Cardiff received £20 for supplying the vacant pulpit at Llandaff Cathedral in 1655,[7] and the same sum was paid to John French of Wenvoe for 'supplying the vacancy' at Michaelston-le-Pit and Leckwith[8]—both to be performed in addition to their ordinary duties. Walker, also, quoting some papers he saw at Lambeth, says that Edmund Ellis of St. Fagans, Thomas Joseph of Llangeinor, and James Jones of Swansea (really of Llangyfelach, according to Lamb. 996, f. 441) were doing the work of ministers far from the spheres in which they were definitely settled by legal instruments.[9]

1 Lamb. 977, f. 36.
2 H.P.M., p. 50.
3 Lamb. 977, f. 42 (both orders).
4 H.P.M., pp. 40 (and n. 6), 65.
5 Lamb. 995, ff. 204, 205. And there is the definite statement of Richard Berow in 1662 that he was a professed itinerant from 1657 to 1659, with his headquarters at Portskewet (Exch. Bills and Ans., Mon., No. 11, Trinity, 14 Chas. II).
6 Friends' Hist. Soc., Publications, Suppt. 6, p. 12; cp. supra, p. 32.
7 Lamb. 1027. Part of the money was paid to Flower for 'repayring the decayed vickeradge House in Cardiff.'
8 Lamb. 1027. This was for the year 1657.
9 Sufferings, Part I, p. 161.

The last case is confirmed by the return of the Sheriff of Brecon in 1659, who reports the coming of Jones 'once a month' to Ystradgynlais, apparently as late as 1657, when another Jones, with David as Christian name, was made recognised minister there.[1] The recurring spectacle of vacant churches led the authorities, moreover, to connive at a qualified pluralism, already referred to in the cases of Llandevally and the Talybolion arrangements, in the double supervision of William Lloyd at St. Petrox-Bosherston (and that at least two years before the attempted union of the two parishes), in the wide responsibility given to the factious ex-schoolmaster Rice Powell at Boughrood-Llanbedr-Painscastle. To these may be added the combined pastorate of Roger Wynne, an old Anglican curate placed in the Creuddyn peninsula by Dr. Robert White 'late Archdeacon of Merioneth,'[2] over Llandudno and Conway,[3] and the two cures allowed in the hands of Isaac Lloyd of Llanidloes, another unejected clergyman, with the regrettable but natural result that he was only 'continually resident there or here.'[4] Such precedents did not prove good grounds, however, for allowing Thomas Haughton to secure the sinecure rectory of Penstrowed in Montgomery[5] in addition to the living of Gladestry he already held in Radnor.[6] And we have seen how the Triers continued the good work of the Propagators in trying to cure Thomas Carter of the persistent obsession that he, though well over seventy years of age[7] and once a member of the reforming Assembly of Divines, could hold the rectory of Abergele in conjunction with other ecclesiastical promotions which he enjoyed in England.[8] The case of Ellis Rowlands deserves special mention. Not only did he hold Clynnog and Llanwnda from 1657 to 1660,[9] but according to Calamy's continuator, Samuel Palmer of the 'Nonconformist Memorial,' he also must have held the wardenship of the Ruthin hospital

1 Sufferings, Part I. p. 161.

2 Lamb. 902, ff. 60-61, -survey of the living of Llandudno 'for sale of Dean and Chapter Lands' returned to Registrar on 7 September, 1649.

3 cp. Lamb. 968, f. 4; 972, f. 126; 977, f. 71; Cal. St. Pap., 1656-7, p. 310.

4 Mont. Return, April 1658, 118. These names are not meant to be exhaustive, but representative types from North and South.

5 Cal. St. Pap., 1656-7, p. 140.

6 Lamb. 997, lib. ii, f. 153.

7 Admitted to Brasenose, January, 1597-1598 (Brasenose College Register, 1509-1909, ed. Heberden, p. 88).

8 The case is more fully discussed, supra, p. 26.

9 Rowlands was one of the few ministers who saw well to subscribe their names to the Carnarvonshire address congratulating Richard Cromwell in the autumn of 1658 (Pennant's Tours in Wales, ed. Rhys, App. xxiii, p. 583).

concurrently with the living of Llanelidan from 1653 to 1657.[1] There is strong probability, however, that this entry of Palmer's arises from the same lack of scientific treatment as made him misapply Joshua Thomas' information and say Rowlands was a Baptist,[2] an assertion unconfirmed by any contemporary or other evidence. It was quite foreign to the Triers' policy to break with tradition and place a sizar of St. John's College, Cambridge, who did not proceed to a degree,[3] next in succession to the D.C.L. ejected by the Propagators[4]; further, the only connection between Llanelidan and the hospital was that that parish, in conjunction with four others in the county of Denbigh, could nominate two persons on an accruing vacancy.[5] Rowlands' secular-spiritual plurality remains not proven. Nor can anything worse than a benevolent nepotism be predicated of the colony of three Foggs who took so kindly to the soil of Flint: Robert the father 'of stern countenance and warm passion' who had been settled at Bangor since 1646[6]; his son Orlando who was approved for Overton on 8 May, 1654[7]; and another son Lawrence who was settled in the living of Hawarden on 30 October, 1657.[8] Persons of tender years also appeared to supervise large parishes. It was no doubt the Triers' ideal to stock the land with men of discreet age and of competent learning, but the situation was desperate and demanded prompt decisions. Thomas Pugh of Llanfeugian and David Jones of Ystradgynlais were both only 22 years old in 1659, the former responsible for 800 parishioners, and the still younger Powell of Talgarth had three parishes containing 1,000; as he had '4,000 souls in the parish,' it is refreshing to read that Evan Bowen of Llanafanfawr was 'aged 55 years.' The Sheriff who supplied these facts was very scornful also of the unlettered craftsmen who received the favour of approbation: one miller, one tailor, one weaver, one thatcher, one labourer, two ploughmen, and one mason who had the further disadvantage 'that he had never read the *Primmer* in the English.'[9] The petty constable of 1662 is not sure

1 Vol. III, p. 478 (edition of 1803).
2 Ibid. p. 528 (Addenda).
3 Alex. Gordon: Freedom after Ejection, p. 343.
4 Archdeacon Thomas: Hist. Dioc. St. Asaph (1874 Ed.), p. 449.
5 Supra, p. 75.
6 H.P.M., pp. 37, 50, 64; also Palmer: Noncon. Mem. (1777 Ed.), II, p. 604.
7 Lamb. 997, lib. i, f. 38. 8 Lamb. 998, f. 370.
9 Walker: Sufferings, Pt. I, pp. 160-161 (quoting Breconshire return of 1658-1659).

whether Thomas Warren of Narberth was a butcher or a 'preaching smith.'[1] This aspect of the newer Propagation was unmercifully pilloried by Huw Morus in his 'cerddi brut' before the Restoration and in reminiscent satire afterwards, by Rowland Vaughan of Caergai in his bitter prefaces to translated works of devotion, and by the Cavalier bards of South Wales, more especially Bleddyn Sion of Llancarfan,[2] Jenkin Richard of Blaenau Gwent and Edward Dafydd of Margam.[3] Walker dwells on these delinquencies with fine gusto both in text and long marginal notes, and by repeating his quotations in Part I in the summary columns of Part II; but when he presupposes the necessary excellence as preachers of the ejected M.A.'s and the inevitable ineffectiveness of their more unlearned successors, he is only exhibiting post-Restoration obtuseness to the inner dynamic of a great spiritual movement. More worthy of the Anglican's wearisome objurgations were the cases of simple non-residence, without the implication of the usual itinerancy. The crying evils from which the parishioners of Guilsfield suffered in 1652—'without communion, without baptism, or visiting of the sick, the door of the church being commonly shut on the Lord's day'[4]—were not much removed by having an 'unsettled' minister like John Hall,[5] and the rich living of Montgomery was not sufficient to ensure the continued attendance of Isaac Rushworth,[6] who in 1656 was preaching as far north as the parish church of Wrexham, where he was heard by the sermon-taker Joseph Critchley.[7] The Sheriff of Brecon, almost inevitably, was able to adduce two others of this unsatisfactory type, the aforesaid Pugh of Llanfeugian and the second Jones of Ystradgynlais, both 'seldom

1 Lamb. 1027, Entry 35.

2 Englynion of this kind by the South Wales bards can be seen in Llanover MS., c. 31, more esp. f. 6 (Edward Dafydd), f. 22 (Bleddyn Sion), f. 84 (Jenkin Richard).

3 In this context it would be interesting to know whom Philip Henry is referring to in the following casual entry in his Diary for 1657 (placed between a 'usury' list of a cleric's pluralities and an advice of Hippocrates for the 'Spleen'):—

'Qui sermonavit vivus sine Think—sine Thank: o
Mortuus in foveam iacitur sine clink sine clank: o.
Epitaph Mri L. Itineran.' [p. 66.]

(The same lines occur on p. 28 of the 'Strena Vavasoriensis,'' which A.G. describes as a meed of praise 'which a dear friend bestowed upon Mr. L. who lately dyed, and was interred in the City of Hereford').

4 Quoted in Thomas: Hist. Dioc. St. Asaph (1874 Ed.), p. 734; also Edwards: Landmarks in Hist. Welsh Church, pp. 127, 135.

5 Mont. Ret., April 1658, 119.

6 Ibid. It is possible, of course, to give Rushworth the benefit of the doubt, and look upon him as an unrestrained enthusiast.

7 Rawl. c. 261, f. 87 [pagination at end of MS.]. Text = '14 John 22' = John, XIV, 22.

resident.'[1] These, and let it not be forgotten that they were Puritan nominees, turned out to be men either lacking in spiritual vision or having no true perception of the duties inherent in pastoral work. Two other expedients adopted by the London committees to meet the problems of Wales deserve to be noticed: the excellent idea of uniting proximate parishes delegated to the Trustees which has already been discussed, and the indefensible practice of foisting English-speaking ministers upon distinctively Welsh parishes, the old original sin of Laudian days, and one of which the Propagators were far from guiltless. The Englishmen originally introduced by Peters might successfully evangelise South Pembroke, which had the additional advantage of being the one district in all Wales pretty generally devoted to the Parliament's interest; English monoglots might even at that period be moderately understood in the eastern hundreds of Monmouth, the highlands of Radnor, and the flat lands of English Flint; even Thomas Tonge, the native of Lancashire and Brasenose matriculant who had succeeded after a four years' silence to the living of Llandrinio which Dr. George Griffith had to discard under the terms of the Propagation Act, might do efficient work in the English atmosphere already overcoming that district[2]; but had the Anglicisation of the Upper Severn proceeded so far in Cromwellian days as to justify the coming of two Englishmen to Llandinam, even though one of them was a D.D. and the other a Master of Arts? The latter was John Osborne, and four ministers of that name appear in the Puritan records. One was appointed by an order of the Lords (8 January, 1647-8) to the living of Westwoodhay in Berkshire[3]; he could not come to Wales, as he still ministered there in 1657-1658.[4] The other on 3 July, 1648, was appointed by the same Lords to "that part of the vicarage of Compton, Co. Oxford, which lately Mr. Hodges had"[5]; but the fact that Calamy states he stayed on there to be ejected in 1662 seems to dissociate him successfully from Llandinam.[6] Yet another John Osborne, the author of a

1 Walker: Suff., I, pp. 160-161.
2 Mont. Ret., April 1658, 119, where he is incorrectly described as 'Dr.'; Brasenose College Register, ed. Heberden, p. 175.
3 L. J., IX, 665.
4 Audit Office, Decld. Acct., bundle 2239, roll 1.
5 L. J., X, 368. Compton must be a mistake for Bampton.
6 Account, II, p. 541.

tract in 1659 essaying to prove that tithes were no proper wages for gospel ministers, cannot very well be equated with the tithe-drawing Osbornes already referred to or with the particular Osborne who was enjoying in that year the comportionary tithes of Llandinam.[1] No resource is left but to plump for the fourth candidate, the John Osborne who was chosen Puritan Fellow of All Souls in 1651, after much discussion and delay.[2] There seems to be no doubt that he was an unadulterated Saxon. Of the antecedents of the Thomas Hansom who was approved for Llanllyfni nothing whatsoever is known; the only Thomas Hilliard of the time had been settled by the Puritan Lords at North Fambridge in Essex on 24 September, 1648,[3] and evidently moved west to preach the gospel to the Welshmen of Newton Nottage; lastly, it would be curious to know whether Thomas Carter and his successor, Dr. John Conant, had undergone a course of Welsh scholarship to justify their somewhat shadowy connection with the rectory of Abergele.[4] All these appointments must be admitted to be quite in consonance with the peculiarly English atmosphere of the Puritan conquest of Wales, with the horde of English officials who infested the country from the saltpetre contractor in the eastern counties[5] to Daniel Wix, the exciseman at Wiston in Pembrokeshire who was 'cast for his life' for murdering a certain John Hugh, and pleaded in extenuation the general hatred towards men of his office and the fact that all the jurymen were Welsh.[6] This was the time, too, when the Registrar of the Triers invented the barbarism 'Llangonoyd,'[7] and made the already corrupt 'Loughor' into the still corrupter 'Lughouse.'[8] Charles Edwards was evidently in such company and circumstances when preparing his 1677 edition of 'Hanes y Ffydd Ddiffuant' that he would well apply the 'bleiddiaid rheibus' on page 210 both to the English Puritan officials and to his Saxon colleagues under the Propagation and Triers.

1 Thomason Coll., E. 989. 28; acquired by the collector on 18 July, 1659.
2 Burrows: Register of the Visitors, esp. p. 337. It is, fortunately, unnecessary to decide which of the four was the John Osborne who subscribed the 'Engagement' on 3 January, 1649-1650 (Bodl. Rawl. MS. D. 711, ff. 8, 20; MS. J. Walker, c. 6, f. 41).
3 L. J., X, 563.
4 See note at the end of this chapter.
5 Cal. St. Pap., 1653, pp. 320-321.
6 Ibid. 1656-1657, pp. 55-56.
7 Lamb. 998, No. 68.
8 Lamb. 996, f. 300.

It was inevitable that a situation so abounding in anomalies, in which the attempted solution of pressing problems only set in motion a new cycle of difficulties, should be a source of deep misgiving to all single-minded Puritans. James Berry, after a few months' experience as Major-General of Wales and the border counties, subscribes a gloomy report to the Council of State practically unrelieved by a single redeeming feature. And his words carry the greater weight because, far from being an ejected clergyman like Alexander Griffith or a disgruntled quasi-Puritan official like the Brecon sheriff, he was in Baxter's words misled by the 'new light of spiritual pride' to look with contempt upon old forms and established methods.[1] Writing from the town of Brecon on 28 February, 1655-6, he says that able preachers are wanting, Brecon itself having 'no preacher neere it as I can heere of,' and the people fast lapsing into a condition of heathenism, 'growing into a careless content of being without'; he goes so far as to state that many of the vacant livings had lapsed into the Protector's hands, 'and the blame is much layed upon him that they are not supplied'; finally, he indirectly justifies some of the expedients adopted by Triers and Trustees in suggesting that 'if one man were sent' to some of the good livings near the town 'he could supply two or three of them and receive the profitts.'[2] Nine days before he was at Monmouth town, where he found vice abounding and ale-houses not supervised,[3] which makes one curious to know what was the name of the town George Fox visited in June-July, 1657, full of Independents it is true, but wicked and false down to the very ostlers and innkeepers.[4] From Wrexham the same tale is told by the General: he passes the cryptic remark that in North Wales generally reformation had no enemies, because they 'lacked matter' for attack, singling out Anglesey as a land of many vacant churches,[5] a statement directly proved by the comparatively few appointments preserved in the Lambeth and other records, and incidentally by the 'heavye groanes' of the pious Anglican Owen Holland of Berw over

1 Dict. Nat. Biog., IV, p. 397.
2 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 565. As late as 1 April, 1659, no Puritan minister had been settled at the town of Brecon, although the Trustees were ready to give such minister a maintenance of £110 per annum (Lamb. 1004, ff. 123, 133).
3 Thurloe St. Pap., IV. 545.
4 Braithwaite: Beg. of Quakerism, I, p. 209.
5 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 334—December 21, 1655.

the lack of sacramental administration in many parishes.[1] The Major-General wound up his letter by appealing to Thurloe to enlist the good offices of Dr. John Owen, and in his Brecon jeremiad couples Cradock's name with the Doctor's as likely men 'betwixt them to send some able men to these parts.' His adjurations were not without effect, as on 30 October, 1656, Owen delivered a sermon before Parliament dwelling on his special regard for his own nation, 'our kinsfolk in the flesh,' the extremes that had 'disadvantaged' the progress of the gospel in Wales, the present danger of the whole work being cast to the ground, the business of Zion being uncared for.[2] He ended a sermon inspired in a double sense by hoping that the Lord would guide the Parliament 'to do somewhat for its relief, that those who are godly may be encouraged, and those that need instruction may not be neglected.' On the following day the Commons referred it to a committee how unsupplied places in Wales might be supplied with godly and able ministers and with a fitting maintenance.[3] No further result accrued from the sermon and committee than the somewhat accelerated appointments of the next two years. It was from this milieu too that the discussion of a national college arose; it came very natural to Berry at the end of 1656 to promise his 'best assistance' in forwarding such a scheme for the double purpose of increasing the number of ministers and of remedying the lack of letters.[4] Another of the college enthusiasts, Dr. John Ellis of Dolgelly, and one ready to give lectures at the proposed institution 'till we could procure assistants in the several sciences,' would not be likely to agree with all the approvals decided by the Triers: he thinks that 'schemes of maintenance' could be better manipulated than they were, 'though otherwise pretended'[5]; the best paid minister in Wales is also of opinion that the tithes and profits of the large rectory of Towyn should be allocated for the support of the new academy, forgetting for the moment that the 'farmer' of that living held the learned Doctor's receipt (dated 1 February, 1656-7)[6] under his hand

1 Mostyn MSS. 229, 29—'Berow.' Holland's forebears had sat in the Parliaments of 1584 and 1601 (Williams: Hist. Parly. Repn., pp. 1, 2).
2 Quoted in Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon. in Wales, pp. 95-96.
3 C.J., VII, 448.
4 'Halfe a yeare agoe I expounded it to Major-Genll. Berry, who promised me his best assistance, but the want is money' (Richard Baxter to John Lewis in a letter of 5 May, 1657, quoted in Wales, III, pp. 122-123.)
5 Art. by Mr. J. H. Davies in Wales, III, pp, 123-124.
6 Lamb. 989, ff. 190-191.

and seal for £40 payable to him every year, according to ancient orders of the C.P.M., confirmed by the C.P.G.W. and C.A.P.P., in addition to the large emoluments he received as rector of Dolgelly. The main contention of the Doctor is emphasised by a better and more disinterested Puritan, John Lewis of Glasgrug in Cardigan, who in a letter to Baxter does not find ' the simple youngelinges ' of the new era a great improvement upon the ' cast serving men ' who did the same duty in episcopal times.[1] Nor was he afraid to say out boldly that those who had advanced their fortunes ' by the late times ' should be asked ' out of their abundancy to part with some mites towards so pious and honourable a work ' as the setting up of the proposed college.[2] Calamy's strictures, not being those of a contemporary, are only productive of impatience. His dictum that the powers that were made it their endeavour to bring in an illiterate ministry and the sweeping assertion that those ejected in the extremities of Wales (whatever such a phrase might mean) between 1660 and 1662 were of a different stamp from those ejected elsewhere[3] must be put down to his Presbyterian bias and to his forgetfulness that a Presbyterian, more often than not, sat in the chair of the Triers that appointed (or re-appointed) these men. Anthony Wood, indeed, says that many of them were more fit to rub horse-heels than to enter into a pulpit.[4] But he, unlike Calamy, had resolutely determined not to see any virtue in a Dissenter ; and even he in that context confined his remarks to those Vavasorian itinerants whose salaried days fell within the era of the Propagation.

Notwithstanding the palpable failure of the Triers to cope successfully with all the deficiences of the Propagators, their intentions were excellent and their expedients many. Even their absurd policy of foisting Englishmen upon monoglot Welsh parishes does not prove their utter disregard of the claims of the Welsh tongue. Richard Jones of Denbigh in his vigorous preface to the translation of Baxter's ' Call '

1 Letter written by Lewis to Baxter on 13 February, 1658-1659 [quoted from above Art., p. 124].

2 This occurs in a pamphlet published by Lewis in 1656—' Some Seasonable and Modest thoughts in order to the furtherance and promoting the affairs of religion and the Gospel, especially in Wales.' [See above Art. in Wales, p. 122.]

3 Acct., II, Preface, xv.

4 Papers and Diaries, ed. Clark, I, pp. 292-293, n. 6. A closer reading of this note serves to show that Wood was not the actual author of the remark. But he quotes it with great relish.

refers repeatedly to the preachers commissioned to the Welsh in their own language, and does not anywhere reflect on the Saxon element[1]; the Sheriff of Brecon describes Evan Bowen of Llanafanfawr as 'untaught in the English tongue'[2]; and there is no room to think that the Trustees on 10 June, 1655,[3] varied the previous order of the Committee for Regulation of the Universities (22 January, 1650-1651,) granting an augmentation of £100 a year to Rowland Nevett of Oswestry conditional on his 'paying and allowing competent maintenance to an able and godly Welsh minister to preach to the Welsh there.'[4] It was indeed prudent not to neglect the strong national sentiment of a land where John Lewis in 1646 rejoices that the conquest of Cardiganshire was effected not by 'strangers, but them of our own bowels we only knew from,'[5] and where Owen Holland of Anglesey set apart the anniversary of the Anglesey surrender of 1648 'for prayer and prayses unto God whose mercy it was we were not then utterlye consumed' by Col. Thomas Mytton and Col. John Jones of Maesygarnedd.[6] And this prudence was the more necessary to be observed because of the disappointing contribution made by the one Welsh reservoir which the Triers would naturally tap to replenish the ministerial supplies—Jesus College, Oxford. Charles Edwards, an old alumnus and Scholar, naturally speaks in complimentary terms of his old college[7]; but the fact is that though several of the Propagation approvers either matriculated or graduated there during the alternate dominion of Sir Eubule Thelwall and Dr. Francis Mansell,[8] yet the Jesus men presented to new and old Triers were mostly obscure men the majority of whom conformed at the Restoration. This unfortunate Puritan hiatus in the history of the Welsh colony at Oxford arose from the appointment on 22 May, 1648, of the time-serving Dr. Michael Roberts at the expulsion of Mansell either by the Visitors or by the Committee for Regulation which sat in London.[9] As early as June 1649 (although the calendarist is somewhat perplexed

1 Galwad i'r Annychweledig (1659), p. [7] of 'Y Llythyr at y Cymru.'
2 Walker: Suff., Pt. I, p. 161.
3 Lamb. 972. f. 200.
4 Lamb. 978, f. 519.
5 The Parliament explained to Wales, Pt. III, p. 31.
6 Mostyn MSS., 229, 31.
7 Hanes y Ffydd (1677), p. 206.
8 Walker: Suff., Pt. I, p. 120.
9 The decisive order was published by the latter body on 19 May, 1648 (Burrows: Register, pp. 105-106).

about the exact date) he had to appear before the Committee for the Advance of Money for some supposed delinquency, before whom he made an appeal, humorous and successful it is true, but which was in essence a triumph of subtle hypocrisy. He told them that he manifested his affection for the Parliament by praying in its behalf both in Welsh and English, that he lived quietly in his mother's house in Anglesey till sent for to Oxford, and that on account of the flocking of cases before the Committee he was like to the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda.[1] How safe Jesus was about sixteen months afterwards for persons of Anglican sympathies finds an excellent illustration in the entering there[2] of William Williams, Speaker of the House of Commons from 1679 to 1681, and son to Dr. Hugh Williams of Llanrhuddlad, once comportioner of Llandinam and most refractory of ejected clergymen.[3] When 'Perl y Cymro' was published by Richard Jones, the extruded vicar of Llanfair Caereinion, with explanatory preface dated 'Kalend. Awst 1655,' Roberts contributed an 'encomiastick,'[4] while a declared account at the Record Office bears evidence that he was in receipt of £115 for 15 months ending 29 Sept., 1656, from the remembrancer of First Fruits and Tenths (that being the arrangement then in being) as Puritan head of Jesus.[5] It seems more than likely that Dr. Jenkins who succeeded to the Mastership in 1661 did not better the instruction of Roberts in bringing the 'yong Gentlemen of South-wales up to Loyalty and Orthodox Learning.'[6] And though a letter written on May 15, 1676, to William Sancroft, then Dean of St. Paul's, from the old Master of Jesus asserting that he 'wanted less than two months of three-score years from his matriculation . . one who never begs a pulpit and refuses money when it is offered him . . out of employment' and appealing to the Dean to use his (own ?) name well with

1 Cal. Comm. for Advance of Money, II, pp. 1066-1067.

2 On 7 November, 1650.

3 William was the comportioner's eldest son. He became M.P. for Chester (1675-1681), Beaumaris (1689-90); Solicitor General from 1687 to 1689; one of the chief managers of the Crown case against the 'seven bishops.' His grandson became the first Williams Wynn of Wynnstay (W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Repn., p. 11).

4 pp. 11-12. This point, however, does not prove very much, as some good Puritans joined in writing commendatory verses.

5 Audit Office, bundle 1216, roll 86. [This sum was an augmentation to his 'natural' salary of £40 per annum.]

6 David Lloyd: Memoires. . . p. 540. Dr. Jenkins, better known as Sir Leoline Jenkins, was Principal of Jesus from 1661 to 1673.

the Bishop of London[1]—though such a document, written to furnish reasons for his failure to contribute to the fund for rebuilding St. Pauls after the Fire, makes melancholy reading,[2] it does not serve to extenuate the guilt of Roberts in undermining the Puritan cause in Oxford at the most delicately formative period in its history.

To mistakes of policy and insidious anti-Puritanism were added other difficulties—insistent, numerous, and ever-increasing as the shadows of doom crept over the fortunes of the Republic. The hostility of the ejected clergy was natural and ineradicable. As their attitude merits fuller consideration elsewhere,[3] it must suffice here to refer to the most notorious character among them: how Alexander Griffith was not content with compiling the 'True and Perfect Relation' of the old Propagation, but during a stay in London at the end of 1653 and the beginning of the following year obtained that uncanny information about the dismissal from his post of Thomas Baker, the deputy remembrancer of the First Fruits office, and the latter's (and after his death, his widow's) long and bitter recriminations with the Trustees, which he utilised with subtle malice in the 'Strena Vavasoriensis.'[4] Nor were the government able, in a land that had never taken kindly to the Puritan cause either in its military or moral aspects, to command the services of magistrates who had the heart to keep the country in good order. General Fleetwood, in a letter he sent to Thurloe on 28 April, 1654, thinks that the people of Wales, 'with envenomed hearts against the wayes of God . . . the forwardest and greatest promoters of the King's interest in the time of war . . little better than the Irish,' ought particularly to be looked after.[5] The opinion of this distinguished officer, his hands full with Irish affairs from 1652 to 1655, and written after a post-haste journey through North Wales to join the warship 'Phœnix' at Holyhead (from which he dates his letter) is entitled to but little consideration. Unfortunately, the

1 Bodl. Tanner MS. xl, 1. He rather contradicts the phrase 'out of employment' by a later remark 'yet they do not spare to work me still.'

2 In the autobiographical diary written by Anthony à Wood occurs, under 1 May, 1679, this sober entry: 'Saturday Dr. Michael Roberts . . . sometime principal of Jesus College, died with a girdle layned with broad gold about him (£100 they say) at Tom Apleby's house against Logick Lane. . . .' (Life, pub. Eccl. Hist. Soc. in 1848, p. 214). Verily, Michael Roberts of Anglesey was a curious character.

3 Chapter XII.

4 p. 5; for the Baker episode, see Lamb. 1008 et seq.

5 Thurloe St. Pap., II, 256.

Major-General on the spot (this was two years later) emphasises the same conclusions by reporting to the Protector that honest men in the three north-western counties are hard to find, that he is at a stand to know what to do with those parts ; before the close, he widens the range of his indictment by declaring there is hardly, ' if at all,' one man fit for being a J.P. in the whole of North Wales.[1] No doubt Berry was well aware of the later stages of the Denbigh impasse where the aldermen and local justices had refused to support the Puritan minister William Jones against an Anglican farmer of tithes : " they say they can do nothing, because it is not within the corporation."[2] In South Wales also, especially in the Puritan soil of Monmouth, he finds the magistrates ' fast a sleepe.'[3] To Robert Morgan of Llanddyfnan in his funeral sermon after Owen Holland many of the men ' shuffled in ' to the magistracy in Anglesey were insignificant ciphers,[4] an opinion to be expected from one who had escaped ejection by the C.P.G.W. on the condition that he relinquished his other living of Trefdraeth.[5] The context shows the future bishop to be in satiric vein, but it was well within his knowledge how the triumph of the Puritan arms had made men's material interests to outrun their real convictions : how Owen Wood of Rhosmor and William Bold of Tre'rddol, in company with himself and others, had arranged the Anglesey articles of surrender (2 October, 1648) on behalf of the Royalist gentry of the island,[6] and yet Bold was sheriff in 1649 and Wood in 1650,[7] while both in November of the latter year had wormed themselves so successfully into the good graces of the Rump as to sit in the Shire Hall among the panel of commissioners appointed to examine into the state of the parishes under the Act of 1649.[8] It is indeed not impossible that Morgan himself in preserving his old rectory had played on the pliable consciences of these and such-like gentry ; else why should a Puritan Sheriff in 1652 describe a man as ' a worthy scholler and a painful diligent preacher '[9] who was

1 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 334-335.
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1654, p. 329 ; 1655-56, pp. 221, 223.
3 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 545.
4 Mostyn MSS., 229, 27.
5 H.P.M., Addenda, pp. 283-284.
6 J. R. Phillips : Hist. Civil War, II, Doct. cxvii (B), p. 401.
7 Nicholas : Annals and Antiquities, I, p. 32. Bold was H.S. in 1655 also.
8 Lamb. 902, f. 36 (names of Anglesey commissioners and jurors).
9 Exch. First Fruits Ret., by 3 February, 1651-52.

then undoubtedly in that frame of mind which made him in his sermon of 1656 dare to classify ministers into those who were 'honest' and those who were not?[1] And did not William Langford, once one of the greatest pluralists in North Wales, keep his interest at Llanfor through the influence of the long-bearded Edmund Meyrick of Ucheldre,[2] farmer of the Corwen tithes under the Propagation, who was adroit enough[3] to be elected M.P. for Merioneth in the Convention Parliament which sanctioned the return of the King?[4] Stern Puritans in Pembrokeshire could remember the Royalist newspapers in 1643 placing Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton in the forefront of the King's party in that county,[5] and allowing his servants and retainers to the number of fourteen to join Poyer's men in 1648[6]; they were also to behold his name as High Sheriff in 1653[7] and in August 1654 first on the list of Protectorate commissioners to inquire into the working of the Propagation Act.[8] Another of such commissioners, Bennet Hoskins, who was also Justice of Great Sessions in the three south-western counties, was even said to have once been responsible (1644) for collecting sums of money to fill the King's coffers in the Herefordshire hundred of Ewyas.[9] Many Welshmen with admittedly motley records managed to get returned to the first Protectorate Parliament of 1654: Edmund Jones for Brecon was a compounded delinquent[10]; John Vaughan of Merioneth was an old commissioner of array[11]; and Sir John Price of Montgomery was once a member of the Oxford junta of 45 Lords and 118 Commoners who proffered advice to Charles I in 1644.[12] Even Griffith Jones of Castellmarch, the Lleyn squire whose house was plundered in the early months of 1650 by Royalist sailors from St. Tudwal's Road, and he himself carried away captive to Wexford in a sickly

1 Mostyn MSS., 229, 29.
2 'Can i yrru'r gath ar neges drwy sir Feirionydd'; esp. the lines :—
'Ti a fedri ochel y farf fawr
Su yn tario yn llawr Ydernion.'
Hen Gerddi Gwleidyddol (1901), p. 14; also notes on p. 40.
3 Meyrick was also unfortunate enough to be imprisoned on some charge at the beginning of 1656 (Bodl. Rawl. MS. A. 34, 901—fourth column).
4 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Repn., p. 117.
5 J. R. Phillips: Hist. Civil War, I, 176; II, Doct. xxiv C, 84-85 (footnotes important).
6 Bodl. Tanner MS. lvii, 62.—Letter sent by Thomas Wogan, 'the regicide,' to Speaker Lenthall from Bridgend (13 May, 1648).
7 Nicholas: Annals and Antiquities, II, 884.
8 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, 991.
9 Cal. St. Pap., 1654, pp. 311-312.
10 Ibid. pp. 271-272.
11 Ibid. pp. 299-300.
12 Ibid. p. 346; J. R. Phillips: Hist. Civil War, I, p. 197.

condition,[1] is by 1655 in his capacity of J.P. trying to assuage the austerity of some of the Protector's proclamations against Papists[2]; two Radnor men 'allready in Comission' were described in a Quaker index of 1659 as 'moderat' men,[3] a quality that would not commend them to the Puritans who had persecuted James Naylor's wild imprudencies so persistently; and many justices of the same county in 1654 were much readier to listen to the millennium sermons of Vavasor Powell than to give support to the authorised government.[4] It is in Glamorgan chiefly, and that only in the Bishop's return of conventicles in 1669 and in the Anglican traditions of the second generation preserved by Edward Mansell, that one reads of J.P.'s keenly observant of the movements of the ejected clergy and full of encouragement for the new hot gospellers. Such were Evan Lewis of Ynysarwed, a 'Rump Justice'[5] in the Vale of Neath, who was important enough to be consulted in July 1655 by the Trustees for Maintenance as to revenues from tithes in Wales and their proper distribution[6]; and Rees Powell of Coitrehen, a J.P. 'in the late time of Rebellion,'[7] sheriff of the county in 1651,[8] whose daughter Mary married Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd and Brynllywarch. These two could undoubtedly be considerably multiplied among those who had become thoroughly wedded to the new order of things; however, a comprehensive survey of the thirteen counties inexorably points to the conclusion that Protectorate Wales was a land of trimmers and turncoats only to be compared to England during the kaleidoscopic changes of the Wars of the Roses. The main interest of such men was, by plausible excuse and special pleading, to preserve their estates and privileges intact until a possible Restoration; meanwhile they exercised the office of magistrates or sheriffs or members of parliament, influenced less independent men, and often managed to get creatures of their own appointed to important administrative posts. For example, a petition was sent in November 1655 from the 'well-affected' of

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1649-1650, p. 30. W. R. Williams refers to a party of *Frenchmen* landing near Castellmarch and carrying off the master to *France*. But the calendarist is quite explicit. (Hist. Parly. Repn., p. 10.)
2 Cal. St. Pap., p. 66.
3 Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends (ed. Penney), p. 115.
4 Thurloe St. Pap., II, 124.
5 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 70.
6 Lamb. 1008, f. 265.
7 Lamb. 639, f. 187b.
8 Nicholas: Annals and Antiquities, II, 600.

Haverfordwest to the Council of State stating that the burgesses were electing 'malignant' officials and keeping a disaffected town clerk[1]; and probably the last public service done by Stephen Love, the minister of that town, was to convey to the Protector an address subscribed by the 'honest people' of the county dwelling on the efforts made by the Anglican-Royalist party to undermine his influence in that neighbourhood.[2] Even the devoted Berry and the Protector himself were not always proof against the silent pressure of the interested majority, as witness the case of Kenrick Eyton of county Denbigh, a sometime commissioner of array for the late King. Upon receiving a latter from the Major-General, the Council of State order all proceedings against him to be made void, and his estates to be discharged from sequestration, simply because 'for several years he had changed his interest, married a godly gentlewoman, and frequented the society of godly men.'[3] Col. Philip Jones, too, exercised his great influence to remove the outlawry of a lady member of the house of Margam and Penrice, one of the many factors that stood him in good stead when the Restoration came, and the Act of Oblivion was passed.[4] It is no wonder, therefore, that the energy of the Triers was defeated by the inertia of the executive arm, and that the Trustees and Sequestrators were continually finding tithes in arrears, with 'rents and profits' accumulating in other hands than those of ministers and schoolmasters. And even the public worship of 'godly persons' was not everywhere free from interruption at the end of the first year of the Protectorate: the Council of State are ordering the local J.P.'s at Welshpool to examine grievances of this nature,[5] and that when Hugh Price, an old C.P.G.W., was governor of Red Castle close by, a man who some time later (but not on this occasion) was commended by the Major-General as 'a very honest trusty fellow who deserves *in*couragement.'[6]

At one time these local interruptions and general discontent assumed a more animated form when Penruddock

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1655-56, p. 35.
2 Ibid. 1655, p. 119. Love died in the following month.
3 Ibid. 1655-56, p. 212.
4 Ibid. ibid. p. 331.
5 Ibid. 1654, p. 414.—28 December.
6 Thurloe St. Pap., V, 242. As Berry was not appointed Major-General until the summer of 1655, the parenthesis in the text is superfluous.

organised the Salisbury rising in February-March, 1655. No part of the country was readier than Wales to break out into overt rebellion; and a letter sent from a Pembroke correspondent to one of the clerks at the Navy Office (dated 23 March, 1654-5) well expresses the Salisbury reverberation: "in eight days . . . we hope to hear well of things abroad [in England] or it will be worse here "[1]; on April 2 he hears the rumour that 'the enemy were designed for Wales.'[2] In his first letter the correspondent, Capt. Richard Browne, adds that he and his friends were putting themselves into a posture to secure the peace of the county with Rowland Dawkins of Cilfriw as commander-in-chief in South Wales, ready to repeat, if necessary, his exertions and exploits in defeating the Cardiganshire rebels of 1651 at Llanbadarn Fawr.[3] Dawkins had six days before raised a troop of eighty horse and kept them under arms for nine days, sent ammunition from Carmarthen to Tenby,[4] and a year later tells the Protector in a letter from Swansea that he was satisfied 'he had God's mind in these proceedings.'[5] Affairs were equally busy in North Wales. John Peck of Cornish Hall near Holt, a prominent sequestration official, writing to the Sheriff of Chester on 8 March, says that Puritan Wrexham were all 'just a goeing uppon duty'[6]; on the following day Sir Thomas Myddelton of Chirk forgets his cooled feelings towards the Parliamentary cause and reports to the Independent Daniel Lloyd a rumour that a party of 800 Royalists kept a rendezvous at Newchapel in Montgomery.[7] Not only the old Parliamentary general but Vavasor Powell and his friends cry a temporary truce in their anti-Protectorate crusade in face of the infinitely greater danger of a Royalist restoration. Powell had not forgotten his experiences as a soldier during the Anglesey tumult of 1648 nor as a captain during the commotions of 1651; now he discovers 'some part of the plotte in North Wales,' secures the persons himself, and brings them to Red Castle.[8] Jenkin Jones of Llanthetty

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1655, p. 92.
2 Ibid. p. 111.
3 Bodl. Tanner MS. LIV, 90. Letter to Col. Philip Jones—Sunday, 15 June, 1651.
4 Cal. St. Pap., 1655, p. 182.
5 Ibid. 1656, p. 265—14 April.
6 Thurloe St. Pap., III, 208; there are some notices of Peck in A. N. Palmer: Hist. Older Noncon. of Wrexham, p. 8.
7 Ibid. 209.
8 Ibid. 252—Letter to Protector from Governor Nicholas of Chepstow (dated March 16, 1654-5).

also offers to serve the Protector with 'the good people of Breconshire.'[1] Morgan Llwyd, though at this particular period deep in disfavour with the ruling powers both in church and state, wrote two communications: one on March 8 to Thurloe giving important information[2]; and another on March 9 to Col. John Jones, confirming Peck's declaration of unity, emphasising his own quietist attitude,[3] winding up with a mysterious phrase about 'the taile of a smoaking firebrand' and a typically Llwydian moral antithesis between 'the armes of men and the army within our owne hearts.'[4] At the end of the next month, although by that time the danger was well over, it is on record that the grand juries of Denbigh, Flint and Montgomery sent loyal addresses to the Protector and promising him effective support.[5] To revert to the preachers, it may be added that the militant attitude of the former Propagation element at this crisis received full benediction from the example of the Dean of Christ Church and chief of the Triers, who made himself responsible for the security of the town and county of Oxford, and was frequently to be seen riding at the head of a troop of horse, well-mounted, armed with sword and pistol.[6] But the general unrest affected the reasoned studies of Oxford men and demoralised still more the forced attention paid to the new ministers of Wales by the generality of the people; 'haveing got a little prejudice, they stumble at every straw,' as the Saxon Berry saw well to describe them to Thurloe on another occasion less than a year later.[7] The activity of the new Major-General and the comprehensive arrangements of Cromwell could not completely keep from view the vast volume of subterranean discontent: in the early months of 1656, well-nigh seventy 'gentlemen' were placed under guard by

1 Thurloe St. Pap., III, 252.

2 Thurloe St. Pap., III, 207. That the Wrexham situation was not lacking in seriousness is illustrated by the postscript—'I beseech you, discover not the author least (sic) I be thereby ruined.'

3 Llwyd's quietism was not without its pugnacious side—'We are for peace, but if they [= Royalists] begin, we thinke ourselves called to defend our lives, if God sees good.'

4 Thurloe St. Pap., III, 214. It must be admitted that there is no signature to this letter; but it was sent from *Wrexham*, and it is impossible to mistake the phraseology of Llwyd.

5 Taylor: Hist. Notices of Flint, p. 142. Address of Flint dated 23 April, 1655.

6 Dict. Nat. Biog. XLII, p. 425. In the Vice-Chancellor's 'computi' for 1656-1657 there is a somewhat belated item that £1 17s. 0d. were paid to an Oxford gunsmith 'for pistolls delivered at the insurrection in the west' (Wood's Life and Times, ed. Clark, iv, 63).

7 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 394—January 5, 1655-6, from Salop.

Berry's deputies[1]; in July of the same year disorders were committed at Caerphilly under colour of a fair and Rowland Dawkins was asked to 'improve his care' in their repression[2]; a month afterwards four vessels in the harbour of Holyhead were attacked by the enemy, two plundered, the Beaumaris frigate arriving too late to prevent £50 being paid to ransom the masters[3]; and on December 17, 1657, Col. John Jones was ordered to distribute twenty-two barrels of ammunition in North Wales, ten to Beaumaris, four to Red Castle, eight to Holyhead, ominous signs that the later Protectorate did not rest very smoothly upon the shoulders of that part of the country.[4] And how uncertain about the future and the permanence of the new arrangements men's minds were is well exemplified by the petition of the inhabitants of Anglesey to the Protector in December 1657. After dilating upon the remoteness of Beaumaris and the absurdity of its being the only market town in the island at that time, the great risk and damage suffered in making use of the Carnarvon ferry, they state that 'weekly markets and yearly fairs' had grown up in the centre of the county at Llannerchymedd: "in a settled government we fear these illegal without licence."[5] How strong the feeling was over the heavy monthly assessments for the upkeep of the Puritan forces and how hard they bore upon the countryside is proved by the Council's excusing one-half of the Cardigan levy in February 1656,[6] and another in December after depressing appeals that it was "the poorest and least county in the nation."[7] These assessments were not made less burdensome by the lax conception of public duty portrayed by some of the collectors: John Parry of Carnarvon was in October 1655 placed in custody for certain malpractices[8]; Thomas Games of Brecon soon after for 'embezzling public treasure'[9]; and David Thomas of Radnor displayed serious lack of discretion in entrusting £182 for the Treasurer of War to a roguish drover who used £22 for his own purposes and then left the country.[10] And there must have

1 Rawlinson MSS., A. 34, 901. Arranged in five columns, in which are included prisoners secured in Salop and Hereford as well.
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1656-57, pp. 16-17.
3 Ibid. p. 67.
4 Cal. St. Pap., 1657-58, p. 217.
5 Cal. St. Pap., 1657-1658, p. 196—'Llanythmeath.'
6 Ibid. 1655-1656, p. 154.
7 Ibid. 1656-1657, p. 187.
8 Ibid. p. 153.
9 Ibid. p. 182.
10 Ibid. p. 27.

been numerous cases allied in character to that of Dorothy Thomas of Cardiganshire, sad reminiscence of the peculiar solution of the Irish problem attempted by Oliver and his son-in-law. She had lost three sons, all drowned at sea when returning home after the Irish campaign of Ireton. This, together with their mother being 'aged, lame, unfit to labour, and having nothing to live for,' so saddened the Council that they allowed her £10 out of their 'contingencies,' hardly a sufficient salve to an afflicted widow and an angered neighbourhood.[1] Even more universal than the family losses suffered in a ten years' war was the disgust felt by the most conservative people in Britain at the institution of civil (and ringless) marriages by the Saints' Parliament,[2] their sanction under the Protectorate, and the penal veto placed upon the traditional observance of Christmas.[3] The cumulative result of these personal and political issues was to make the Cromwellian rule decisively unpopular and to extend to the propagators both old and new the odium associated with 'Howel soldiwr,'[4] 'priodas gnawdol,'[5] and English excisemen. And assuming that the greater names among the Puritan preachers could deliver sermons at once illuminating and profound, is it likely that the average Welshman of the day would quite appreciate the same men rushing and riding in hot haste across country to secure signatures either for the 'Word for God' or for the 'Humble Representation and Address'?[6]

Naturally enough these disintegrating factors when added to by the doctrinal inroads of the Quakers were not the agencies to bring coalition to the Baptist factions; they did not even serve to rouse the Independents of Wales to give a more centralised turn to their amorphous church-polity. The former were divided not only on the basic question of admission to the Lord's Supper, but the 'close' Baptists in turn quarrelled among themselves as to the propriety of accepting State maintenance. The organising genius of Miles remained unimpaired, as witness the elaborate time-

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1655, pp. 178-179.
2 See esp. 'Y Letani Newydd,' p. 30 of 'Hen Gerddi Gwleidyddol' (1901).
3 Pungent reflections by R. Vychan: Blodeugerdd Cymru, p. 52.
4 'Cwyn rhyw Eglwyswr,' p. 31 of 'Hen Gerddi Gwleidyddol.'
5 Barddoniaeth Edward Morus, Cynnull. Hugh Hughes (1902), pp. 4-6, esp. st. 6, p. 5.
6 These manifestoes will be treated at some length in Chaps. IX and X.

table drawn up in 1657 for the parent church at Ilston and its ramifications in Carmarthen, Gower, and the neighbouring parts of Glamorgan.[1] This strict Baptist body remained small in numbers, though it counted among these sheriffs, under-sheriffs, and one or two erstwhile Propagation Commissioners. Its outstanding lay member was John Price of Cwrt-y-carnau, brother-in-law to Col. Philip Jones, once treasurer for the C.P.G.W. in South Wales, who was accused in 1659 of farming, in collusion with Jones, the tithes of Abergwili (once an impropriate interest of the ' poor knights of Windsor ') worth £300 per annum for £150, this being, said the indictment, less by £100 than the parishioners had offered for the same.[2] The corresponding personality among the ' open ' or ' free ' Baptists was Christopher Price of Abergavenny, preacher, ' apothecary,' late clerk to the Monmouthshire section of the C.P.G.W., seconder of the coming Trier Tombes in the Baptist debate at that town in September 1653, and appears as one of the two ' bailiffs ' in a list of persons approved as the first members of the corporation in January 1657.[3] Curiously, none of the other Abergavenny Baptists, close or free, that figure in the pages of Joshua Thomas[4] were deemed substantial enough to be included either among the high officials or in the roll of ' capital burgesses.' It would be inexpedient, to say the least, to apply this principle of segregation to the large number of influential men who sheltered themselves under the elastic title of ' Independents.' These leaders, too, made no attempt to develop the jejune measures of church-federation suggested by the English Major-General Harrison to Col. John Jones in November 1652, with his references to ' messengers from the [Welsh] churches . . . to consult with the bretheren ' in London as to the best way of furthering the general propagation of the Gospel.[5] Undoubtedly, the growing millenarianism of the General, his later conversion to the Baptist faith, and his intervals of imprisonment for opposing Cromwellian ideas of government, would not serve

1 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed. (Pontypridd Ed.), pp. 92-94.

2 Articles of Impeachment of Transcendent Crimes . . . committed by Col. Philip Jones . . . Read in Parliament, 18 May, 1659. Gravamen XIII, p. 10. [N.L.W., Civil War Tracts Cat., p. 70, No. 170]. It is also not without significance that about the same time the revived C.P.M. was setting inquiries on foot as to the value and disposal of the ' poor Knights ' charities (Lamb. 1004, f. 137).

3 Cal. St. Pap., 1656-1657, p. 234.

4 Hanes Bed., pp. 208-215.

5 Simpkinson: Life of Harrison, Appendix, Letter XIII, p. 294.

to commend his arguments to the great majority of the Independents in Wales. As far as contemporary records go, there is no evidence that a single Welsh divine, not even Cradock, took any part in the discussions (October–November, 1654) over the interpretation of the religious clauses in the 'Instrument of Government' in order to arrive at 'fundamentals of belief' and a working ideal of toleration satisfactory to Presbyterians and Congregationalists.[1] And when the Savoy Conference of Independents came in 1658, the only recorded invitation to Wales—dated 15 June[2]—is that to Vavasor Powell (technically a Baptist since 1655, and no longer formally an Independent) an invitation sent most probably on account of Powell's old associations with George Griffith of the Charter House, secretary of the Conference. Independent polity remained at a deadlock: no Independent in Wales approached Miles in constructive ability nor shared his belief in quasi-Presbyterian confessions of faith; to Powell even the proposed Savoy deliberations savoured too much of 'political and worldly accounts' and of 'the mix'd work of Constantine's time'[3]; and it is probable that to Cradock's mind, a lifelong opponent of the Scottish classical system, the modicum of unity and common conference agreed upon in Articles XXV—XXVII would be anathema,[4] not in any way mollified by Dr. John Owen's eloquent preface to the full Declaration. At the Restoration the unwieldy ill-organised body of Independents had to take what crumbs of comfort Anglicans and Presbyterians were pleased to give them: and after a thirty-years' repression which intensified the independency both of individuals and of congregations, the scattered groups of Welsh Independent ministers were glad of the financial support given by a hybrid London committee composed of Presbyterians and Independents, and of which George Griffith, the old Trier and Savoy scribe, was a leading light, then well over seventy years of age and nigh unto his death.[5]

It is prudent to move from this consideration of Independent church-polity—in discussing which, on account of the

1 Shaw, II. pp. 86-92 (quoting authorities in footnotes).
2 Francis Peck: Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. X, No. XV, p. 501.
3 Ibid. ibid. No. XXV, p. 507.
4 R. W. Dale: Hist. Eng. Cong., pp. 384, 389.
5 Alex. Gordon: Freedom after Ejection, pp. 160, 164, 168. Griffith died in December 1691.

extreme paucity of direct evidence, dogmatic generalisations are peculiarly dangerous—to the comparatively safer ground of examining the varying force of the Puritan impact upon different parts of the principality. Of one county, Anglesey, it can be unhesitatingly said that its later history was to prove how thoroughly it had fallen into the hands of trimmers during the Puritan era. Calamy enters none of its ministers as having been ejected[1]; no licence was applied for in 1672-1673; only five Nonconformists could be found in the whole island in 1676[2]; and Henry Maurice in his letter of 1675 brutally puts it that there had never been a genuine 'congregated' church in the county, 'nor any number of people professing religion in the power and strictness of it, joining with any other church elsewhere in all the late times.'[3] And it is hardly likely that the Puritan chronicler would alter his opinion if he had read the letter sent on August 5, 1665, to Archbishop Sheldon by Roberts, Bishop of Bangor, alluding to the 'refractory and disobedient' conduct of Rice Rowlands, rector of Aberffraw, originally placed there by the Triers. "He peremptorily refused the usuall & Auncient accustom'd payments of Annualls, Procuration, dyet money, &c., affirming there were noe such Things due, though he had paid the same for 4 yeares last past.'[4] Broadly speaking, South Wales was far more thoroughly Puritanised than North Wales, Dyfed less than Morgannwg and Gwent, Gwynedd contrasting badly with Powys. The long parchment returns of the Montgomery sheriff for 1658 clearly show his lack of sympathy with the existing order, but he is not able to name more than five livings in the whole county devoid of incumbents: Tregynon, Garthbeibio, Llanllwchaiarn,[5] while Buttington and Llanfair Caereinion were supplied unofficially by the clergy ejected therefrom. It is not too fanciful to see in this well-stocked land the pious care of the Trier who hailed from Montgomery, and Charles Edwards cannot refrain from admitting in 1676-77 that the Severn country lived a more decorous life than of old,[6] though he was precluded by the

1 'In Anglesey, I can find none ejected' (Account, II, 710).
2 Salt MS. 2112 (Stafford), ff. 402-405.
3 Broadmead Records (ed. Underhill), Addenda B, p. 511.
4 Bodl. Tanner MS. xlv, 21.
5 The Sheriff and Jurors seem unaware of the existence of the Hugh Price who came here in 1654 (Lamb. 997, iii, 25). But was he there in 1658?
6 Hanes y Ffydd, p. 210.

censor's imprimatur from attributing this result directly to the Propagators and Triers. The much-maligned county of Brecon mustered 682 ' sectaries ' in 1676, more by 39 than the whole diocese of St. Asaph.[1] But these isolated analyses serve no better than the rhetorical verdict of Baxter's translator that all the sermons of the Puritan preachers had been but bullets of paper shot at citadels of bronze,[2] or Baxter's own reluctant testimonial to the general virtues of the Triers,[3] as true criteria of the depth and extent of the Puritan impression ; the supreme test for the ministers settled by the Commissioners and Committees came on the Sunday when the Act of Uniformity came into full operation, and for the godly persons of the gathered churches in the long months and years that followed the two Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670. In other words, a true gauge of the Puritan movement in Wales must wait for the full context of the sombre and sinister records of the Restoration period. Nor can those records balance in sufficiently delicate scales the relative efficacy of the subsidised propagator and his brother who refuséd State pay on political or conscientious grounds. For against the politic Cradock stood the minatory glance of Vavasor ; opposed to Miles was the Abergavenny-Llanwenarth resolution ; and what human document can explain whether the persistent Nonconformity of the Swansea Valley owes more to the tithe-supported James Jones of Llangyfelach[4] than to David Jenkins, ' the canting and ignorant fellow ' whose name never appears in the appointments of the Triers or the pay-rolls of the Trustees ?[5] And though the collections for the destitute Irish Protestants[6] and for succour of the Piedmontese sufferers[7] were comparatively small in Wales and no record has survived of the exact response made to the appeal to rebuild Oswestry church ' pulled down in the late war ' at a cost of £7,000,[8] it is certain that the virtue of generosity was not confined to those who drew their revenues from the reservoirs of either Trustees or Sequestrators. There remains

1 Salt MS. 2112 (Stafford), census of Sheldon, cp. (*a*) ff. 393-395 (Brecon parishes) ; (*b*) ff. 412-416 (St. Asaph diocese).
2 Richard Jones of Denbigh : ' Galwad i'r Annychweledig '—' Llythyr at y Cymru,' p. 5, indited ' Meh. 15, 1659.'
3 Reliq. Baxt., ed. Sylvester, p. 72.
4 Lamb. 996, f. 441.
5 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 72.
6 Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, 190-195.
7 Cal. St. Pap., 1656-1657, pp. 222-223.
8 Cal. St. Pap., 1657-1658, pp. 32, 173.

another important consideration—that no review of even the paid energies of the Propagation can be complete which looks upon Wales as a close preserve for Baptists and Independents, and relegates to oblivion the industrious colony of Presbyterians in the lowlands of Maelor Saesneg.

NOTE: 'CONANTI NIHIL DIFFICILE.'

This witticism (whose author was Dr. John Prideaux, a former Rector of Exeter College) was applied to Dr. John Conant in his undergraduate days on account of his wonderful native ability (Noncon. Mem. I, 229). It is hardly necessary to inquire whether a mastery of the Welsh language was a difficulty he managed to overcome on his appointment as rector of Abergele in 1656, for the very good reason, as has been suggested already, that he never appeared there. Not even to *him* was it possible to be present in more than one place at one and the same time; how much could Abergele see of a man who was at once an enterprising Head of Exeter, a faithful member of the Visitors' panel at Oxford, a painstaking Puritan 'lecturer' at the church of All Hallows, Regius Professor of Divinity, and (from 1656 to 1660) Vice-Chancellor of the University? And similar disabilities would make it difficult for Dr. Francis Howell of Oxford, presented rector of Llanrhaiadr-ym-Mochnant at the beginning of 1659 (there cannot be much doubt that he is the Francis Howell of Lamb. MS. 999), to take much active interest in the affairs of that parish: a man appointed Principal of Jesus in 1657, at an especially trying period in the history of a very trying College, and one whose office was not made easier by having in residence under the same roof two former Principals—the Dr. Francis Mansell who was 'officially' expelled in 1648 and the Dr. Michael Roberts who had held the position for nine stormy years. (Hardy: Jesus College, pp. 121, 126-127.) Howell's only claim to a knowledge of Welsh lay in the fact that he was a native of Cornwall. These anomalies, very probably arising from the attenuated salaries attached to some of the Heads at Oxford (Burrows: Reg., 251), give added interest to a letter sent to the elder Cromwell by Dr. John Ellis of Dolgelly and other North Wales ministers declaring how the maintenance in many parishes was carried away by strangers 'who securely neglect those places under the Notion of sinecures' (Rawlinson MS. D. 843, 84); be it noted, however, that the Trustees gave out an express order that Dr. Conant was not to receive a penny of the rectorial profits until the salary of the Puritan 'vicar' on the spot, Henry Pugh, had been made up to £100 per annum (Lamb. 1004, f. 53). Whether the Dolgelly divine was thinking of the Abergele case or no (the letter was written two years after Conant's appointment), his criticism of a growing Puritan sinecure system deserves careful examination; what equally excites surprise is that a Puritan professor of Divinity and a Puritan 'reader' of Moral Philosophy (as Howell was, or had been) did not include the question of accepting livings in Wales over which they could not possibly exercise pastoral care among their cases of conscience or 'difficilia.' Were these good men, indeed, consciously lying in wait for such blessings as a Protectorate providence might bring them?

VIII.

THE PRESBYTERIANS OF ENGLISH FLINT.

While the stalemate in Independent church-polity finds a counterpart in the meagre annals of its separate congregations, and the inattractive discipline of the 'strict' Baptists made the admission of new members to the church at Ilston hardly keep pace with the numerous excommunications for moral offences, the affairs of the small but compact group of Presbyterians in north-eastern Wales have been magnified beyond all due proportion through their numbering in their ranks one of the world's great diarists.[1] It is true that the largest number of his pages afford the best reflection of the troubled thoughts of a Puritan in the dark days of persecution; but it is safe to assert that his earliest entries, comprising about seventy pages, are an equally convincing analysis of the despondent days which had overcome a type of church-government which bade fair to become, and for a few years actually did become, enshrined in the authorised state-system of Great Britain. This arose from the dire exigencies of the Parliamentary armies during the earlier stages of the Civil War—the days when the Covenant was accepted, the Scots army marched into England, the Westminster divines assembled, and all England was divided into Presbyterian 'classes'; its early decline was foreshadowed by the Erastian lawyers of the Long Parliament when they directed that appeals from the lower Presbyterian courts lay in the last resort not to a National Assembly of ministers, but to a Parliamentary court of laymen[2]; and its virtual death was decreed by the crowning victories of the sectarian soldiers of the New Model army through the genius of the anti-Presbyterian Oliver Cromwell, victories which imposed upon

1 Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, ed. Rev. Matthew Henry Lee (1882 (henceforward referred to as '*Diaries*' in this chapter).

2 For a conspectus of the final ordinance of the Long Parliament on the constitution of church courts and its own appellate jurisdiction, see Shaw, II, 18-23.

the Rump a 'wicked toleration'[1] of all orthodox and non-blasphemous sects. The 'classes' remained, but with legal sanctions obsolescent if not obsolete; their secular defences had been broken down when the Scots army was paid to go home and when the Second Civil War, engineered by Presbyterians and Royalists, was effectually suppressed by Harrison and Cromwell. Henceforward the Presbyterian was on the same tolerated basis as the Baptist or the Independent; each system had to work out its own salvation through sermon and pamphlet; all three, and many others besides, were comprised under the term 'tender consciences.' And it must be premised that these conditions arose from a fundamental conviction in the mind of the average English Puritan that there was no advance in religious freedom in substituting the 'high commission' of Episcopacy by the 'jus divinum' of Presbyterianism. If England was lukewarm, Wales was indifferent.[2] Some Presbyterians there might be here and there, men like John Lewis of Glasgrug and Sir Thomas Myddelton of Chirk, whose outlook in accepting the Covenant for the nonce was more political than religious, in that they wished to save the nation from the king. There were some ministers also who were dubbed Presbyterians in the same loose sense; and it is possible that there existed sundry 'meetings' of unorganised Presbyterians, although definite evidence to that effect is so far wanting. The undoubted fact vouched by the records is that though Wales was hedged in by a ring of 'classes' in the short years of Presbyterian supremacy, yet the influence of Powell and Cradock, in many respects deeply diverse characters but equally anti-classical, was sufficient to keep central and south-eastern Wales unaffected.[3] Llwyd—mystic, millenarian, and possessed of a less bellicose temper,—was not so successful in the 'independent' wardship of the northern march: the elder Fogg, Presbyterian in so far as he took interest in forms of church-government at all,

1 This term actually occurs on p. 4 of 'A New Declaration of the Generall Assembly of the Kingdome of Scotland' (N.L.W., Cat. of Civil War Tracts, p. 46, No. 130).

2 For this indifference of Wales generally to Presbyterian ideals during the C.P.M. and C.P.G.W. periods, see H.P.M., pp. 198-202.

3 'One Ellyott a presbyterian seiz'd upon it' (MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 70). Thus does Edward Mansell in 1709 commit three serious mistakes in almost as many words in referring to developments at the living of Newton Nottage. Thomas *Hilliard* was legally inducted by the Triers, and there is not the slightest surviving evidence to connect him with official Presbyterianism. Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd has more pretensions to the title, but he only spent three years in the parish before the Restoration.

had found his way to Bangor-on-Dee; much more ominous was the ordaining on 22 August, 1648, by the Sandbach classis in Cheshire of Henry Newcome, one day to become most potent of personalities in northern Presbyterianism[1]; and a vulnerable spot appeared in another corner of English Flint before 21 November, 1650, when the C.P.G.W. at their Wrexham session ordered that 'Mr. Steele continue his officiating in Hanmer till further notice.'[2] Richard Steele was a native of Barthomley in Cheshire, an M.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, possessed of an 'ad eundem' degree at Oxford, 'a good scholar, a hard student, and an excellent preacher' who later became the author of at least six works of devotion.[3] The waning influence of Morgan Llwyd with the authorities during the early years of the Protectorate combined with the pressure of the Presbyterian element among the Triers saw the advent of two more Foggs[4] to the county of Flint, and on 19 July, 1654, the approval for Gresford in Denbigh of Matthew Jenkins,[5] ill-kempt, melancholy, 'a perfect Humorist,' but extraordinarily devoted to his sacred calling.[6] Partly by accident, partly by early predilections, partly by following the lie of the land, these men fell under the influence of the strong characters who wielded power in the Salop Fourth Classis. This Presbyterian division comprised thirty-four parishes in the hundred of Bradford North in the north-west of the county, and had in twelve years ordained no less than sixty-three ministers.[7] The chief ministers were Andrew Parsons of Wem, Francis Boughey of Hodnet, Thomas Cooke of Drayton, John Bisly of Edstaston, Aylmer Haughton of Prees, and the president, Thomas Porter of Whitchurch.[8] The latter, who dedicated his 'Spiritual Salt' published in 1651 'to my reverend brethren in the ministry of the Classical Presbytery in

1 Newcome's Autobiog., Pt. II—Chetham Soc. Publics., Old Series, Vol. xxvi; also Shaw, II, App. IIIb, p. 373. Although the matter has no vital bearing on Welsh Presbyterianism, it should be said these statements of Newcome's controvert the theory held by Urwick [Hist. Sketches Noncon. . . . Cheshire (1864), Introd. xxxii]; and Alex. Gordon [Heads of English Unitarian Church History (1898), p. 66] that the Palatine County had nothing to do with the Parliamentary 'classes.'

2 Rawl. c. 261, Reprint, p. 28.

3 Palmer: Noncon. Memorial, III, 482-483; Diaries, p. 35 n. †.

4 One of them, Lawrence, not before 1657 (supra, p. 22).

5 St. Pap. Dom. Interreg., G 22, f. 1490a.

6 Diaries, p. 225—Henry's references to his death. A stray appointment like this at Gresford, geographically outside the limits of English Flint, is not deemed sufficient to vitiate the particular heading of this chapter.

7 Acct. of the Life and Death of Philip Henry (1698), p. 35.

8 Shaw, II, App. IIIb, p. 410.

Bradford North,'[1] was in Baxter's judgment such an excellent preacher that 'few arrived to his degree that ever he had heard'[2]; and Philip Henry remarked in his diary recording Porter's death on 19 June, 1667, that 'he was a man much honored by God with success in his ministry, there being many who call him Father.'[3]

It was to this land and into contact with such men that Henry came in September 1653 as tutor to the children of Judge Puleston at Emral and to preach in the chapel of Worthenbury[4]; he was to find the Presbyterianism of the border, faced with the problems of a disconcerting toleration, shorn indeed of the symmetrical rigidity of the Scottish system, but in many ways adapted to the changed environment. For though the 'classes' once set up by the Long Parliament were carefully marked out within the limits of statutory counties, the Presbyterians of Denbigh-Flint had been bound to the Salop unit by a process of co-optation. Even Philip Henry himself was to allow strangers from other districts to 'communicate' in his own chapel,[5] a practice considered as rank heresy by the Presbyterians of the Assembly and the Scottish assessors who laid it down that 'civil precints were to be the bounds of churches,' and also by the typical London Presbyterians of St. Bartholomew's by the Exchange, who in 1657 objected to pay tithes to the Independent John Loder because 'our church was taken up and our pewes filled with strainge congregacons.'[6] Indeed, his own Presbyterian code, which ultimately became quite rigid, was a matter of growth and development. Entering Christ Church at Oxford in 1648, shortly before the Puritan 'visitation,'[7] he saw in succession Reynolds the Presbyterian and Owen the Independent holding the deanery; after taking his M.A. on 10 December, 1652, he preached his first sermon at South Hinksey in Berkshire, more than four years before his actual ordination,[8] a practice utterly at variance with the

1 Shaw, II, App. IIIb, p. 412.
2 Diaries, pp. 34-35, n. *; also p. 201, n. * (no doubt the Editor derived his information from Calamy's Acct., II, 561).
3 Ibid., pp. 201-202.
4 Diaries, p. 15.
5 'That have heretofore communicated with us'—a retrospective remark made by Henry, sub 10 April, 1661 (Diaries, p. 83).
6 Shaw, II, pp. 132-133.
7 Diaries, p. 11; a particular order of these Visitors seems conclusive that he came up from Westminster School in 1647 (Burrows: Register, p. 268).
8 Ibid., p. 14—'Oxford-shire.'

teaching of Calvin's Institutes unless it be distinctly understood that he was upon trial,[1] but more than paralleled by the contemporary carelessness of the Bury classis in Lancashire where ten unordained ministers distributed to 'try their faculties' were forgotten and preached thus for years.[2] Even when in 1657 he 'made addresses' for ordination to the nearest Shropshire classis, his answer as to what was his judgment on the Presbytero-Independent differences consisted in that in most things 'according to his present light' he agreed with the first, but that he had not had opportunity 'to search into y^e^ bottom of y^e^ controversy.'[3] Yet Presbyterian pretensions have never been ridden to greater logical extremes than in the 'note' appended by him to the text of the sermon preached on that occasion—'Christ puts [men] immediately [into the ministry] by those authoris'd thereunto by y^e^ rule of y^e^ word, and what they doe herein is as valid as if X^t^ hims. in person should lay hands'; in face of a possible remark that such Presbyterian ordination was derived from the Bishops, if not from the Pope, he does not hesitate to retort that it is not worse for that, 'no more than our Baptism, or to find Rahab & Tamar in y^e^ Genealogy of Jesus X^t^.'[4] On 31 August of the same year, at a meeting of Presbyterian ministers at Gresford, Henry joined in presenting a petition to the coming session of Parliament for 'the setting up of Discipline' or the full apparatus of the Presbyterian order[5]; and the days of Anglican persecution marked, in vivid contrast to the softening tendencies that affected many of his brethren, a hard crystallisation of his creed bordering on intolerance. For example, he readily believed the rumour that the men who attempted to carry off the Crown jewels from the Tower in 1671 were two Anabaptists, as 'God in righteous judgm^t^ leaves men of corrupt principles to corrupt practices'[6]; in 1672 he gave expression to the fear of extreme Presbyterians that the Declaration of Indulgence published in that year would by 'y' allowing of separate places [by licence] help to

1 Diaries, p. 14—footnote of Editor, referring to Instit. IV, pars. 4, 13.
2 Walker: Suff., Pt. I, pp. 39-40. How strongly, however, the generality of Presbyterians felt on the propriety of due ordination is shown by Article V of the Manchester concordat between them and the local Independents in July 1659—'we will use our endeavour that noe offence be given by the preaching of mere gifted men' (Shaw, II, 171).
3 Diaries, p. 36.
4 Ibid. p. 60.
5 Ibid. p. 58.
6 Ibid. p. 237, sub May 5.

overthrow our Parish-order which God hath own'd'[1]; and in 1678 did he not labour his three objections to the 'Independent way,' chief being that it 'threw the Ministry common and allowed persons to preach who are unordayned'?[2] That the young Oxford graduate had not arrived at these ultramontane conceptions when he came to Emral is evident from his diaries; nor would it have been politic for him, most prudent of men, to dilate upon them if he had. Robert Fogg, the rector of Bangor, cared much less for the spread of Presbyterian ideas than to see that neither Judge Puleston nor his 'curate' should detract from his own presumed rights over the chapel of Worthenbury[3]; Puleston himself, though he had been and still remained (September 1653) a dormant Commissioner for the Propagation, 'spake much against' one of the simple innovations in family worship suggested by Henry[4]; and Lady Puleston, the moving spirit of his journey, in a letter to one of the dons of Christ Church discussing the conditions of the new post, intimated her ready willingness not to insist so much upon preaching as upon family prayers and expositions of 'Chapters or Psalms,' and even wholly to excuse Henry from all these formalities 'as some use y^m'[5]—suggestions that would sound passing strange to the hide-bound Presbyterians of the age, some of whom had so moidered the ears of Charles II with sermons at Edinburgh as made that prince say that Presbyterianism was no religion for a gentleman.

Henry was undoubtedly rescued from surrender to this innocuous derivative of high Calvinistic polity beloved of the Pulestons by the experiences surrounding his ordination at Prees on 16 September, 1657, which (being the only ceremony recorded at length during this period in Wales) deserves something more than a cursory notice. Notwithstanding the many discouragements to their cause, the Salop classis kept closely to the procedure outlined by the Presbyterian parliament in its ordinance of 4 October, 1644.[6] On his first trial at Prees on July 6 Henry had to answer questions concerning

1 Diaries, p. 250, sub February 16, 1671-72.
2 Ibid., p. 277.
3 Supra, pp. 129-133.
4 Diaries, p. 45.
5 Ibid., pp. 29-30—Letter to Francis Palmer, M.A. of Christ Church, dated 19 September, 1653.
6 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, I, 521-525, 865-874.

the work of grace upon his heart, about his skill in the original languages of the Scriptures (verses from the Psalms and Luke were given him to read and construe in both Greek and Hebrew[1]), concerning his knowledge of logic and natural philosophy, what authors in divinity he had read, together with searching questions on the mediatorship of Christ; his opinion on infant baptism was canvassed and his reading in church history tested; then he had to expound a 'place of Scripture' (namely, 1 Cor. X, 26, 28) and resolve the 'case of conscience' how to deal with a confirmed reprobate who despairs of his salvation. Last of all, the classis presented him with a subject to provide a thesis upon against the next meeting—'an Providentia divina extendat se ad omnia.'[2] It was on August 3 that this thesis was exhibited; then came a disputation with three of the ministers present arguing to the negative 'for about the space of halfe an hour or more,' Porter moderating; next Henry had to leave two certificates with the 'register' of the classis, one signed by four Oxford dignitaries, and another subscribed by his friend Steele of Hanmer and two others testifying to his pious and holy conversation.[3] The ordination itself took place at Prees in September with the usual formalities of prayer, preaching, a confession of the ordinand's faith, a further answering of questions, prayer once more, and 'in Prayer' imposition of hands by the President and four of the officiating ministers, another minister closing with an exhortation; last of all, he received 'Instrumt' of this in Parchment subscribed by their severall Hands.'[4] After this ordination, and even before it, Philip Henry infused new energy into the rigid frame of classical Presbyterianism, suggested expedients and adopted ideas, excrescences on the old forms mayhap, which were to fertilise and vivify in a wonderful way the religious life of English Flint. Not only did he go far afield to preach—at Gresford, Ellesmere, Penley, and Welshampton, besides preaching three times at least in the parish church of Wrexham in 1655-1656[5]—according to the qualified circuit

1 Psalm II, 1, 2 (Hebrew); Luke XVI, 1, 2 (Greek).
2 Diaries, pp. 34-37. It should be added that the candidate had to maintain the affirmative in composing his thesis.
3 Diaries, p. 37.
4 Ibid., pp. 38-39.
5 Rawl. MS., c. 261, ff. 4 (verso), 65 (verso), 90 (verso).—all at the 'obverse' end of the MS.

system in vogue, and attend with great regularity the ' monthly meetings ' of ministers to discuss profound questions of divinity phrased in Latin and probably carried on in that language[1]; but he also instituted a series of monthly ' lectures ' (usually held on the Sabbath afternoon) conducted by Ambrose Lewis, unordained minister and master of the Wrexham Puritan free school,[2] started another monthly 'exercise ' at Ellesmere and Hanmer, no doubt by arrangement with the Presbyterian ministers already settled there,[3] and in addition to the usual exhortations after sermon began to hold monthly ' conferences ' with his own people at home to simplify the deeper doctrines of the Word and supply guiding rules for the difficulties of everyday life.[4] ' Days of prayer ' were also appointed, often in private houses ; considerable stress was laid on the singing of Psalms ; care was also taken to observe days of public thanksgiving such as that ordered by authority on 20 February, 1657, for the deliverance of the Protector from the plot against his life,[5] and days of public humiliation like that in reference to the appalling sickness of August-September of the same year.[6] While in residence at Emral from 1653 to early 1659, he made his influence deeply felt : ' the Bible was read in the family, a duty long omitted ' ; the first Sunday of March 1657 saw a revival of repeating the substance of the day's sermons, ' intermitted bec. of winter ' ; every Thursday morning from the 25th of the same month he gave instructions to the servants of the Hall[7]; and he defended singing Psalms there and in all other pious families as ' a way to hold forth Godlinesse, like the Scarlet Thread (Joshua II, 18) to such as passe by our windows.'[8]

1 These are some examples of the subjects discussed at these meetings :—
(*a*) An lex moralis obligat Christianos ?
(*b*) An sancti sint adorandi ?
(*c*) An usura sit licita ?
(*d*) An aliquis possit esse perfectus in hac vita ?
(*e*) An Decretum Dei tollat nostram libertatem ?
The first of these mentioned in the Diaries is opposite January 27, 1657-8 (p. 41).

2 First ' lecture ' held on September 11, 1655 (Diaries, p. 16).

3 First ' exercise ' held at Ellesmere on November 14, 1655 (p. 17) ; at Hanmer on February 5, 1655-56 (Ibid.).

4 First conference in June, 1656 (p. 18). Three instances of questions taken up :—
(*a*) What are the Scripture marks of those that shall be saved ?
(*b*) How may it be proved there is a God ?
(*c*) What are the causes of God's hiding His face from the people ?

5 Diaries, p. 43.

6 Ibid., p. 58. This sickness, it was reported to Henry, caused ' fourscore children to sicken together at Swansey.'

7 For the Emral arrangements, see Diaries, pp. 43-45.

8 Diaries, pp. 46, 47.

This assiduous attention to the spiritual welfare of one district and one family did not make Henry's outlook on life narrow or insular, a conclusion equally true of other members of the classis. Steele at Hanmer was visited on 10 June, 1654, by Henry Newcome[1]; Porter in 1656 engaged in hot dispute with an Anabaptist in Ellesmere church[2]; and Henry, not content with receiving consignments of books from Oxford,[3] proceeded on tour there in 1657, where he preached five times on the same Sunday (once at St. Mary's), gave three sermons at Corpus Christi on another, one at Christ Church on a third. Then he moved on to London where on 9 May he had the honour of delivering a Saturday sermon at the Abbey from Hebrews VII, 25, which together with others preached in the neighbourhood of London made a tour total of 17, not one of which was built on the same text.[4] Very probably access to these exalted spheres was due to his interest with the Pembroke family (he tells us it was Philip the fourth earl who 'gave him his name' at baptism,[5]) to the Puleston influence, and not impossibly to the connections he had formed at Westminster School when a pupil there under the famous Richard Busby[6]; but his own equipment both as regards training and innate graces of character was an equally potent factor. His piety was guilelessly sincere; courage also he did not lack, as 'when in zeale for God though in circumstances ill-manag'd' he struck the young Roger Puleston in the face,[7] and when he gave out Psalm XC, 12, &c., to be sung at Iscoed chapel even though Morgan Llwyd and numbers of his Wrexham adherents were present, men who disowned such an innovation[8]; his generous nature is illustrated by his paying out one-tenth of his receipts in 1657 and 1658 for charitable uses.[9] Nor was he a respecter of persons where the highest interests of the gospel were at stake, as witness his strictures on the 'raw and young'

1 Diaries, p. 35, n. †.
2 Ibid., pp. 34-35, n. *; for reference to Francis Tallents of Shrewsbury acting as moderator in this debate, see Calamy: Acct., II, 549.
3 Diaries, p. 45.
4 Circumstantial details of this English journey are given in Diaries, pp. 47-51.
5 Diaries, p. 9.
6 Ibid. pp. 10-11.
7 Ibid. p. 18.
8 Ibid. p. 55.
9 Ibid. pp. 66-67. He works the sum for 1657 thus:—

Receipts	..	£100	16	11	} p. 66.
Tenth	..	10	1	0	

catechizer at Worthenbury,[1] on a sermon heard at Bangor in which 'y^e word was corrupted with inticing expressions of humane Invention,'[2] on the unworthy minister at Shocklach where the people's souls were like to perish for lack of wholesome food[3]—a minister who would do well to imitate Henry's own practice of composing his two sermons early on in the week.[4] Of necessity such a conscientious minister reacted very powerfully upon the religious members of his own communion: it is not surprising to find some of them feeling encouraged to suggest subjects to him for future sermons[5]; and John Hughes, a Presbyterian hailing from Wrexham, was not afraid to pit his own opinion against that of the minister's on one of the most abstruse aspects of the doctrine of predestination.[6] Discipline must have been tempered with mercy, for though admonitions were many, there is no reference to a single excommunication from the Worthenbury church during the years 1653-1660.

The natural corollary of such prudential and humane Christianity would be that Presbyterianism commended itself to a large number of the Puritan community in Wales and led to a great extension of classical jurisdiction. Instead, the Presbyterian ministers pursued the converse policy of concentrating upon their own spheres of pastoral work and upon the natural activities of the classis to which they belonged; they seem to have been more interested in the division of the large parishes of Malpas, Bangor and Ellesmere than in any projects of expansion towards the west. Though there is no definite evidence of this interest either in petitions or provisional orders, it is a significant fact that the incumbents of the new (or suggested)[7] formations were to a man post-Propagation Presbyterians: Joseph Hanmer, once catechiser of the Worthenbury children, made 'curate' of Whitwell chapel in the township of Iscoed[8]; John Broster, whose work at Penley made Henry say that 'God did well for that poor place'[9]; and Orlando Fogg at Overton, who was once such a

1 Diaries p. 58.
2 Ibid. p. 59.
3 Ibid. p. 65.
4 Ibid. p. 53.
5 Ibid. p. 60.
6 Ibid. p. 64.
7 The parenthesis is due to the absence of complete proof that the Whitwell and Overton divisions were finally consummated (supra, pp. 128-130).
8 Diaries, cp. pp. 58, 125.
9 Ibid., p. 97.

good Presbyterian as to sign one of Henry's good conduct certificates prior to his ordination,[1] and later such a poor one as to abjure his benediction by presbyters and seek re-ordination at the hands of the Anglican bishops after the Restoration.[2] The only certain Welsh ministerial convert was the John Jones who was instituted to Llanarmon-yn-Iâl on 19 March, 1655-56,[3] very possibly the same John Jones whose appointment to the living of Aberdaron by the C.P.M. was revoked because of the latter's desire to respect the interests which St. John's College, Cambridge, had in that living,[4] if not also the 'Johnes' approved by the C.P.G.W. to reside at the town of Carnarvon.[5] He was ordained on the same day as Philip Henry, held the living until the Restoration, and proved consistent Puritan enough to be excommunicated for nonconformity in 1663[6]. There seems to have been a number of Presbyterians meeting at Welshpool whom Henry visited on 20 July, 1657[7]; but his reasons for wandering thus far from the Fourth Classis, when these people would naturally look for guidance to the Second or Oswestry classis[8] in the near neighbourhood, are now difficult to fathom. The confined orbit of Presbyterian Wales is a phenomenon much more easily accounted for. Not one of the Flint ministers had command of the Welsh language (though Henry's people on the paternal side came from Briton Ferry in Glamorgan[9]), a very serious drawback when it is remembered what a perfect master of this instrument both in actual preaching and in literary output was found in Morgan Llwyd of Wrexham close by. Further, there does not seem to be any evidence of the constitution of new 'classes' beyond those already sanctioned by the Long Parliament from 1645 to 1648—which only can be the reasonable explanation of the 'rebus publicis sic stantibus' passage on p. 37 of the Diaries – a state of forced stagnation which necessarily resulted in

1 Diaries, p. 37.
2 Ibid. p. 78 (sub February 18, 1661).
3 Lamb. 996, f. 594.
4 H.P.M., p. 43.
5 Ibid, p. 144.
6 Diaries, p. 139 (sub 13 June, the date when Henry heard of his fate).
7 Ibid. pp. 53-54.
8 Shaw, II, App. IIIb, p. 408.
9 In his 'Making of Modern Wales' (p. 272, n. 1) Mr. Llewellyn Williams makes Henry to be a native of Briton Ferry. The early entries in the 'Diaries' reinforced by the remarks of the Editor leave not the slightest doubt that he was born in London. Besides, it would be highly inconvenient for Philip Earl of Pembroke to 'give him his name at baptism' if he were born in Briton Ferry (Diaries, pp. 6-7).

emphasising their distinctively English proclivities. Again, the old political associations of the Presbyterians were deeply suspect and their chagrin at the practical negation of the classical system made some of them naturally desirous in the words of a hostile Independent tract-maker from Wiltshire 'to bring us againe into Egyptian bondage . . . to set up themselves and this Classicall Diana by Civill Sanction . . . to make Cannons for inthralling the consciences of good men.'[1] On this point it is pertinent to refer once more to the petition sent up by the Gresford meeting of Presbyterian ministers and to recount Henry's prayer regarding those who supported Booth of Cheshire and Myddelton of Chirk in their abortive Royalist rising of 1659[2]—'Lord, own them if they truly own Thee.'[3] And the restoration of the king, entered in his diary opposite the first annual commemoration on May 29, 1661, he 'cannot yet but call mercy considering . . . the sad condition we were in through usurpers.'[4] Notwithstanding these private thoughts (probably never meant to see the light of day) and the failure of the Presbyterians to make any annexations westwards, there is no proof that they indulged in any personal recriminations or in doctrinal controversy, not even with the provocative Quakers. The records point the other way. The Presbyterians in the neighbourhood of Wrexham 'made one party' with the Independents in combating any local Royalist movements caused by the Salisbury rising of 1655[5]; Henry counts Andrew Maddocks, the usher under Ambrose Lewis, as his 'good Friend,'[6] a man very intimately associated with Llwyd's 'gathered church' at Wrexham[7]; Henry, Llwyd and Mostyn are known on one occasion to have preached together in Iscoed chapel[8]; Richard Steele, two of the Foggs, and Jenkins of Gresford acted as ministers-assistant with the Independents in working the new 'ejecting' Act of 23 August, 1654, in North Wales, and were reinforced by other Presbyterians outside the Whitchurch classis, namely, George

1 Shaw, II, App. IIIb, pp. 437-438. The tract had reference to Presbyterian agitation over the Parliamentary elections of 1654.
2 Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, pp. 540-541.
3 Diaries, pp. 68-69.
4 Ibid. p. 87.
5 Thurloe St. Pap., III, 214—Letter from Wrexham, March 9, 1654-5.
6 Diaries, p. 63.
7 J. H. Davies: Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, p. 250.
8 Diaries, p. 55. It was on that occasion that Henry and Llwyd first met, although the former had been in the neighbourhood nearly four years.

Lawson of More (Sixth Salop Classis) and Samuel Barkeley of Clungunford (Salop Fifth Classis).[1] The Lambeth MSS. also testify in a very definite manner how Presbyterian ministers, some of these again from other classes than the Fourth, signed with ready compliance the certificates necessary for candidates aiming at the approval of the Triers: *e.g.*, Samuel Hildersham and Andrew Parsons signed for Richard Payne of Kerry[2]; Robert Fogg, his son Orlando, and Jenkins of Gresford for Owen Eyton of Corwen[3]; John Roberts of Aldford in Cheshire for Hugh Pugh of Llanbedr D.C.[4]; Jenkins also for John Roberts of Llanrhaiadr in Dyffryn Clwyd[5]; the elder Fogg both for Rice Williams of Llangynhafal[6] and the future Presbyterian of Llanarmon[7] (even Judge Puleston himself condescended to subscribe the last). And Henry himself displayed a rather unexpected piece of tolerance—especially in view of the fact that he refused to baptise a child in public (both his parents being unable to attend) lest people should 'happily[8] (*sic*) look upon it as a Presedent for y^e^ use of God-fathers and God-mothers'[9]—when he allowed John Roan(e),[10] the Anglican vicar of Hanmer displaced by Steele, to preach in his own chapel of Worthenbury, the Puritan having hurt his leg with an 'Iron mawle.'

Most important of all, it must have been this general atmosphere of peace and good-will that led the Presbyterian ministers (with Henry in the forefront) in 1658 'to enlarge their correspondence with the ministers of North Wales; and several meetings they had at Ruthin and other places . . . for the settling of a correspondence and the promoting of unity, love and good understanding among themselves by entering into an association like those some years before of Worcestershire and Cumberland, which having been published, they made their patterns. They appointed particular associations and (notwithstanding some of them were in their judgments

1 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 982-984; for Lawson and Barkeley see Shaw, II, App. IIIb, pp. 411-412. Clungunford is spelt 'Clungunis' in the actual ordinance, and More 'Moore.'
2 Lamb. 996, f. 208.
3 Ibid. f. 314.
4 Lamb. 997, lib. i, f. 244.
5 Ibid. f. 66.
6 Lamb. 997, lib. ii, f. 83.
7 Ibid. 996, f. 594.
8 This must be the Editor's miscopy of an original '*haply.*'
9 Diaries, p. 65.
10 Walker: Suff., Pt. I, p. 350. Roan became in 1675 Bishop of Killaloe in Ireland (Diaries, p. 56, n *).

Episcopal, others Congregational, and others Classical) they agreed to lay aside the thoughts of matters in variance that with one consent they might study in their respective places to promote the common interests of Christ's kingdom, and the common salvation of precious souls.'[1] It was to Henry that the delicate work was entrusted of drawing up that part of the agreement ' which concerned the worship of God, which last he performed to their satisfaction.' According to his view, the word of God was to be the standard for a uniform administration of the ordinances, ' and for those things wherein the word is silent, we think we may and ought to have recourse to Christian prudence and the practice of reformed churches agreeing with the general rules of the word,'[2] specifically mentioning, as was natural for a Presbyterian, the ' Directory ' or manual of public worship adopted by the Long Parliament on 23 August, 1645.[3] This practice of ' voluntary association ' was not an original conception that grew up in the soil of Wales, but (although Richard Galpin of Graystock in Cumberland seems to have thought of it first in point of time[4]) mainly elaborated in the fertile mind of Baxter, in many respects the most daring intellect, albeit the most unsatisfied, that addressed itself to problems of religion in this country, and much the most liberal divine of his generation (as Dr. John Owen was the most conservative). His Worcestershire Agreement of 1653, subscribed by nearly 60 ministers of that county and the adjacent parts,[5] was based on the rectorial rights of the parish clergyman, it being the latter's business to rule his parish as well as teach it. He might order his cure on the Presbyterian model or in the ' Congregational way ' or on the old system of churchwardens, which Baxter himself preferred; but this was to be the rector's choice. The Agreement presupposed that the county clergy, be they in theory Presbyterian or Congregational or even Baptist, were to meet together for religious exercises and devotion, mutually bound by a doctrinal profession of strict

1 An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry (1698) [by his son Matthew], pp. 59-60. It has been thought well to quote verbatim this somewhat long extract in view of its content as an important landmark in the penultimate stage of the Puritan movement in Wales.

2 Ibid., p. 61.

3 Shaw, I, p. 356.

4 Benjamin Nightingale: The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmoreland, pp. 89-90.

5 Shaw. II, App. IIIc., pp. 454-455 (exhaustive list of associating ministers).

orthodoxy, but without lay assessors and without any jurisdiction one over another.[1] A large number of English counties, the path made easy for them by the breakdown of the 'classes,'[2] followed the lead of Baxter; even the South of Ireland, which had always resisted the Presbyterian arrangements made by the Long Parliament, fell into line in 1655. It was in 1656 that the movement touched Shropshire; in Newcome's autobiography we find that he came on June 3 with Samuel Hildersham of West Felton, once moderator of the famous debate in 1652 at Newchapel between Vavasor Powell and Dr. George Griffith of Llanymynech, to Wem 'where met several of the ministers of those parts to advise about personal instruction, the business that precious Mr. Baxter had set on foot at that time.'[3] From this conjunction of Hildersham and Wem, it is evident that the new idea of 'association' transcended the old bounds of classes by comprising counties as a whole, while Matthew Henry's account of the Ruthin movement must connote that the peculiar situation in Wales extended the unit over a group of counties. Whether the men who formed this Welsh association accepted 'in toto' the principles of the Baxterian model; whether the limited time between 1658 and 1660 gave it opportunity to achieve full working order; and whether Congregational ministers could stand the strain of meeting Presbyterians after the drastic order issued by the fully restored Long Parliament in 1660 asking J.P.'s to form the counties once more into presbyteries and reviving the comprehensive ordinance of 29 August, 1648[4]—there is unfortunately no evidence either in the discovered diaries of Philip Henry nor in the biography composed by his son. However, it is certain that the usually correct judgment of Dr. W. A. Shaw is at fault in making the ministers at Bangor-on-Dee who discussed 'an sit Transubstantiatio in sacrâ cœna'

1 This summary of Baxter's outlook is mainly derived from Alex. Gordon: Heads of English Unitarian Church History, pp. 65-66; for a fuller account, see Calamy's Abridgement, I, 116-119.

2 After the withdrawal of legal sanction, the classical system survived with any show of vigour only in London, Lancashire, and the Salop divisions.

3 Chetham Soc. Publics., Old Series, Vol. XXVI, p. 58. The 'business' had, in reality, been 'set on foot' *three years before.*

4 Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 553; Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, p. 392—March 14. The calendarist calls it the ordinance of '9 Aug., 1648'; the fact is that it passed the Commons and was sent up to the Lords on 11 August (C.J., V, 667; L.J., X, 432). It was read in the Lords the first time on 22 August and a third time on the *29th.* (L. J., X, 450, 461). The latter Journals print it in full (X, 461-474).

(February 16, 1661) to be attending a meeting of the '*voluntary association*'[1] and that for three reasons: such Latin disquisitions would ill suit a mixed assembly of ministers; Bangor was a natural meeting-place for the Presbyterians of English Flint only; and the Episcopal section (if indeed any ever deigned to join) would long since have parted company with the sectaries under the new conditions that obtained after the Restoration. It follows that Shaw's theory that other 'meetings of ministers' referred to in the diaries belonged to this same 'association'[2] must also be abandoned; is it likely that if non-Presbyterian elements were present in the Gresford meeting that they would give unqualified support to the new setting-up of Presbyterian discipline?

Of the abiding force of Henry's constructive measures in classis and association, the mortmain of the Restoration makes a just judgment difficult; but like other Puritans who laboured at this period in Wales, later events were to prove that the ingrained tendencies of the average parishioner remained singularly unaffected. Even in July 1657 a company of 'vayne people' met together on a Sabbath evening to deck the church of Worthenbury with flowers as in pre-Puritan days[3]; one of the Puleston sons on 11 January, 1661, overtook Henry and two friends coming home from Whitchurch, 'drew his sword & would needs fight saying wee were all Traytors, swearing desperately'[4]; and in June of the same year he was to hear that irregular marriages of people 'from both whom I hoped better th.' were not made impossible by the most diligent of spiritual ministrations.[5] It is, however, to the immense credit of Henry himself that when the dark period was over and toleration once more reigned, he was busy 'holding constant meetings on the Lord's days for all ordinances' and reviving the 'monthly lectures' he had instituted in 1655.[6]

1 Diaries, p. 77; Shaw, II, App. IIIc., p. 456.
2 Shaw, II, App. IIIc., p. 453.
3 Diaries, p. 53.
4 Ibid. p. 75.
5 Ibid. p. 88.
6 Gordon MS. [Dr. Williams' Library], ff. 12, 62—describing events in 1690-1692.

IX.

THE UNPAID PREACHERS OF SOUTH WALES.

All the ministers hitherto under review recognised the State connection and accepted State pay, whether it was paid by local commissioners for Sequestrations out of the tithes and profits of self-supporting livings, or whether, 'yn chwarau am sgubau'r esgobion,'[1] they drew it from the 'receivers' of the Trustees out of hierarchical revenues. On no subject was Puritan opinion more divided, and formidable were the 'cases of conscience' presented over 'tithes,' the convenient but incomplete term accepted by the pamphleteers for purposes of controversy. Without recounting the variations of feeling and the vicissitudes of resolutions that ranged around this vexed question in the days of the Long Parliament and the Rump,[2] it will suffice for our purpose to begin with the sustained attack made upon State maintenance by the extremer men who were elected to the Saints' Parliament by the 'gathered churches,' subject to the veto of the Council of Officers (July–December, 1653).[3] On July 15 it was proposed that no minister receive support from the State after November 3 (defeated by 68 to 43), and four days later, after some discussion, the whole question was referred to a committee (carried by 56 to 49). The moderate party in this assembly, including Bussy Mansell of Briton Ferry and James Phillips of Tregibby out of the six members elected for Wales,[4] put it as their view that the tithes system should not be abolished until some other mode of supporting the ministry should be devised, while the radical section, counting in their ranks the remaining Welsh members—Hugh Courtney

1 Cymru, XXI, p. 111—last line in 10th stanza of Huw Morus' 'Cerdd i Olfur Cromwel a'i Wyr.'

2 See H.P.M., X, 162-165.

3 The best authorities for the work of this Parliament are :—
(*a*) H. A. Glass : The Barbone Parliament (1899).
(*b*) L. F. Brown : Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men (1912).

4 In his Introd., p. lxiii, to Vol. II of 'Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd' Mr. J. H. Davies states that five out of the six M.P.'s for Wales in this Parliament were Fifth Monarchy men, which would necessarily include either Mansell or Phillips. If so, their millenarianism must have been well assumed, judging from the eagerness of both to curry favour with the new powers at the Restoration.

of Beaumaris,[1] Richard Price of Gunley, John Brown of Ness in Salop, and John Williams of Radnor—rather agreed with an aggressive voluntaryist that tithe 'be removed as a grievance in the first place, and then to make provision as God should direct.' However, when the above committee presented its report on December 2, by disregarding all the accumulated contentions that had raged over the origin and incidence of tithe and simply declaring that there was a 'legal propriety' in it, they practically decreed the continuance of the old system, especially as it was expressly stipulated that 'publick preachers of the gospell in the publick meeting-places' should continue drawing the payments sanctioned to them by law.[2] They inserted a mollifying provision that any ministers who scrupled tithes should be allowed some other form of recognition; in the discussion which followed payment in kind was suggested by some unpractical member. No one seems to have looked up the Commons' journals for an ordinance of 30 January, 1643-1644, for raising of 12d. in the £ upon the rents in the town of St. Albans for maintaining a preaching minister there; and it would be hardly within the knowledge of even the three North Wales members that a bargain had been struck three months before the discussion of December by which Philip Henry started work at Worthenbury at a stipend of £60 per annum, afterwards to be raised to £100, a considerable portion of which Judge Puleston and his wife, upon the most generous reckoning of the complicated Worthenbury tithes, must have paid out of their own pockets.[3] A letter is also preserved which speaks of the horse and footman sent to bring Henry from Oxford, the £5 'by Bearer' delivered him there 'in part of y^e^ first quarteridg.,' and of the provision made for whatever amount the charges of the journey would take out of this sum.[4] The Journals do not record that any inquiry was made into the possibilities of either corporate or private

1 In the same Introd. (p. lxviii, footnote *) Courtney is described as M.P. for *Merioneth*. On this assumption, only three N.W. counties would be represented, and the same number for South Wales. The fact is that representation is this Parliament *did not go by counties at all*. And Courtney had less to do with Merioneth than either of the other two for N. Wales, his time being taken up from 1650 to 1653 in guarding the Menai Straits from Royalist pirates (Cal. St. Pap., 1650, p. 312; 1651, p. 303).

2 The Committee's evasion of the real crux of the tithe problem is abundantly clear in Commons' Journals (VII, p. 361), but is not dealt with very adequately by Miss Brown in her work (Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, II, p. 42).

3 Diaries, pp. 15, 16.

4 Ibid., p. 30.

generosity ; and on December 10 even the compromises to the committee's report as embodied in a bill were doomed to failure, the first clause after a three days' debate being rejected by a majority of two (56-54). It was then that the moderate members, seeing that the logical effect of this division would throw the maintenance of ministers upon a strange and unorthodox voluntaryism, concocted and carried out the scheme by which the majority in the Saints' Parliament resigned their powers into the hands of the Council of Officers that had really created the whole body ; the rest were forcibly ejected by the soldiers.[1] But the attack of the extremists, though warded off partly by force and partly by chicane, was not without result, as in clause XXXV of the 'Instrument of Government'—the document which expressed the politico-religious basis of the Protectorate—allusion is made to the encouragement and maintenance of able and 'painful teachers,' how desirable 'a provision less subject to scruple and contention than the present [arising out of tithes] should be'; however, 'until such provision be made, the present maintenance shall not be taken away or impeached.'[2] Further, on 5 April, 1654, a committee of three, afterwards increased to five (Col. Philip Jones being one of the number) were asked to consider the problem how the inconvenience of maintaining ministers by tithes could be avoided and 'how the same may by degrees be put into some other effectual way without impairing the maintenance.'[3] The difficulty, of course, lay in finding the money in face of the calculations of a competent writer that, on account of the high expenses of Puritan militarism, there was an average deficit of from £400,000 to £500,000 yearly on the balance-sheets of the three kingdoms.[4] Nothing tangible seems to have issued from this new committee's consideration, as on August 28 the Protector confirmed an act of 1647 to render the tithe-right of intruded ministers indefeasible and to put a limit to appeals in Chancery against its payment[5] ; and on September 2 was issued the important ordinance which extended the powers and completed the jurisdiction of the Trustees for Maintenance,

1 Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 438.
2 Shaw, II, p. 85.
3 Cal. St. Pap., 1654, p. 76.
4 Dr. W. A. Shaw in Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, chap. XV, pp. 457-458.
5 Scobell : Ordinances, I, p. 347 et seq.

thus bringing ministers and tithes into a newer and more effective contact. That the blessings distributed by these Protectorate administrators were appreciated in Wales by the great majority of Puritan ministers is strikingly brought home by the signatories of the South Wales ' Humble Representation and Address ' [for short, H.R.A.] of loyalty and respect to Cromwell and presented to him on their behalf by Walter Cradock on 4 February, 1655-1656.[1] Public maintenance was not specifically defended in the preamble ; nor were the opponents of the Protectorate pointedly rebuked for preaching against it ; but the whole document betrays the complacent gratitude of men maintained to a government of maintainers, and its subscribers would be the last people in the world to express regret, with the Petitioners of 1652, for the meticulous care of the agents of the defunct C.P.G.W., in the ' exact gathering of the Tithes and Offerings, not omitting the very Tithe eggs.'[2] It is no wonder that Secretary Thurloe writing to Henry Cromwell in Ireland on the following day was glad to say that the address ' savoured of much Christian affection,' and that ' the sober part of Christians in those parts . . . the godlye partye . . . hath not (as would be suggested by some) forsaken us.'[3] Old commissioners, approvers and officials of the P.G.W. are found figuring in its columns ; Daniel Higgs, Marmaduke Matthews, with a big following of aggressive Swansea Independents who had grown bold under the patronage of Philip Jones of Llangyfelach[4] ; Miles leads the van of the Baptists of Gower[5] ; Stephen Hughes and Peregrine Phillips with many disciples represent the new Puritanism of the west[6] ; and naturally the first two pages contain the numerous Monmouthshire henchmen of the Llanfaches school of Wroth and Cradock.[7] Such support from the paid ministers of South Wales, describing the

1 Both copies of the Address—that at the British Museum [Thomason Collection, E. 866. 3] and that of the National Library [Civil War Tracts Cat., No. 141, p. 68]—have ' presented Thursday, January 31, MDCLVI ' = 31 January, 1656-1657. This is flatly controverted by (*a*) Thurloe's explicit remark that it was presented on February 4, 1655-6 (St. Pap., IV, 505), ; (*b*) the fact that members of the Llangwm Church in Pembrokeshire are known to have signed on 17 January, 1655-*56*, and (*c*) the utter unlikelihood that this counterblast to Vavasor's ' Word for God ' of December, 1655, as the ' Address ' really was, should be kept obscure for more than a year, when the effect necessary was a matter of urgency.

2 True and Perfect Relation, p. 45.

3 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 505.

4 p. 7 (last columns).

5 pp. 10-11.

6 pp. 9, 13.

7 pp. 6, main part of 7—the preamble takes up pp. 1-6 (beginning).

Protector as 'marking further passage for the Gospel and Kingdom of our Lord,'[1] did not serve to dispose him or his Council or his Parliaments, with the exception of some fruitless debates on the subject during April-May, 1657,[2] to revise the old system in any drastic manner, especially when the assembly of representative Independents which met at the Savoy in 1658 proclaimed through clause XIV of their October declaration 'that they who are engaged in the work of publique Preaching should enjoy Publique Maintenance on that account.'[3] Even more wedded to the naturalness and necessity of State support were the Presbyterian party, as witness the open suggestion made by their chief spokesmen (Baxter and Calamy) to Charles II upon his first draft of the Declaration for Indulgence of *October 1660*, that there was no sacrilegious alienation 'in some cases of true superfluities of revenues for the true necessity of the Church,'[4] which amounted to nothing less than a justification of the policy that had underlain the institution of the Trustees and of the confiscation of the revenues of bishops and chapters. When the Rump reassembled in 1659, they took care to pass the customary resolution that, pending a better maintenance, tithes should be paid[5]; and it was quite consonant with their old-time outlook that the last public act of the fully-restored Long Parliament, on March 16, 1659-1660, should be to pass a stringent measure enabling ministers to recover their prædial tithes.[6]

These ultimate and penultimate tithe resolutions of the Puritan legislators were welcomed by the opposing pamphleteers with all the usual apparatus of argument and invective; the Rump had to listen to many petitions on the subject in the spring and summer of 1659; in August of the same year Milton himself, not for the first time,[7] raised his

1 p. 2 (preamble). South Wales is in this context referred to as a land 'which was once so much your joy.'
2 C. J., VII, 519-540 (passim).
3 R. W. Dale: Hist. Eng. Cong., p. 387.
4 Docts. Act Unif., ed. Gould, p. 85.
5 On 27 June (C. J., VII, 694).
6 C. J., VII, 880; Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, p. 394.
7 *E.g.*, he had left no doubt of his attitude in his sonnet 'To the Lord General Cromwell, May 1652, on the Proposals of certain Ministers at the Committee for Propagation of the Gospel,' of which the following are the more pertinent lines:

'Help us to free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.'

No. 16 Sonnet in Oxford Plain Texts: Minor Poems of Milton.
[The above was a general Rump Committee, and had nothing in common with the C.P.G.W. See Shaw, II, esp. p. 84, where all the names are given.]

mighty voice with his 'Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church.' Not only tithes, he argued, but all customary fees for ministerial services at baptisms, marriages, and funerals should be abolished; for the only lawful maintenance of ministers consisted in the voluntary offerings of their flocks.[1] That this had been for some years the attitude of a considerable school of Welsh Puritans is substantiated, not only by the dramatic renunciation by Erbery of his £100 salary as preacher under the C.P.G.W.,[2] but also by one of the mysterious statements made by the South Wales section of the latter in 1652 when rebutting the charges of starving town and country of a 'sufficient ministry': 'there are about (80)[3] more with us which go about preaching the Gospell with great success in the Welch Tongue . . . but taking no maintenance from the tythes we forbeare to mention them.'[4] An attempt will be made here to supply the Commissioners' deficiency and dissipate some of the mystery that surrounds the bracketed 80. First it is very necessary to note that while all the ministers and laymen (762[5] altogether) who subscribed Cradock's 'Humble Address' in 1656 welcomed the Protectorate as a political experiment designed to save them from a world of greater woe, and although the very great majority of the ministers had no doubts about the righteousness of the State connection, yet there was a considerable minority among them who had abjured it unequivocally both in principle and practice. Some had already condemned State pay in a historic resolution[6]; there are others whose attitude is vouched for by the testimony of contemporary writers and confirmed by the significant silence of the Trustees' lists and the records of the Sequestrators. And it is obvious that a larger number would refuse both to derive their sustenance from 'tithes' and to associate

1 This is the summary of the tract given by Professor C. H. Firth in Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 543.

2 H.P.M., p. 162. Erbery seems to have been present at a sitting of the 'Committee for Tithes' (on September 2, 1653), set up by the Little Parliament, and was so shocked at the evidence in favour of the old system given by Dr. Cornelius Burgess, a cleric very prominent in the debates of the Westminster Assembly, and by Dr. Lazarus Seaman, then Master of Peterhouse, that 'it made my Welsh blood rise at your English religion.' (Ministers for Tithes, p. 1—B. Mus., Thomason).

3 So expressed in the original.

4 True and Perfect Relation, pp. 39-40.

5 Surely Miss Brown's remark (Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 99, n. 49) that the signatories were 'some nine hundred' argues that she never counted the actual names. Spinther James (Hanes Bed. II, 387) is four short with his 758.

6 Infra, p. 185.

themselves with the 'stipendiaries' of the H.R.A. As a large number of all these were Baptists whose particular outlook on the ordinances is deduced from the pages of their authoritative historian Joshua Thomas, it becomes necessary to make some inquiry into the sources upon which he worked and into the amount of credibility to be attached to his statements. In so far as he based them on the loose sheets and copies of letters he found at Abergavenny and examined in 1752,[1] the loss or destruction of these documents by unthinking men long before his own death prevents any effective collation; and all must deplore the tragic loss of John Rhys Howell's chest of papers (before 1775)[2] which might have thrown considerable light on the obscure origin of the Baptists of Olchon.[3] His main conclusions, however, depended upon the transcripts of the Ilston records sent him from America (whither Miles had taken them in 1663), and his honest and accurate dealings with them have been handsomely attested by the later transcripts of the same records examined by the Rev. John Jones of Felinfoel, Mr. Spinther James, and Mr. Shankland. And it happens that the National Library copy of the H.R.A. supplies equally strong confirmation of the names of persons mentioned by Miles and his scribes and of the references made to them by Joshua Thomas. One or two examples, not necessarily of unpaid preachers, must suffice. The families of the Edward 'Hilzey,' one of those who signed the first letter sent out from the organised church at Ilston, and of John 'Weliteyard' of Llanrhidian, one of the three last to be baptised in 1660, are represented in the H.R.A. by Richard 'Else' and Moses 'Whityard'[4]; one of the Ilston preachers, John Knight, appears as John 'Knayth'[5]; an obscure person named 'Frisson Griffin,' delegated to collect £10 in 1650 from the Llanharran Baptists, does not figure in the H.R.A. lists, but comes to view in Mansell's letter to John Walker in 1709 as the 'Trissold Griffith' who 'seiz'd [as farmer] upon the great

1 Hanes Bed., p. 214.
2 Ibid. p. 136.
3 No apology is necessary for including the Baptists of Olchon, though living in Herefordshire, in any discussion of the religious history of Wales. The inhabitants at this period were predominantly, if not exclusively, Welsh; and the parish of *Clodock* (which included Longtown and the Olchon Valley) was a part of the diocese of St. David's (Salt MS. 2112,—census of 1676, f. 394).
4 cp. Hanes Bed., pp. 89, 94 and H.R.A., p. 11.
5 cp. Ibid. p. 92, and Ibid.

Tyth of Pendoylan,'[1] out of which, together with the tithes of Pentyrch, the Baptist David Davies was granted an augmentation of £50 when he was given the living of Neath in 1655.[2] Among those representatives who attended the Abergavenny general meeting of July 1651 and signed the minutes was 'Howell *Ychan*' (so spelt in the original Ilston records)[3] who re-appears as the 'Howel Yohan' of the H.R.A.[4], a form of spelling which does not justify the 'Hywel Fychan' of Spinther James,[5] nor Joshua's own later spelling of Vaughan,[6] nor the researches made by Mr. Shankland to prove him a graduate of Oriel under the assumption that his real name was 'Howell Vaughan.'[7] Joshua Thomas definitely assumes that he is an Olchon man; so also, he says, was a James Landon, only that the latter lived in the lower confines of the Herefordshire parish of Clodock, near Llanfihangel Crucorney[8]; both assumption and statement are indirectly fortified by seeing the 'Yohan' of the H.R.A. separated by only one name from two Landons, James and Thomas.[9] The historian, again, in describing the most important members of the Llantrisant-Gelligaer community of Baptists, refers to the zeal and devotion of Capt. Thomas Evans of Dyffrynffrwd, whose name appears as signing a letter from them to the associated churches[10]; significantly enough, his name appears in the 'Address' within a short distance of Thomas Jones the chief pastor, and of Thomas Edwards,[11] whom Mansell refers to as a 'fierce Anabaptist' of Gelligaer,[12] agent to Col. Edward Prichard of Llancaiach, another member of this church and signatory of the above letter; the Anglican confidant of Walker also says under 'Eglwysilan' that it was a 'nursery of Anabaptists,' Evans being very prominent among them, 'who us'd to preach in his own house.'[13] Most pertinent of all, of the eleven men who, according to the lost

1 cp. Hanes Bed., p. 143, and MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 67b.
2 Lamb. 972, f. 379. But the fact that 'farmer' and beneficiary were both Baptists is a mere coincidence, as it did not rest with Griffith to allocate the profits.
3 Hanes Bed., p. 134.
4 p. 13.
5 Hanes Bed., II, p. 302, n.*.
6 Hist. Bapt. Assocs., p. 9.
7 Seren Gomer, July 1901, p. 191.
8 Hanes Bed., p. 145.
9 p. 13.
10 Hanes Bed., p. 169.
11 p. 10.
12 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, ff. 64b-65
13 Ibid., f. 65. The evidence is strong, but not strong enough, to equate him with the 'Thomas Evans of Eglwys Extan' who figures as sequestration commissioner in the Cal. Comm. Compounding (i, p. 172).

church records of Abergavenny, were called to exercise their gifts as preachers in that Baptist community,[1] no less than eight appear as subscribers of the 'Address,'[2] while a ninth, Lewis Richard, is found so far removed from his whilom colleagues and so near to Bapto-Independents of a less exclusive cast as to suggest that he had changed both abode and opinion between 1653 and 1656[3]; a tenth, Francis Giles, was no doubt of the same family as the 'Edw. Giles' whose name is in the closest proximity to the acknowledged leaders of the strict Baptists on p. 13. Christopher Price, the most prominent 'open' Baptist in the Abergavenny hundred, preacher of the word also since 1649,[4] appears in the columns on the left of the same page, separated from his near but 'close' neighbours by the Olchon-Clodock group of subscribers. Joshua was also aware of the strong opposition to State pay that developed among the strict Baptists of Llanwenarth and Abergavenny: he makes mention of a long and serious meeting held by the members on 17 May, 1655, when the pastor William Prichard of Llantilio Pertholy was found not guilty of certain vague accusations brought against him.[5] But the famous resolution of 11 July of the same year 'that they doe withdraw from all such Ministers that doe receive maintenance from the Magistrates' was left to be discovered by the Rev. Benjamin Davies of Pontypridd, the 1885 editor of the historian's complete work, who found it among the papers of one of the Hileys of Llanwenarth.[6] Enough has been said to show that contemporary records of undoubted validity bear out the entries in the lost Baptist records of north Monmouth and testify to the judicious use made of them by Joshua Thomas before that disaster happened.

The soundness of the Baptist historian's methods has done much to expose the fallacy that the H.R.A. contained no names but of those who tolerated the interference of the 'magistrate' in the internal affairs of the 'gathered churches.' Some of the immediate followers of Miles, such as David

1 Hanes Bed., pp. 212-214.
2 p. 13.
3 Spinther James (Hanes Bed., II. 307) transposes his name as Richard Lewis; the H.R.A. signature proves him wrong and the older historian correct. Another 'Lewis Richard' is found on p. 11, but on examination of the proximate names he must have hailed from *West Glamorgan*. The 'Lewis Richard' of the text is to be seen on p. 6.
4 Hanes Bed., p. 248.
5 Hanes Bed., p. 215.
6 Ibid., n. *.

Davies, Thomas Proud, Thomas Joseph, Howell Thomas and the two Morgan Joneses were all paid ministers and settled incumbents[1]; others, not quite so prominent, like Leyshon Davies of Penmain, the Glamorgan under-sheriff for 1658-9,[2] and Jenkin Franklin of Llangennech, a former C.P.G.W. and Commissioner for Sequestrations in South Wales,[3] were men of independent means; then came more humble followers, like Lewis Thomas of Newton Nottage and William Thomas of Baglan, who had to depend upon their leader's genius for organisation to find them voluntary maintenance from the widely-ramified brethren. None of the Llantrisant preachers appear in any pay-lists of the time. Neither did the open-communion Baptists of Mid- and South- Monmouth—a cause which had prospered under the benevolent hegemony of Wroth and Cradock—with an older and more travelled William Thomas as leader[4] and another Llantrisant as their home and centre,[5] surrender their privilege of independence. The somewhat isolated 'general' or Arminian Baptists[6] of Radnor observed the letter of their 1651 Confession of Faith (applied to the English Midlands, the Army and Wales) which found it was the will of God that 'preachers should have maintenance of them that receive spiritual food by them.'[7] The names of four of these ministers[8] (or 'teachers') have been recovered from the 'Sun Outshining the Moon,' a tract written in 1658 by two other of their occasional gospellers, John Price of Macsygelli and William Bound of Garthfawr, in defence of their recognised leader Hugh Evans of Llanhir who had died in 1656. To these must be added another, Henry Gregory of Cwm in the parish of Llanddewi-Ystradenni, who, when we remember that he died in 1700 (63 years of age), and that he was preaching before he was 20, must have been busy towards the end of this period.[9] When it is found that the authors of the above pamphlet indiscriminately refer to the old clergy and the new paid Puritan ministers as

1 Supra, lists on pp. 22, 51-52.
2 Nicholas: Annals and Antiquities, II, 600.
3 Cal. Comm. Comp., I, 172.
4 Broadmead Records (ed. Haycroft), p. 26.
5 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., p. 240.
6 Unlike the other two Baptist camps, none of the Arminians seem to have subscribed the 'Humble Address.'
7 H.P.M., p. 162.
8 The names of all these and other ministers who kept outside the mechanism of State arrangements will be found classified in the list affixed at the end of the chapter.
9 Spinther James: Hanes Bed., II, pp. 453-456.

'Cainish cathedral stone-church priests and tithe-mongers and new upstart hirelings,'[1] it removes all possibility of doubt as to the attitude of this particular Baptist division on the highlands of Radnor. But the general question at issue is not made less complicated by the fact that there existed among the three sections of Baptists about six men (taken *in toto*) who were unsubsidised from 1654 to 1660, *but had been in receipt of salaries under the C.P.G.W.* Whether these had applied to the Triers for institution and been found wanting (as might very possibly have happened to William Morgan the strict Baptist shoemaker of Abergavenny[2] or to the illiterate open Baptist Walter Williams of Llandegfedd, who could not read the Parliamentary proclamations sent him to read in the parish churches in Propagation times[3])—whether this was the case or that they had succumbed to the growing sentiment among Baptists of the nefariousness of the State connection, the available records give no light nor leading: the existence of such types has caused the preachers at the head of this chapter to be dubbed 'unpaid' and not 'voluntary.' Two men, moreover, after some years' experience of the new system, transferred themselves to the service of the State: Walter Prosser, one of Miles' earliest converts, was admitted to John Edwards' old living of Tredunnock on 3 July, 1657[4]; and Rhydderch Thomas, one of the delegates from the Carmarthen branch of the Ilston centre at the general meeting held at Llantrisant in Glamorgan (July 1654)[5] decided to accept the benefice of Llanfihangel y Creuddyn on 30 April, 1659, when his name was Anglicised by the Triers' registrar into 'Roderick.'[6] Another made such a fugitive visit to the principality as not to warrant entering his name on any list, unpaid or otherwise. This was William Rider, the English minister (as witness the interpreter, Robert Hopkins of Aberavon, who was in attendance upon him) who came in 1656 to explain his views upon Hebrews VI, 1, 2, and practice 'imposition of hands' upon consenting members

1 When Mr. Shankland makes the authors to restrict their remarks to 'offeiriaid' [of the old school] he must have overlooked the significance of '*new* upstart hirelings' [Seren Gomer, November 1900, p. 324.]

2 Lamb. 639, f. 186; also H.P.M., p. 150.

3 True and Perfect Relation, p. 33.

4 cp. Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., pp. 138-142 with Lamb. 998, f. 94.

5 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., p. 206.

6 Lamb. 999, f. 79.

of the 'strict' churches of Abergavenny and the Hay.[1] Spinther James alleges he was pastor of the Baptist congregation of Goat Street in London[2]; in any case, no effort is ever likely to be successful in equating him with the 'Will. Ridor' who with Morgan Llwyd himself and numbers of his immediate associates signed a letter sent from the Independent church at Wrexham to some unknown destination in 1651[3] and is found subscribing Vavasor's 'Word for God' in 1655.[4] The case of the only two Seventh Day Baptists recorded in Wales during this period presents a more formidable problem, as they made it a point not only to rest on Saturday but also to work on Sunday, observing the terms of the Fourth Commandment as to the six days as well as the seventh. Nevertheless, the assertion of Joshua Thomas that one of them, John Rhys Howell of Olchon (who happened also to be one of those 'imposed' upon by William Rider), was an 'assistant preacher' must be accepted[5]; as William Milman, once schoolmaster at Magor under the C.P.G.W., is only called 'Sabbatharian Anabaptist' nine years after the Restoration, and then only by a conventicle informer,[6] the canons of sure evidence will not allow his name to appear as preacher in the time of the Protectors.

These apostacies and eliminations are more than compensated by the names of other Anabaptists supplied by Edward Dafydd, the Cavalier bard of Margam, whose 'Cerdd y *F*anaticiaid' was printed first in the pages of 'Cymru'[7] and afterwards transcribed into 'Seren Gomer' by Mr. Shankland.[8] His cywydd, the cynghanedd of which in many places is hardly catholic enough for one so closely associated with 'Cadair Morgannwg' and 'Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain,' naturally bristles with scathing epithets: 'strain y domen,' 'blâg Iddewon,' 'hudwyr hyll,' 'offeiriaid amhur,' 'deillion yn mawr dwyllo,'

> 'â naws diawl, bob nos a dydd
> ynfydant am ail fedydd.'

1 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., p. 147.
2 Hanes Bed., II, 324.
3 Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, pp. 245-247.
4 p. 11—'William Rider.' It is well to add that a 'Will Rider' figures about this period in the records of '[Welsh] Poole Towne and Parish' (Mont. Colls., Vol. xxxii, ii, p. 397).
5 Hanes Bed., cp. pp. 136, 157.
6 Cp. H.P.M., p. 229; Lamb. 639, f. 186b.
7 November 1901, pp. 218-219.
8 July 1902, pp. 169-172.

Eight otherwise well-known Baptists who flourished in South Wales from 1654 to 1660[1] are mentioned by him with their characters portrayed from the Anglican view, but much in agreement with what sober history and denominational tradition has to say of them (only he makes the singular mistake of ranking them in the general rut of 'unpaid')—the angular precision of Miles, the heady temper of Thomas Proud, the imprudent if not intemperate habits of David Davies, while the 'anynad anfad wr' applied to Thomas Joseph supports to some extent the opinion of Calamy's informant that 'he spoilt an ingenious Husbandman to become an Ignorant Preacher.'[2] The worst crime charged against Howell Thomas, settled though he was at Glyncorrwg in a recess of the mountains not far from Margam, is that he was a veritable lion in extravagant language, which gives no foundation to the 'drunken stewardship' put to his discredit by the Dissenter apologist.[3] The average accuracy of these scurrilous summaries forces one to believe in the account also given of the ten unusually obscure men who found a way into Edward Dafydd's 'Dunciad,' who were undoubtedly unpaid and who to the judgment of a good Royalist did quite as certainly 'moider the ears of good men with their raucous preaching'—'rhai didâl yn cynnal cur.' David Edwards[4] he describes as a lazy roguish scapegrace who indulged in cheap wit; Hopkin Abraham runs with his message 'ar hyd y fro,' a phrase very probably defining the Vale of Glamorgan[5]; the false Henry Lewis devises evil 'yn dadol yn Llandanwg' according to the transcripts, which makes one think of the parish of that name in the commote of Ardudwy. A close examination of the original in the Llanover MSS. only proves that the bard's poor handwriting is only paralleled by the obscurity of his personal references; the rules of cynghanedd

1 'Un arall,—gwalch anhirion,
A'r genau sych—Morgan Sion'
might refer either to the Morgan Jones settled at Newcastle (Bridgend) on 27 August, 1657. (Lamb. 977, f. 60; 995, ff. 63-64, 402) or to the 'honest Plowman' of Llanmadock (Calamy, II, 732).

2 Calamy, II, 732.

3 Ibid.

4 He was certainly not the David Edwards of the Gordon MS. f. 94, who was of Cellan and Pencarreg in Cardiganshire, and did not begin preaching before *1680* (Freedom after Ejection, p. 258). It is almost equally unlikely that he was the 'David Edwardes, who (with others) wrote a letter to Thurloe from Carmarthen about 'securing the peace of those parts'—March 6, 1655 6. [Bodl. Rawl. MS., A. 36, 225.]

5 This is all the more probable as the bard does not often trouble to supply names of places with capitals.

inexorably demand 'Llandidwg' or Tythegstone[1]; and it is a fanciful surmise to find among the objects of the preacher's 'fatherly care' the Edward Frood who agreed to the H.R.A.[2] and member of a family from that parish figuring in the Penrice and Margam MSS.[3] Griffith Bevan[4] is a Baptist wiseacre who uproots all love and goodwill, whose home is 'yn yr rhytre,' a place probably to be synonymised with Rudry in that fruitful land for sectaries on the border of Glamorgan and Monmouth; it is unlikely therefore both on the score of habitation and his views on maintenance that he was the person of the same name who farmed the tithes of Bettws under the Glamorgan C.P.G.W. in 1652.[5] Edward James—'rhifwr y sêr'—must have added to his other idiosyncracies a belief in the 'judicial astrology' condemned by a committee of the Rump as a heresy 'whereby the minds of multitudes are corrupted . . . from Dependency upon the Providence of God to put their Trust in the Lyes of men and Delusions of Satan.'[6] Of the ten there remain Lewis Havard, about whom he had practically nothing to say; Henry Fleming, a travelling preacher who drew after him foolish hotheads; Rowland Charles, a weaver who seems to have climbed to a civil post of some consequence under the Puritan government[7]; William y Bragwr, who is daily forsaking his lucrative trade to go on preaching tours; and Howell Lewis, 'with a party of highland tribesmen around him,' is definitely placed at Blaencanaid, at present an old farmhouse lying in a little frequented spot between Merthyr and Aberdare. The original copy describing Lewis is in a very poor state of preservation, and scant though the information is, it is sufficient to corroborate in essentials the statements of Malkin that 'separatists' had made a very early home in those inaccessible retreats[8]; to give indirect support to the lurid description given by Nathan Jones, allowed to remain vicar at Merthyr Tydfil during the Puritan era, of the rabid sectarianism that

1 The writer is indebted for this suggestion to Mr. Lewis Davies of Cymmer.
2 p. 12.
3 Descr. Cat., First Series, pp. 160-161.
4 'Ab Ifan.'
5 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 21.
6 C.J., VII, 259—report presented 11 February, 1651-1652. It was a report on maintenance by this same committee about three months later that led to Milton's fierce sonnet of the 'hireling wolves.' (p. 181, n. 7.)
7 An 'Edward Charl/s' is found among the 84 parishioners of Llandaff and Whitchurch who in 1678-1679 petitioned for a vicar 'able to officiate in the Welsh-tongue.' [Tanner MSS., CXLVI, f. 147.]
8 Tours in South Wales, I, 262, 263.

grew and flourished in his parish[1]; and to lend additional interest to the traditions of Blaencanaid conventicles in the Restoration period preserved by Joshua Thomas.[2]

Edward Dafydd's contemporary and fellow Cavalier, Jenkin Richard of Blaenau Gwent, does not adopt the former's alliterative method, but his burlesque stanzas (often of very poor quality and preserved in the Llanover MSS.[3]) to the 'Lladron Morgannwg' who infested Monmouth in the interests of the new Puritanism shadow forth the names of certain preachers not referred to in any other records of the time. Like the bard of Margam, he intersperses among them the names of other preachers easily recognised; unlike him, he introduces Baptists and Independents without distinction; unlike him, too, he does not take any interest in the question as to whether the 'robbers' are paid or no. Both reserve their choicest adjectives for the vagaries of the itinerant system. The general importance of the song as a historical document can be illustrated from one fact: it is the seventh and eighth stanzas[4] that afford the only confirming evidence to the obstruction—

> 'ond fe drochwyd gwas y mawrddrwg
> dros ei ben yn sir forgannwg'—

suffered by Cradock in 1641, which led to a petition for redress and the summoning of the offending parties to appear before a Committee of the Parliament.[5] Its greatest mistake is to refer to Erbery as an "offeiriad' in Cardiff, a post he did not hold after his condemnation by the Court of High Commission[6]; this ignorance of the career of the great Ishmaelite prevents 1654, the year of his death, supplying any standard by which to give a sure date to the bard's composition.[7] An englyn annexed at the foot assigns it to 1646,[8] which internal and other evidence prove to be impossible: the recognised preachers were all at work in the days of the Triers; stanza 21, with its denunciation of civil marriage,

1 Charles Wilkins: Hist. Merthyr Tydvil, IX, pp. 93-96.
2 Hanes Bed., 1777 Edition, p. 195.
3 C. 4, ff. 281-282.
4 f. 281.
5 C.J., II, 189.
6 H.P.M., pp. 26-27.
7 That is, if the song were really composed *after* 1654, the bard might still refer to Erbery as still living, and even as a Cardiff 'offeiriad.'
8 'Mil chwechant gwarant gywrain—iach rhigwm
chwech rhagor a deugain
Oedd oedran Crist ein distain
yr haf y gwnaethpwyd y rhain.'

could only be put together after the registration enactments of 1653; and the inclusion of Miles' name traverses (if the 1646 theory be accepted) the latter's dogmatic assertion that he only became a convert to strict Baptist principles in 1649.[1] Again, in some stanzas (19, 26-30) he speaks as if all the contemned were Baptists, a conclusion easily disproved; in stanza 20 he seems to insulate 'some' who believed in a total immersion[2]; this confusion, and the parading of three of the preachers deprived of their full names, contemptuously dismissing them with epithets arising from personal deformity or fastened on them by the countryside on account of their daily craft, make an accurate sectarian classification a matter of pure impossibility. Notwithstanding its title, the song includes some 'robbers,' notably Thomas Harry, who were *Monmouthshire* men; thus a new problem is presented how to account for the bard's surprising silence about the leaders of the Abergavenny strict Baptists in the near vicinity of his home and the more numerous open Baptists who flourished in the centre and south of the county. Fortunately, a delayed solution of these difficulties does not prevent the adding of nine new names to the columns of the unpaid, four of whom—Herbert White, 'deio'r maeswn,' and the nondescripts of Cwmcarvan and 'Llantylari'—depend upon Jenkin Richard's own word, and five who are more or less distinctly visible in other contemporary evidences. John Bevan,[3] a maker of baskets, was undoubtedly a follower of Miles, being the eleventh name after his in the H.R.A. of 1656[4]; William Davies, 'the bitterest man of the five tongues'—an allusion either to his modulated eloquence or his mordant tongue or his possible erudition—can very possibly be seen in the person of that name who received £10 as usher of the Abergavenny free school in 1651[5] and in the 'Wil. Davies' who signed the H.R.A.[6] next before John Abbott, the nominee of the Triers in the town[7], and two names from William Prichard, the

1 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., p. 76 [quoting Miles' own words in the Ilston records].

2 'mae *rhai* ohonynt am ein danfon
i gael trochiad da mewn afon.'

3 'ap Ifan.'

4 p. 10. It should be added that undoubted Baptists come before and after his name.

5 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 51b.

6 p. 13.

7 Lamb. 968, f. 3.

Llanwenarth-Abergavenny close Baptist; the William Francis of stanza 12 might have been the 'minister of the word' who subscribed the 'Engagement' on 31 October, 1649,[1] and somehow related to the only Francis [David] who, surrounded by names of men hailing from North Monmouth, signed the 'Humble Representation and Address'[2]; and in Thomas Harry we find a representative of the same family as the 'Watkin Harri' who is found among the same men from North Monmouth in the H.R.A.,[3] and as the Harrys who became the mainstays of the Baptist cause of Blaenau Gwent in later days.[4] The last and by far the most important of these five is Edward Roberts. An uncritical treatment of the records containing such a name, combined with a hasty assumption of 1646 as the real date of Jenkin Richard's song, might build up a plausible and imposing theory that it was through *him* that John Miles was led in 1649 to seek guidance and inspiration not from any one of the six more important Baptist churches in London (more especially that of the Welshman William Kyffin), but from that more humble community that met at the Glass House in Broad Street. This theory would assume that the Edward Robert(s) of the song[5] was the same as the Edward Roberts who with five others sent a letter in 1650 from the Glass House to the Baptist congregations in Wales[6] and soon after (12 Jan., 1650-1651) with eleven other members of the same London church to the Llanharran community.[7] Unfortunately for this line of argument, the London Edward Roberts migrated to Ireland before 1653, as on first June in that year he with nine colleagues subscribed a letter from the Dublin Baptists, a particularly strict and peculiarly aggressive body,[8] to their brethren in England,[9] and on 12 June, 1656, with five others forwarded a similar letter direct to the Ilston and Llantrisant

1 Bodl. Rawlinson MSS., D. 711, f. 10b. This 'Engagement' or oath of loyalty to the new Republic enjoined to be taken by ordinance (Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, pp. 325, 348) must be carefully distinguished from the 'Engagement' of 26 December, 1647, entered into between Charles I and Scottish Commissioners, and which led to the Second Civil War (Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 346).

2 p. 13.

3 Ibid.

4 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., p. 399.

5 Stanza 12 (f. 281).

6 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., pp. 83-84.

7 Ibid. p. 167. An 'Edward Roberts' figures in Dunlop's 'Ireland under the Commonwealth' as Auditor-General and a large purchaser of Irish debentures (I, 257, n. 1; II, 538, 698).

8 See a letter sent from Dublin (dated 15 September, 1652) from Col. John Jones to Morgan Llwyd (Gweithiau, II, 300-301 and n. 2).

9 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., pp. 203-205.

churches in Glamorgan.[1] An Edward Roberts also agreed to the H.R.A. in January, 1655-6, his name appearing very close to the above John Bevan in the Ilston territorial list.[2] There is not the slightest evidence that Edward Roberts of Dublin left Ireland between the dates of the last two letters ; but if he indeed did visit Wales to become the Edward Roberts of the H.R.A., then surely such a leader of thought and action both in London and Dublin would make his presence felt in the Ilston records as one of the chief henchmen of John Miles, or figure in the Abergavenny church book as giving the law to William Prichard and Richard Rogers. The impression indelibly left is that Edward Roberts of the Llanover MS. and of the H.R.A. are the same obscure person living presumably in West Glamorgan, who roused the ire of the Monmouthshire bard by some sporadic preaching journeys into that county—a theory which has the disadvantage of leaving the predilection of Miles for the Glass House still waiting for explanation.

As Puritan in outlook as the bards were Anglican and as full of tantalising insufficiencies is Calamy's 'Account' of the Nonconformist sufferings in 1660-1662. He (through James Owen) preserves the names of five unordained Independents, 'candidates for the ministry,' who were silenced at that time—two in Glamorgan, two in Carmarthen, one in Cardigan ; and there is indirect confirmation of this in the later careers of three of them (Jacob Christopher,[3] Robert Thomas and Morgan Howell) as portrayed in the Restoration records. In the latter case, a learned writer who has paid especial attention to the history of early Dissenting causes in Cardiganshire in the interests of Presbytero-Unitarianism gives a very circumstantial account of how Howell's attempted frustration of Walter Cradock's preaching led to his own conversion, to his definite membership of the Independent 'gathered church' at Lampeter in February, 1654-5, and to his beginning to preach soon after—all before 1660.[4] These supports are all the more necessary as James Owen has seriously vitiated the validity of the Glamorgan paragraph[5] by including David Davies of Neath among his Independent 'candidates' (and

1 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., pp. 90-92.
2 p. 10.
3 He is to be carefully distinguished from *Jenkin* Christopher of Llanblethian (supra, p. 46).
4 Alexander Gordon: Freedom after Ejection, p. 288.
5 Account, II, 733.

Palmer in the continuation of 1803 has merely added 'a Baptist' as a correction),[1] a dictum passing strange to those authorities who instituted Davies to Gelligaer in pre-Propagation days,[2] where he is said 'to have preached y^e^ divine right of Tyth'; to Miles who in 1650 co-opted him minister to his new converts at Llanharran and Llantrisant[3]; to the C.A.P.P. who on 20 March, 1654-5, upon the good word of Miles and Col. Rowland Dawkins (among others) 'adjudged and approved the said David Davies to be a fitt person to preach the Gospell, and have graunted him admission and doe admitt the said David Davies to the Rectory of Neath.'[4] At the end of the Carmarthen list of ejections, also, William Thomas of Baglan-Ilston (who did certainly extend his activities west of the Llwchwr) is put down as 'Itinerant candidate' in 1660,[5] which looks a ridiculously inaccurate description of a man who had been recommended by the church at Ilston to 'prophesy' on 15 June, 1651[6]; here again Palmer's amplification makes him 'a Baptist preacher about Carmarthen . . . buried at Llantrisant, Mon.,'[7] thereby identifying the close Baptist of Glamorgan with the more famous 'open' Baptist of Monmouthshire simply because they happened to have similar names. Calamy, it is true, looks upon all the above candidates as 'Publick Preachers,' but that was a term invariably reserved in Protectorate records for those approved and paid by public authorities; and though ordination by classis or other body of ministers was unnecessary for such favour, the Lambeth and allied records have been searched in vain for this official nexus in the case of Calamy's 'candidates' (with the exception, naturally, of David Davies).[8] Another statement of the 'Account,' that regarding Henry Williams, an Independent associated with Llantrisant in Glamorgan, is a little more fortunate. The entry runs—'an honest man, but weak. He would take no Tithes, and so receiv'd £60 per An.

1 Noncon. Mem., III, 505.
2 H.P.M., p. 67.
3 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., pp. 166-172.
4 Lamb. 997, No. 756.
5 Account, II, 721.
6 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., p. 87.
7 Noncon. Mem., III, 500; the same mistake has found its way to the D.N.B. LVI, p. 197, first col.
8 In explanation of these inexactitudes of James Owen, it has to be remembered that he was only six years old at the Restoration, that his information must have been derived from hearsay, and that after 1660 access for a Puritan to the records of the Puritan interregnum was difficult, if not altogether impossible.

out of the Exchequer '[1]—which requires amplification on at least two points: that the Exchequer does not refer to centralised funds in London, but to the pooled profits of confiscated livings in the hands of the Glamorgan treasurer under the Propagation Act; and that the £60 was paid only for the year 1651.[2] Williams, however, an old captain in the army of the Parliament, 'one that knowes only the Welsh toung,'[3] felt strong enough to keep out of the jurisdiction of the Triers and Trustees, and depended upon the voluntary offerings of the faithful from Llantrisant to Merthyr Tydvil[4]; even the circumstantial account of Nathan Jones is not able to establish contact between him and the tithes and profits of the upper Taff.[5] After Calamy, Walker. The latter, supplied with information by Edward Mansell, places 'an ignorant canting fellow' named David Jenkin [Richard] as preaching the gospel in the neighbourhood once supervised by Isaac Griffith, the ejected vicar of Llangyfelach[6]; very welcome light on the activities of this old Puritan has very lately been thrown by the researches of the Rev. W. R. Watkin of Llanelly, and published in the Transactions of the Welsh Baptist Historical Society.[7] This reversion from Independents to yet another Baptist renders it necessary to note that due justice to the names and numbers of anti-State Independents has suffered from another omission of the officials of the C.P.G.W., namely, to give the names of the 40 or 50 itinerant preachers—mainly Independents, as the movement was engineered by Cradock and the personnel nominated by him and Henry Walter—from Mynyddislwyn and Llanfaches who were active from 1650 to 1653 'mostly amongst y^{e} Welsh in y^{e} mountaines.'[8] Some of these may be included among the nondescript 'robbers' of Jenkin Richard, and all would have been comparatively recent converts to the gospel of not 'following the Magistrate for a worldly maintenance.'[9] Of the Charles Herbert, Edward

1 Account, II, 732.
2 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 26b.
3 Both these statements are derived from a conventicle informer of 1669 (Lamb. 639, f. 187). Williams was really more closely associated with Merthyr than with Llantrisant.
4 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, ff. 65-65b.
5 Wilkins: Hist. Merth. Tydvil, IX, p. 93.
6 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 72; also supra, p. 159.
7 Art. on 'Bedyddwyr Llangyfelach' in Trans. for 1916-1919, esp. pp. 55-57 (published in one volume).
8 H.P.M., p. 151.
9 The remark is Erbery's (Ministers for Tythes—title page). This tract was published on 18 October, 1653, about a year before his death.

Thomas, and William Richards who figure in the Propagation accounts, nothing is heard during the Protectorate[1]; nor of three of the men brought by Hugh Peters into English Pembroke about the same time[2]; nor of the Thomas Jones of 'lloyney' (Llwynau near Llantrisant in Monmouth) whom the diarist Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny heard on 8 August, 1650, as 'preacher of the jury for life and death' at the county assizes.[3] On the other hand, in instances where men were clearly described as preachers under the Propagation and who also re-appear after the Restoration as teachers or harbourers of conventicles or as recipients of licences under the Indulgence of 1672, there is the strongest presumptive evidence for including them as active in the same good work from 1653 to 1660. Such are Evan Williams of Mynyddislwyn, 'teacher' in a conventicle there in 1669[4]; George Edwards acting as 'repetitioner' in South Monmouth according to the same report[5]; and especially Watkin Jones of Mynyddislwyn, Propagation itinerant in three counties, the most typical camp-follower of Cradock and Henry Walter (except in the vital matter of State maintenance), ultimate legatee of the rich heritage of Llanfaches, who also taught in a 1669 conventicle[6] and drew out a licence to preach in 1672.[7] Next, to make the South Wales list tolerably complete, even at the expense of trespassing somewhat upon the subject-matter of the next chapter, reference must be made to three ministers who were alive at the end of 1655 to subscribe Vavasor Powell's anti-Protectorate and anti-tithe 'Word for God.' These were David Walter, one of the 25 approvers under the Propagation Act, and before that invested by the C.P.M. with plenary powers to evangelise over all Glamorgan[8]; Edmund Rosser, once commissioned by the C.P.G.W. to preach the gospel in the highlands of Monmouth

1 H.P.M., pp. 148-150.
2 Ibid., p. 166.
3 Diary (ed. Col. J. A. Bradney), p. 41—'for *lief* and death.'
4 Lamb. 639, f. 188.
5 Ibid. f. 186b.
6 Ibid. f. 188.
7 St. Pap. Dom., Chas. II, E.B. 38A, pp. 187, 232. Alexander Gordon (Freedom after Ejection, pp. 294-295) calls Jones 'curate to Henry Walter at Newport who served also the vicarage of Mynyddislwyn and the rectory of Bedwas,' for not one of which dicta is there the slightest evidence in the Lambeth records (see esp. Lamb. 968, f. 3, where these extensive pluralities of Walter would surely have been mentioned).
8 H.P.M., p. 40. The presence of Walter's name in the 'Word for God' (p. 9), is not congruous with Mr. J. H. Davies' remark that Vavasor himself and Morgan Llwyd were the only preachers of any position who affixed their names to it (Gweithiau M. Llwyd, II, Introd. lxxi).

(but named quite apart from the Mynyddislwyn itinerants)[1]; and Edward Jenkins, not unlikely, especially as he had been a Propagation itinerant in Brecon and Glamorgan, to be the 'Corporall Jenkins' named by Mansell as one of the troublesome sectaries of Merthyr Tydvil.[2] Whether these opposed the Protectorate on political grounds or objected to institution by the Triers, as stated in the preamble of Vavasor's indictment, the bare signatures give no clue. All three undoubtedly abjured pay from ecclesiastical revenues under the new government.

Passing in review the above conclusions and considerations, two things stand out with some clearness: that the stronghold of the unpaid voluntaryists was the southern part of South Wales; and that the Baptists of various shades of opinion and practice formed the preponderant majority. Again, while each case in the following list can be defended on substantially good grounds, the impression left by the evidence taken as a whole is a certain lack of definiteness arising, fortunately and unfortunately, from irremediable causes. These are the lamentable omissions of the C.P.G.W. in giving an exhaustive list of their individual itinerants and especially of the 80 anti-tithers; the intrusion upon existing complications of Cradock's H.R.A., when men who abjured the ecclesiastical arrangements of the Protectorate felt compelled to support its political programme; the failure of Jenkin Richard to distinguish convincingly between Baptists and Independents; the overlapping of paid and unpaid in the songs of the two bards; and the very real demarcation in practice, but unreal in the records, between genuine conscientious objectors to State maintenance and others who were consigned to the mercies of the voluntary system by the stringency of the 'trying' authority. And even these difficulties can be rounded off with a further anomaly: in the case of Walter Prosser's admission to the living of Tredunnock,[3] he counted among his eight certifiers William Thomas of Llantrisant, who took great care amidst many temptations to keep *himself* free from the fetters of the 'magistrates,' and Christopher Price of Abergavenny, who

1 H.P.M., p. 150; Word for God, p. 10.
2 Ibid., p. 149; Ibid., p. 9; Walker c. 4, f. 65.
3 Lamb. 998, f. 94.

preached the gospel gratis for nearly fifty years,[1] but was not above becoming 'clerk and solicitor' to the Monmouth branch of the C.P.G.W.,[2] men whose duty it was to gather in forfeited church revenues and pay them out to 'painful' Puritan preachers.

1 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., pp. 246-248.
2 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 51b.

UNPAID PREACHERS OF SOUTH WALES.

Preacher.	Bapt. or Indt.	Sphere of Activity (when ascertained).	Authority.
Abraham, Hopkin	Baptist	Vale of Glamorgan	Ffanaticiaid, S. G., July 1902, p. 170.
Bevan, Griffith	Baptist	Rudry–East Glamorgan	ibid. p. 171.
Bevan, John	Close Baptist	Ilston and branches	Llanover MS., c. 4., 281, st. 11.
Bound, William[1]	Arminian Bapt.	Upper Severn district	Sun Outshining the Moon (1658), p. 1.
Charles, Rowland	Baptist	Doubtful	Ffanaticiaid, S. G., July 1902, p. 171.
Christopher, Jacob	Independent	Mawdlam near Margam	Calamy : Acct., II, 733.
Davies, John	Close Baptist	Ilston and branches	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 92.
Davies, Leyshon	Close Baptist	Ilston and branches	ibid. ibid.
Davies, Rees	Arminian Bapt.	Upper Wye district	Sun Outshining the Moon, p. 7.
Davies, William	Doubtful	Abergavenny	Llanover MS., c. 4, f. 281, st. 13.
Edwards, David	Baptist	Doubtful	Ffanaticiaid, S. G., July 1902, p. 170
Edwards, George	Independent	South-East Monmouth	Walk. c. 13, f. 51 ; Lamb. 639, f. 186b.
Evans, Hugh[2]	Arminian Bapt.	Upper Wye district	Sun Outshining the Moon, p. 1.
Evans, Capt. Thomas.	Close Baptist	Eglwysilan-Gelligaer	J. T., Hanes Bed., pp. 169, 176.
Fleming, Henry	Baptist	Doubtful	Ffanaticiaid, S. G., July 1902, p. 171.
Francis,[3] William	Doubtful	Doubtful	Llanover M.S., c. 4, f. 281, st. 12.
Franklin, Jenkin	Close Baptist	Ilston and branches	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 92.
Gregory, Henry	Arminian Bapt.	Llanddewi Ystradenni	Spinther James : Hanes Bed., II, 453.
Gyles, Francis	Close Baptist	Abergavenny and district	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 213.
Havard, Lewis	Baptist	Doubtful	Ffanaticiaid, S. G., July 1902, p. 171.
Harry, Thomas	Close Baptist	Aberystruth district	Llanover MS., c. 4, f. 281, st. 10.
Howell, John Rhys	Close Baptist	Olchon and the Hay	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 136.
Howell, Morgan	Independent	Lampeter and district	Calamy ; Acct., II, 716.

1 Bound actually lived at Garthfawr in the parish of Llandinam in South Montgomery, but all his interests lay with the Arminians of Radnor (Spinther James : Hanes Bed., II, 429). Conversely, three Radnor preachers of N.E. Radnor are excluded from the purview of this chapter, because their 'voluntaryism' was undoubtedly compulsory, and bound up with the fortunes of Vavasor Powell (see chap. X).

2 Evans died in 1656.

3 'ffrawnsis' in MS.

Preacher.	Bapt. or Indt.	Sphere of Activity (when ascertained).	Authority.
Hughes, James	Close Baptist	Olchon and the Hay	Seren Gomer, July 1901, p. 191.
James, Edward	Baptist	Doubtful	Ffanaticiaid, S. G., July 1902, p. 171.
James, Thomas	Close Baptist	Abergavenny and district	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 213.
Jenkins, David	Close Baptist	Llangyfelach	Walk. c. 4. f. 72; Suff., II, 259.
Jenkins, Edward	Independent	Merthyr Tydvil	Word for God, p. 9.
Jones, Richard	Close Baptist	Abergavenny and district	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 213.
Jones, Thomas	Close Baptist	Llantrisant-Gelligaer	ibid. pp. 169, 175.
Jones, Watkin	Independent	Mynyddislwyn	Walk. c. 13, ff. 20, 39; Lamb. 639, f. 188.
Knight, John	Close Baptist	Ilston and branches	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 92.
Lewis, Henry	Baptist	Tythegstone	Ffanaticiaid, S. G., July 1902, p. 171.
Lewis, Howell	Baptist	Blaencanaid	ibid. ibid. p. 169.
Lewis, Philip	Independent	Carmarthenshire	Calamy; Acct., p. 721.
Llewellyn, Evan	Close Baptist	Ilston and branches	J. T., Hanes, Bed., pp. 92-93.
Meredith, Morris	Independent	Carmarthenshire	Calamy: Acct., II, p. 721.
Morgan, Robert	Close Baptist	Ilston and western branches	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 206.
Morgan, William	Close Baptist	Abergavenny and district	ibid. p. 213.
Oliver, Evan	Arminian Bapt.	Upper Wye district	Sun Outshining the Moon, p. 9.
Parry, John	Close Baptist	Abergavenny and district	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 213.
Penry, Daniel	Arminian Bapt.	Upper Wye district	Sun Outshining the Moon, p. 6.
Price, Christopher	Open Baptist	Abergavenny and district	J. T., Hanes Bed., pp. 246-248.
Price, John	Arminian Bapt.	Nantmel in Radnor	Sun Outshining the Moon, p. 1.
Prichard, William	Close Baptist	Abergavenny neighbourhood	J. T., Hanes Bed., pp. 146, 213.
Prosser, John	Arminian Bapt.	Upper Wye district	Sun Outshining the Moon, p. 8.
Prosser, Walter[1]	Close Baptist	Monmouth (County)	J. T., Hanes Bed., pp. 138-142.
Richard, David John	Close Baptist	Abergavenny and district	ibid. p. 212.
Richard, Lewis	Doubtful	Monmouthshire	ibid. p. 213; H.R.A., p. 6.

1 State-paid (1659-1660).

UNPAID PREACHERS IN SOUTH WALES—*continued.*

Preacher.	Bapt. or Indt.	Sphere of Activity (when ascertained).	Authority.
Roberts, Edward	Baptist	West Glamorgan	Llanover MS., c. 4, f. 281, st. 12.
Rogers, Richard	Close Baptist	Abergavenny and district	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 212.
Rosser, Edmund	Independent	North Monmouth	Word for God, p. 10.
Thomas, John	Close Baptist	Ilston and branches	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 93.
Thomas, Lewis	Close Baptist	Ilston and branches	ibid. ibid.
Thomas, Robert	Independent	Baglan	Calamy : Acct., II, 733.
Thomas, Rhydderch[1]	Close Baptist	Ilston-Carmarthen offshoot	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 206.
Thomas, William	Baptist Close	Ilston and its branches	ibid. p. 93.
Thomas, William	Baptist Open	Llantrisant and Llangwm (Mon.)	ibid. pp. 240-243.
Walter, David	Independent	Glamorgan	Word for God, p. 9.
Watkins, Thomas	Close Baptist	Olchon and the Hay	Spinther James : Hanes Bed., II, 480.
White, Herbert	Doubtful	Doubtful	Llanover MS., c. 4, f. 281, st. 12.
Williams, Evan	Independent	Mynyddislwyn	Walk. c. 13, ff. 20, 39 ; Lamb. 639, f. 188.
Williams, Henry	Independent	Llantrisant and Merthyr	Calamy : Acct., II, 732 ; Walk. c. 4, f. 65.
Williams, Walter	Open Baptist	Mid-Monmouth	Walk. c. 13, ff. 26b, 31b ; Lamb. 639, f. 186.
Yohan, Howell	Close Baptist	Olchon	J. T., Hanes Bed., p. 134.

1 State-paid (16571-660).

Room must next be found for the four ill-defined Puritans catalogued by the bards, of whom Edward Dafydd's brewer is the only one whose sect can be inferred with some degree of certainty.

Epithetical Description.	Sect.	Authority.
Deio'r maeswn	Doubtful	Llanover MS., c. 4, f. 281, st. 12.
William y Bragwr ..	Baptist ..	Ffanaticiaid, S. G., July 1902, p. 171.
Y baglwr cam o Lantylari	Doubtful	Llanover MS., c. 4, f. 281, st. 10.
Y brawlwr gwichog o Gwmcarfan.	Doubtful	ibid. st. 11.

The total number is 69, but it would be a mistake to assume that all these are approved candidates for places among the mysterious 80 of the ' True and Perfect Relation.'[1] It is well to remember that that number was quoted by Alexander Griffith from the answer made by the South Wales C.P.G.W. on *18 May, 1652*, to the charges made against them a few months before by the Petitioners against the Act. None of the 50 Mynyddislwyn and Llanfaches official itinerants can be meant, as they are certified in Walk. c. 13 to have received £1,028 18s. 10d. for their pains from sequestered tithes[2]; nor the large bunch of Abergavenny Baptists, as Joshua Thomas definitely says that the great majority of them were not recommended to preach before June 1654.[3] Henry Gregory was then (1652) only 15 years of age; Morgan Howell had not even been converted; and Henry Williams of Llantrisant had only just surrendered his claim to the ' £60 per An.' At that time also the six Baptists referred to above were complacently drawing their small salaries either as schoolmasters or itinerants[4]; and David Walter and his friends, Watkin Jones and his group, did not develop opposition to State maintenance until the expiry of the Act. Nor is there the slightest ground for thinking that the rate of mortality was so inordinately high among disbelievers in State pay as in a few years to bring down their number from the 80 of 1652 to 69 minus those disqualified by the arguments of this paragraph.

1 Supra, p. 182.
2 Particulars of this sum are found on ff. 45b (1650), 51-52 (1651), 57 (1652).
3 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., p. 213.
4 Supra, pp. 185-186.

X.

FIFTH MONARCHISTS.

The fortunes of other preachers,[1] also unpaid as far as the State was concerned, were involved in Vavasor Powell's bitter and long-sustained opposition to the Protectorate. To no extreme fanatic of the Saints' Parliament did the dissolution of December 1653 bring greater mortification than to him ; the particular members for North Wales were practically his nominees[2] ; he had devoutly hoped and prayed that the drastic manipulation of the material interests of the Fourth Monarchy by such men would prepare a delectable land for the advent of the Fifth and the ' second coming ' of our Lord to rule in person on this earth.[3] Powell, a man of quick decision and still more prompt execution, was in London on December 18 (six days after the Saints were dissolved and two after Cromwell was actually installed as Protector[4]). He at once entered into close partnership with Christopher Feake, once an Anglican clergyman, and at that time Puritan minister of Christ Church, Newgate, and ' lecturer ' also at St. Anne's, Blackfriars—one whose attitude towards the burning questions of the day can be inferred from his belief, expressed in a sermon on September 11, that the navy of the Commonwealth Saints, the ' ships of Tharsis,' would carry the Gospel ' up and down to the Gentiles '[5] ; and from his telling Cromwell to his face about the beginning of December that it was the General's tampering with the kingship which caused the Fifth Monarchists to preach so pointedly against him.[6] At his church on this Sunday of December 18, the same day that Hugh Peters preached that those who were looking for the coming of Christ should do so peacefully, the

1 These were very few in number.

2 C. H. Simpkinson : Life of Harrison, App.—18th letter : Harrison to Col. John Jones (17 May, 1653), pp. 297-298.

3 For the development of millenarian opinion up to this point, more especially in Wales, see H.P.M., pp. 182-192.

4 Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, p. 439.

5 L. F. Brown : Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 24 (n. 44). Six weeks before, Monck had won the final victory over the Dutch at the Texel.

6 Thurloe St. Pap., I, 621. It is known that on December 1 Cromwell had refused the title of king proffered him by the Army officers (Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 438).

Welshman gave out a hymn, composed impromptu, and containing (among others) the following ominous words :—

> His Saints shall reign with him on earth
> And great ones they shall bow ;
> The Battle and the Battle *ax*
> And men of war shall know
>
> That he will arise, and he will rule
> And their power will fall
> And Christ our great Commander, He
> Shall be our General.[1]

On the same day, and probably at the same meeting, according to an intercepted letter designed for Paris and written to all appearances by a Royalist, Powell (*or* Feake)[2] must have referred to Cromwell as the 'dissembleingst perjured villain,' and rhetorically told the audience to go and tell the General what he said, 'that his raigne was but short'; in another letter intercepted from some friend to Daniel Lloyd of Wrexham this sermon was euphemised into 'speaking somewhat largely their thoughts of the present change'[3]; to Hugh Courtney, one of the North Wales members of the dissolved parliament, Powell was 'hearty, high, and heavenly.'[4] But it was on Monday evening, December 19,[5] at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, that Powell by his intransigent sentiments completely broke with the new government. After Feake in his sermon had furnished an exhaustive explanation of the 'ten horns' in the seventh chapter of Daniel in which he gave 'many desperate hints' (to use the phrase of the official informer present, Marchmont Needham,) that the 'little horn' was no other than the Protector himself, Powell enlarged on the eleventh chapter of the same prophecy speaking 'very broad . . . much more openly than Mr. Feake,' especially in his application of verses 20 and 21 to 'raisers of taxes' and 'a vile person obtaining the kingdom by flatteries.' Finally, he professed himself ready to justify four theses : the imminence of the Fifth Monarchy ; a prophetic

1 These have been copied, together with peculiarities of spelling, from L. F. Brown : Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 51 (n. 20). The whole six verses of this hymn were printed on p. 24 of the 'Strena Vavasoriensis,' accompanied by a scurrilous 'Antiphona' composed by Alexander Griffith.

2 The actual words are 'Powell *and* Feake called him . . . .' (Thurloe St. Pap., I, 641.)

3 Thurloe St. Pap., I, 641.

4 Ibid., 640.

5 Mr. J. H. Davies (Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, Introd., lxviii) says this sermon was delivered on the *20th*; the calendarist, who is particularly generous in his extracts from the State Papers at this juncture, is definite that it was delivered on the *19th*, and that Needham's report was submitted to the Council on the following day (Cal. St. Pap., 1653-4, p. 304).

spirit[1] in the saints 'whereby . . . he undertook to foretell the downfall of the present power'; Christ's great design to destroy all anti-christian forms, churches and clergy; that the rulers (or magistrates) had no business to interfere in matters of religion. The informer reports the preacher's 'copiousness' on the last point, how he adverted to the refusal of the Saints' Parliament a fortnight before (forgetting, however, to mention that the majority was two only, and that on a scratch vote) to appoint 'triers' to ride in circuits—one of the proposals of the moderate members—and maintain ministers on the old corrupt foundations. This, he said, was the main reason for their dispersal, 'a business plotted by the great army men, clergymen, and their party together.' George Cockayne followed,[2] then a rabid Fifth Monarchy man and later to be one of Cromwell's spies, taking as text Hosea V, 1, 2, he also denouncing 'the great clergymen who had deserted from their principles,' and calling them 'Baal's priests in England . . . a snare on Mizpah and a net spread upon Tabor.' These gibes were all the more pungent because three weeks later Dr. John Owen, Dr. Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye sent forth a circular letter to the 'churches of Christ' condemning the high-flown pretensions of the Fifth Monarchy preachers,[3] three men who a little later still were included among the official Triers; nor did it conduce to good feeling that two of the critics of 1654, Owen and Goodwin, had a comparatively short time before delivered sermons with an unmistakable millenarian flavour, so much so that two of the latter's expositions were pirated (September 1654 and May 1655) and published by the Fifth Monarchist, Livewell Chapman, in the interest of that party.[4] To return to the events of December 19, Powell had also inserted in his sermon rhetorical questions about the apostacy from professed principles shown by the great army officers, the emptiness of

1 The authors of 'Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris' (1654) give some very curious instances on p. 32 of military predictions made by Powell during the period 1648-1651, which seem to have been literally fulfilled.

2 The events of this day, and the sermons of Feake, Powell & Cockayne, are detailed at considerable length in the Calendars of State Papers (1653-4, pp. 304-307).

3 L. F. Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 46 (n. 8). The letter was dated January 9, 1653-4, and the Trier ordinance on 20 March.

4 They are marked in the Thomason Collection E. 812. 9 and E. 838. 13. That Anglican writers were well aware of these divisions among Puritans finds proof in the dedication of the 'Gemitus Ecclesiæ Cambro-Britannicæ' to 'Dr. Jo: Owen, Dr. Tho: Goodwin' (p. 1 [margin].)

This was a vigorous anti-Propagation and anti-Vavasorian tract, published in 1654 (N.L.W., Civil War Tracts, No. 285.)

their former declarations, adding with dramatic declamation, 'let us go home and pray, and say, Lord, wilt thou have Oliver Cromwell or Jesus Christ to reign over us?' The inevitable consequence of such sermons, reported fully as they were by an expert informer (certain oblique remarks in the Thurloe Papers suggest that a still more dangerous enemy to Powell was present in the person of the Anglican pamphleteer Alexander Griffith[1]), was that the two first preachers were arrested on the 21st; two members of the Council of State, of whom the ordinance-compiler Henry Scobell was one, were appointed to examine them; and two others, Col. Philip Jones the more important, were asked to draw up a bill for the restraint of sedition and the punishing of treason.[2] The examination of the preachers was undertaken on the 22nd; as a result they were to continue in the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, no person being allowed to visit them; on the 23rd, the Council by order discontinued the usual Monday meeting at Blackfriars; on the 24th Powell and Feake were set free.[3] On the very next day, the subdued Christmas day of the Puritans, the irrepressible Welsh millenarian preached on 'the people whom you put in prison standing up in the temple and teaching the people'[4]; on January 9, 1653-4, Erbery, the supreme heresiarch of the time though an avowed opponent of the Fifth Monarchy, was in the audience at Christ Church listening to Vavasor dilating upon his favourite theme. He thought that 'my Brother's conceits [were] too carnal and earthly of this heavenly mystery'; but he refers, however, to Powell's reasonable spirit at the end of his sermon 'perswading his brethren to meddle no more with Civil matters, but to speak of spiritual glories which he held forth in the Reign of Christ, and the Saints with him on Earth.'[5] Incidentally, he recounts three of the preacher's 'distinctions' or aspects of this reign: providential, over the nations; spiritual, over the church; monarchical, 'over the church and nations together.'[6] It was on account of this last sermon, apparently reported to the

1 II, 174—'Mr. Alexander Griffith to the protector.'
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1653-4, p. 308.
3 Ibid., p. 309.
4 J. H. Davies: Gweithiau Llwyd, II, Introd., lxviii-lxix.
5 William Erbery: An Olive Leaf, pp. 186-187. [The pagination is to be accounted for by the fact that this pamphlet is bound up with other works of the author in the 'Testimony'—N.L.W., Civil War Tracts, No. 344].
6 Ibid., p. 189.

Council in terms differing from the impressions of Erbery, that on January 10 a warrant was issued for his second arrest, the Lieutenant of the Tower and Alderman Tichborne to examine witnesses 'for proving what was informed concerning some passages of Mr. Powell, Mr. Feake, and others at Christ Church, and certify the same to the Council.'[1] This time Vavasor escaped to Wales, not indeed (according to the testimony of the 'Faithful Scout') before preaching again at Christ Church and at the prohibited Blackfriars, declaring that some ruled as kings, without the advice of the saints, whom the Lord would pull down,[2] thus paraphrasing his daring remark of December 19 that 'a small matter should fetch him [Oliver] down, with little noise.'[3]

The breath of his native air only seemed to harden his heart and redouble his energy, reinforced as this was by the co-operation of kindred spirits. On 10 February he, with Capt. John Williams, an old C.P.G.W. and more recently a South Wales member of the dissolved Saints, and Morris Griffith, itinerant under the Propagation and 'preacher' in Powell's own congregation in Radnorshire, were preaching at 'Llanddewyvrevy near Tyvy'; there, although the Welsh informer is not very explicit on the point, Vavasor 'saith absolutely that he will never submit to any government but that which is according to God's word.'[4] Doubtless using every occasion on the way to point his moral, he was back in New Radnor by Sunday, 25 February, urging his audience to persevere 'to the death' and not to fear the proclamations of the new government; Capt. Williams had preached to them already, 'the greatest audience that ever was seen there,' including at least four of the county magistrates. The captain singled out the present times and government for especial attack also; and as for the new ministers that were in contemplation [by approval of the coming Triers], 'you shall not enjoy them long,' he cryptically remarked, 'nor they you.'[5] And all informers were agreed that the vigorous denunciations which regaled the ears of 'publick mixt

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1653-4, p. 356.
2 Quoted in Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 46 (n. 8).
3 Cal. St. Pap., 1653-4, p. 305.
4 Thurloe St. Pap., II, 93.—'Mr. J. Phillips to Mr. John Gunter.' Of Powell's general tirades against the Protectorate in Wales, there are bitter reflections in the 'Gemitus Ecclesiæ,' esp. p. 8.
5 Thurloe St. Pap., II, 128—Capt. Robert Holle to Alex. Griffith, dated 2 March, 1653-4.

assemblies ' were as nothing to the treasonable atmosphere of the more private meetings of church members ' where noe stranger is admitted.'[1] Weeks before the New Radnor meeting, indeed before Vavasor had started from London, the advanced Puritan whose early songs afford the deepest insight into the millenarian movement on its doctrinal side, and whose Eagle in ' Llyfr y Tri Aderyn ' had received pointed suggestions and prudent warning from the Dove that the year 1656 would be fraught with portentous events,[2] moved down from his Wrexham headquarters to Radnorshire, interrupted the quarter sessions of the county, drew after him at least three erstwhile Commissioners for the Propagation to hear ' seditious and dangerous sermons against his Highness, the Lord Protector, persuading the people that there would be alterations shortly, and that Cromwell, ' giving him all the contemptible words that can be spoken,' would not be the Lord's instrument in the great work.[3] The informer in this case, no other than Charles Roberts, the second manager of the 1652-53 petition against the Propagation Act, writing to John Gunter, the first solicitor and manager, regretted that these fulminations were uttered *before* the enactment of the new treason act—the fruit of Col. Philip Jones' above appointment by the Council of State[4] and indirectly of Powell's activities in London—dated 23 January, 1653-4 ; otherwise, ' such passages would have deserved hanging to him and all his seditious auditors.' Early in February Richard Powell of Glasbury, sometime Propagation approver, was reported he and his brethren to be ' repairing and scouring ' their pistols at the smithy of Ffynnon Gynid[5] ; and on a Sunday about the middle of the month he categorically refused to read in church certain important proclamations sent down from London.[6] The next informer, and one who sent in his report direct to the Protector, was Alexander Griffith himself. He had ingeniously come into the possession

1 Cp. Thurloe St. Pap., II., 124, 128 and 129.
2 Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, I, p. 198.
3 Thurloe St. Pap., II, 129 (no date).
Goodman Past in the ' Honest Discourse ' (Gweithiau Llwyd, II, 234) went so far as to suggest that ' O.P. . . might be attempted as Masaniello of Naples.' This refers to certain events in the career of the South Italian demagogue Tommaso Aniello [Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 656-657]. The context must be read before the exact significance of Llwyd's remark is appreciated.
4 *supra*, p. 207.
5 For a reference to this locality see Dr. J. E. Lloyd : A Hist. of Wales, I, p. 272, n. 249.
6 Thurloe St. Pap., II, 93.

of letters (which he encloses) written by Powell and Jenkin Jones, the greatest Puritan personality in the county of Brecknock, proving that both of them had enlisted troops, ' not of the established army,' which they kept on foot to the terror of the inhabitants.[1] Another more obscure pro-Cromwellian writes on 29 July from Pembroke to a friend in Hereford, quoting the latest working of Powell's ' spirit of prophecy ': ' Beleeve me,' the Fifth Monarchist is reported to have said, ' neither to be a prophet nor minister nor man, if the next Parliament sitt a month.'[2] And daring prophecy and listing of troops were complemented by Powell encouraging his friends in Wales to prepare an exhaustive apologia for his Propagation activities in the face of Anglican criticism[3] and drafting a ' petition ' in which expressions of disapproval with the powers that be found the freest scope. This latter procedure was an invariable concomitant of Puritan unrest, in which Fifth Monarchists were no less expert than Levellers and army officers in arrear of pay. Vavasor had set this project going concurrently with his Radnor-Cardigan crusade, as a Griffith Lloyd writing from Welshpool on the last day of February regrets his inability to get hold of ' a coppie of the remonstrance,' the signing of which, he says, was facilitated by the countenance of J.P.'s, those of Radnorshire more especially.[4] The upshot was that 14 of the signatories,[5] including Powell himself and a sister of Morgan Llwyd, were summoned to appear at the Montgomery sessions—information supplied by a letter intercepted by the authorities, dated 11 April, 1654, written to a millenarian who had a sister named Lowry by another, ' your servant in the gospel,' who was convinced the Lord would shortly appear.[6] The mystic note about ' friends in nature ' at the end of the letter betrays long converse with the

1 Thurloe St. Pap., II, 174—17 March, 1653-4.

2 Ibid., 501. The ' next Parliament ' was the first of the Protectorate series, elected in the summer of 1654, and summoned to meet on 3 Sept. (Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 440).

3 This was the ' Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris : Mr. Vavasor Powel's Impartiall Trial, OR the Thanks of the Welsh Itinerants for their late New-yeers-gift ' [*i.e.*, the ' Strena Vavasoriensis ' by Alex. Griffith ' printed ' 20 January, 1653-4.] The ' Examen ' itself came out on 30 March of the same year.

4 Thurloe St. Pap., II, 124, ' to Mr. Henry Griffith to be delivered to Mr. Alexander Griffith, London.'

5 One was the Henry Norris discussed on pp. 76-77 supra.

6 Thurloe St. Pap., II, 226.

The writer is at a loss to understand the reference of Llwyd's biographer (Gweithiau, II, Introd., lxxi) to a petition of ' Gorffennaf, 1654 '—whether the ' Gorffennaf ' is a verbal slip for ' Ebrill,' or whether he means it to be a completely new document (making, therefore, *three* altogether).

Wrexham disciple of Jacob Bœhme. What happened to them all is not recorded, but Powell himself remained obdurate, so much so that in the beginning of 1655 he received another summons to appear before the Council of State, very probably because of sensational threats similar to that voiced in a letter to John Rogers, the London Fifth Monarchy preacher, assuring him 'of twenty thousand saints in Wales ready to hazard their blood in defence of their cause.'[1] As no proceedings under this last interference of the authorities are recorded, it can only be surmised that the fears and alarums of the Salisbury rising of February-March, 1655, caused the call to be conveniently forgotten or not ensued, especially as the acrimony of the Welsh millenarians was for the time so moderated as to give effective support to the 'perjured villain' and his interests.[2]

On its suppression, Vavasor was again in full cry with a new petition from which the names of 'wives,' 'sisters' and 'maids' were significantly absent (six out of the fourteen in the April letter of 1654 were women) and concerning the inception of which direct appeal was made to the Almighty. The perturbation in the minds of even extreme Puritans about the expediency of this new challenge to the accepted order coincided with a harvest-time unsurpassed for wetness: 'we asked God if the work was approved to give us a sign of fine weather, and for divers weeks together afterwards we had exceeding fair weather, and so had two mercies given us at once.'[3] With such a manifestation of the Divine approval, Powell (according to the testimony of his professed enemies) went forth to emulate those activities he displayed as 'Spirituall post or Knight-errant' in combating the petitioners of 1652[4] and in killing two or three horses in riding night and day to secure rebutting evidence against Alexander Griffith and other pamphleteers at the beginning of 1654[5]; certain it is that those who refused to sign had to bear the brunt of the bitterest tongue and the most dynamic personality in the annals of Welsh Puritanism. That the

1 For the summons and the letter see Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, Introd, lxx.
2 Supra, pp. 152-153.
3 Life and Death of Mr. Vavasor Powell (1671), p. 19—from 'account of his conversion and ministry' prefixed to actual 'Life.'
4 Alex. Griffith: Answer to Valvasor Powell's Letter, p. 8 (misprint for 10)—bound up with 'Petition of Six Counties of South Wales et seq.' [N.L.W., Civil War Tracts, No. 275.]
5 Thurloe St. Pap., II, 128.

new remonstrance was battling against adverse winds is well shown by the fact that James Berry, the Major-General for Wales, did not deem it necessary to interfere until November, when a troop of horse fell upon Powell as he was conducting a prayer meeting on a fast day at Aberbechan in Montgomery. He was taken to Worcester, where the General was then stationed. To the latter's rebuke that the preacher and his friends were about 'some designe that tended to put things into distraction,' Powell replied that they would rather die than do such a thing; that the project in hand was merely the securing of signatures to a petition which was to be presented to the Protector in the hope that 'God would see well to use him as an instrument to work upon your heart, for of your piety we have a high opinion'; that they hoped for redress of their grievances, and were in any case in duty bound to make public 'their dissatisfactions and desires'; this done, they intended nothing further. Berry rejoined that such a petition, if privately presented, was justifiable and harmless; that, on the other hand, he saw the wiles of Joab in its general dissemination; nor was he much affected by Powell's 'terrifying thunderbolt' that the Royalist enemy would rejoice if he were imprisoned and that the saints would pour out tears and prayers to the throne of grace for the General's own discomfiture and that of the government. Then followed Berry's pathetic statement of his confidence that he was God's instrument for good in the work he had in hand; he assured the Welshman that his heart also felt for the poor people of Wales. Cromwell's representative thought that he had had the better of the argument: this accounted for the invitation he gave to Powell and the J.P. who accompanied him (probably Captain John Williams) to join him at dinner; he had already been allowed to preach at Worcester on the Sunday (which he did 'honestly and seriously' four times in four different churches, drawing many hearers). When the preacher finally left his presence he assured the General that he was always glad to be convinced when in error; that give a man a bad name he was already half-hanged; that it was neither his purpose nor practice to preach anything tending to faction.[1]

1 For a full account of this Worcester interview, see Berry's letters to Thurloe: — (*a*) dated 17 November, 1655 (Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 211); (*b*) dated 21 November 1655 (Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 228).

Notwithstanding these asseverations and the closing words of Berry's report to Thurloe that he thought the supreme authorities harboured too much anxiety over developments in Wales, the petition was duly presented before the end of November to the Protector's 'own hands.' Berry was asked to pursue his investigations; he continued to make light of the matter, having heard (as has been the case with practically every petition ever penned) that some of the signatures had been affixed without the knowledge of the persons themselves and putting the whole affair down to what he called at the beginning of December indiscreet 'Brittish zeal'[1] and at the beginning of the following January 'want of judgment and information.'[2] Early in the same December[3] the hand of Joab was revealed; the petition appeared in print 'for further information,' with no date and no title-page, but containing 322 signatures.[4] This was the notorious 'Word for God, or a Testimony on Truth's behalf: from several churches and diverse hundreds of Christians in Wales . . . against wickedness in High-Places,' addressed to Cromwell not as official and recognised Protector, but as 'Lord Generall.' It was a violent and comprehensive indictment and the letter of eight pages prefixed to the signatures, with its mordant criticism and vigorous phraseology, bore witness on every page that the author was the same Vavasor Powell[5] who had declaimed at Blackfriars on 19 December, 1653, and who had found only too many new arguments between that date and the end of 1655 to adorn his tale. No weak point in the Protector's armour was left unprobed: high taxes and irritating assessments; corruption among high officials, civil and military; preferment to relatives and friends; the West Indian commitments of 1654-55; the imprisonment of old friends and conscientious opponents, 'several ways more oppressed than in the days of the wickedst Kings'; the pulling down of one Person to set up another, [the deposing]

1 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 272—December 1 (Berry to Thurloe).
2 Ibid., 394—January 5 (Berry to Thurloe).
3 In any case, before the 17th of the month (Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, IV, 321). Mr. J. H. Davies only says, "*Dywedir* fod y 'Word for God' wedi ei gyhoeddi ar y 3ydd o Ragfyr, 1655" (Gweithiau Llwyd, II, Introd, lxxiii).
4 Spinther James: Hanes Bed., II, 386, puts the signatures as 317; Llwyd's biographer as 323 (Introd. lxxi). The copy in the B.M., Thomason Collection, has 322, no more and no less.
5 Morgan Llwyd very probably collaborated, as certain phrases and sentences in the 'Honest Discourse' (Gweithiau, II, more esp. pp. 222, 227-228, 230) bear a very striking resemblance to certain parts of the preamble.

one unrighteous Power to permit another.' The letter presumed to see the mark of a just Judge 'read on your forehead . . . whatsoever you say for yourself'; and it ended up with a 'thunderbolt,' couched in the true millenarian spirit, more terrifying than that addressed to Berry a few weeks before: 'we withdraw, and desire all the Lord's people to withdraw, from these men [of the Protector's following] as those that are guilty of the sins of the later days, and that have left following the Lord.' Nor did the quotation of some of Isaiah's fearless verses [xliv., 8, 9][1] but add to its tone of menacing challenge. It is not to be wondered at that its author was arrested before its actual publication, but soon set at liberty again. This, however, had not prevented his pamphlet from being distributed broadcast in the capital, where it immensely fortified the cause of the Fifth Monarchy men; there exists proof that it was read on the day of its publication to five hundred hearers at the church of All Hallows.[2] And according to a communication of Major-General Whalley to Thurloe on 11 January, 1655-56, there seemed to be an organised propaganda based on Vavasor's diatribes in many parts of the outlying country.[3]

Ten days earlier the sagacious Secretary of State, in a letter to Henry Cromwell in Ireland enclosing a copy of the 'Word for God,' had given it as his opinion that the Welshman and his sympathisers 'would doe any other thing rather than miss of their end of bringing things to trouble and confusion'; indeed, at the beginning of his letter he breaks the news that Powell had been 'lately rebaptized.'[4] This interesting hearsay of the Secretary has been met by responsible Baptist historians either by the complete silence of Joshua Thomas or by the brusque incredulity of Spinther James.[5] But the arguments in favour of a visit to Wales at the end of 1655 by Henry Jessey, who brought Llanfaches within the recognised orbit of Puritan congregations in 1639[6] and who besides was the greatest 'open' Baptist of his generation, are too cogent to be lightly disregarded. Jessey was in the habit of making

1 But another of the verses referred to, Job xxxvi, 1, seems singularly inept for the purpose.
2 L. F. Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 97.
3 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 412—January 1, 1655-1656.
4 Ibid., 373.
5 Hanes Bed., II, pp. 388-390.
6 H.P.M., pp. 24-25.

far-flung journeys of inspection and encouragement, as witness his tour among the North of England Baptists in 1650, his work among no less than thirty-six congregations in the eastern counties in 1653; more apposite still, it is known that he visited a number of churches in the *West* of England *in 1655* at the invitation of the 'saints' of Bristol.[1] That this latter crusade extended to Wales is confirmed by the 'Convincement' of Richard Davies, the future Quaker of Cloddiau Cochion, who definitely says that Jessey came among the Independents of Montgomery and 'rebaptized' many of them (without naming Powell, however), placing this event in a context of time such as not to preclude 1655 as a probable date.[2] This argument is strengthened by the knowledge that Jessey was considerably tinged with Fifth Monarchy ideas (the spy Needham had heard him to that effect at All Hallows, 'speaking softly . . [being] no Boanerges' at the beginning of February 1654[3]); this would naturally bring him, while in Wales, into contact with Powell; and it is relevant to remember that in a Fifth Monarchy petition of 1659 the names of these two are found in the closest conjunction,[4] and that when the sufferings began at the Restoration it was in Jessey's tract, the 'Lord's Loud Call,' that Powell's early tribulations were chronicled.[5] Equally significant is the fact that Vavasor never advanced beyond Jessey's principle that baptism was never to be 'the boundary of his communion.'[6] That Powell had moved away from his early indifference to the mode of baptism is convincingly proved by the terms of Alexander Griffith's offer of May 1652 to defend against him in public debate the 'lawfulnesse of Pædobaptism,'[7] a challenge altogether unnecessary if Powell were still of that opinion; by the halting and inexplicit account of his attitude towards the ordinance by the authors of the 'Examen,' especially of the sermon at Berriew and the use made by him of Galatians

1 Dict. Nat. Biog. (1908), X, p. 808.

2 An Account of the Convincement . . . p. 19. It does not make Joshua Thomas' silence on the question of Powell's rebaptism more easy of explanation that Birch's transcripts of the Thurloe Papers had been printed 35 years, and the Quaker's experiences six years, before he published his first edition of 'Hanes y Bedyddwyr.'

3 Cal. St. Pap., 1653-1654, p. 393 report to Council of State on February 7. G. P. Gooch must have overlooked both sermon and petition when he terms Jessey 'a typical Baptist . . who did not haunt the meetings of the Millenarians.' [Eng. Democ. Ideas, VIII, 269-270].

4 infra, p. 235.

5 pp. 14, 17, 21 [Thomason Collection, B. Mus., E. 1038. 8].

6 Crosby: Hist. Eng. Bapt., I, p. 378.

7 'For Mr. Valvasor Powell, one of the Itineraries of Wales,' dated 9 May, 1652, (p. 19, misprint for 21).

v, 6[1] ; and by the report sent to the Council on February 24, 1654-5[2], by a John Herbert of Welshpool that Powell had delivered a sermon there the previous day to the effect that he would prefer sacrificing his child to Moloch than have it baptized and that infant circumcision would be less a sin than infant baptism. This effusion is characterised by Spinther James as a libel and a fable,[3] but it rests quite naturally with the development of Powell's opinion on the question, and is expressed in language unmistakably Vavasorian. The doctrinal capture of such a character was in itself no mean event, especially when it was followed (or rather accompanied) by the conversion of Richard Powell of Glasbury also, as testified by evidence submitted to an Exchequer commission in 1664 passing in review the career of the old Fifth Monarchist.[4] There it is said that Powell's own children were left unbaptized, ' and when they [these and other children of the parish] have been several times heretofore exhorted and admonished to be baptized by this deponent[5] they have answered that they were only named by the said Richard Powell, which they believe to be sufficient unto them without baptism.' Another Anglican deponent—David Williams, clerk, of Llanfihangel Cwmdu—recollected an open declaration of Powell's that infant baptism was not lawfully warranted by the law of God ; Williams went on to say that he was ' secured ' at the instance of Powell for coming to baptize an infant in the parish. This apostacy of the humbler Powell from the ordinary tenets of Independents had no doubt some relation to Col. Philip Jones being ' possessed against him '[6] ; to Thurloe and the Council these Baptist accessions portended also a politico-religious stratagem of very great significance, in that it would bring these and the Welsh Fifth Monarchists generally into closer alignment with a large and growing body of Baptist opinion, especially in

1 p. 20.

2 Spinther's quotations from the Thurloe transcripts are sadly vitiated as regards dates by his continually disregarding the old computation of the legal year beginning on 25 March, which is all the more to be wondered at in view of his footnote * on p. 287 (Vol. II).

3 Hanes Bed. II, p. 388. This volume was written in 1898-1899, before the evidence supplied by the National Library (Cwrtmawr Collection) had come to light.

4 Exchequer Depositions, Mixed Counties (Brecon and Radnor), No. 8, Hilary Term, 15 and 16 Charles II.

5 No less than Alexander Griffith himself—then, 23 January, 1663-4, ' aged about 63.'

6 This additional fact was supplied in the same case by Rice Powell of Boughrood (a kinsman of Richard Powell).

London, and well represented also among the army officers in England and Ireland, whose allegiance to the anti-millenarian form of government was very dubious from 1653 to 1660.[1] It is not to be forgotten too that partly under the pressure of the same argument Harrison himself, the greatest soldier in the ranks of the Fifth Monarchy men and the motive power behind the extremists in the Saints' Parliament, was baptized in the last week of January, 1657-8.[2] Another portent, coinciding in point of time with Vavasor's alleged re-baptism and the undoubted signing of the anti-Cromwellian manifesto, was the appearance in Wales of Hannah Trapnel, one of the many romantic figures that flourished in this age of dangerous toleration. The evidence is rather against her being 'the audacious virago or feminine tub-preacher . . . who claps the Bible and thumps the pulpit-cushion with almost as much confidence as honest Hugh Peters himself' who held forth at the end of July 1653 for two hours in 'the late Queen's mass chapel' in the Strand[3]; and so one is saved from the temptation of interpreting the Raven's wonderful description of the doctrinal distractions of London life with their 'trwst gwragedd yn ymgennio' in the light of her escapades.[4] This lady came into effective view in the early months of 1654 as an exponent of extreme Fifth Monarchy views, she also seeing Cromwell in the 'little horn' and even discussing peace with the Dutch in the warlike spirit typical of all good millenarians.[5] Accompanied by two radical members of the late Little Parliament she spread the gospel of discontent in the country, and was finally arrested in Cornwall in the early summer. On 24 July of the same year was published a 'Legacy for Saints . . . written with her own hand . . . being several experiences of the dealings of God with Anna Trapnel'[6]; her 'mighty visions' had been given to the world on March 11.[7] It does not appear that her

1 The main purport of Miss Brown's work—'Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men'—is to portray the development and oscillations of this feeling.

2 Miss L. F. Brown: Bap. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 132.

3 Cal. St. Pap., 1653-1654, pp. 50-51—Theodosius to Viscount Conway (intercepted Royalist correspondence).

4 Llyfr y Tri Aderyn, p. 179. (Gweithiau, Vol. I.)

5 See especially Llwyd's song beginning 'Some Dutch are deepe suspicious birds' (Gweithiau, I, xxxix, pp. 77-78); also Cal. St. Pap., 1653-1654, p. 302—"though Blackfriars cry 'Wars, Wars'."

6 Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., marked E. 806. 1.

7 Ibid. E. 224. 3.

These dates are more accurately described as those on which Thomason acquired the tracts.

pilgrimage in Wales (there exists no tangible proof that she was assisted or even approved by Powell) was very successful. She seems to have stayed here from December 1655 to May 1656, when it was reported that 'she was getting little encouragement, thinking of crossing the sea.'[1]

This lukewarm response to the sensational appeals of Hannah Trapnel and the fact that Vavasor's bodyguard of twenty thousand never marched must be attributed partly to the unsleeping vigilance of Cromwell's spies and the local major-general; also to the unreadiness of Puritan opinion in Wales in accepting the literal exegesis of the seventh of Daniel and the apocalyptic writings of John. A pretty close examination of the names in the 'Word of God' would have served to dissipate the fears of Thurloe and the London powers and prove Berry's reiterated contention that nothing would make the policy of the manifesto flourish except persecution.[2] Outside the three ministers already catalogued with the South Wales unpaid[3] that land was hardly represented at all to the south-west or south of the Black Mountains, unless one sees in the Richard Thomas of p. 8 the Puritan parish clerk of Merthyr Tydfil who disturbed the vicar Nathan Jones in his preaching and carried away the Bible from the church,[4] and in one of the two Henry Williamses Calamy's objector to tithes,[5] both men being within the immediate influence of Jenkin Jones, Powell's most influential seconder. In North Wales, the conservative gesture of Dr. John Ellis of Dolgelly kept Merioneth steady; the trimmers of Anglesey would be the last men to favour government by 'saints'; Jeffrey Parry of Rhydolion is the only distinguishable name from Carnarvonshire[6]; and the cautious Presbyterians of English Flint proved quite unsusceptible to the arguments of their neighbour Morgan Llwyd. Of the six Welsh M.P.'s in the Saints' Parliament, three signed; one, Hugh Courtney, was not accessible, being a prisoner for seditious conduct in Carisbrooke Castle from February 1654 to December 1656[7]; one of the South Wales members, James Phillips of Tregibby,

1 Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 101.
2 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 359 (28 December, 1655); 394 (January 5, 1655-56)—Berry to Thurloe.
3 Supra, p. 197-198.
4 Wilkins: Hist. Merth. Tydfil, p. 94 [Nathan's 'Seventh Charge'].
5 Account, II, 732.
6 p. 11.
7 Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, pp. 83, 89

actually became a member of the first Protectorate Parliament[1]; the other, Bussy Mansell, had always been a moderate. Of the seventy-one C.P.G.W., only eight were found ready to follow Vavasor's new policy, which seems to show that the majority had overcome the shortsightedness that made them fail 'to see into the bottom of his old designs,' which Alexander Griffith insinuates was their fate in Propagation days[2]; this small number also gives indirect support to the statement of Griffith Lloyd of Welshpool that 'the richer sort' of Powell's own following had refused to go with the first remonstrance of 1654.[3] Of the host of Propagation officials, only six, mainly from Brecon and Radnor, appear in the 'Word for God'; even Daniel Lloyd, the old North Wales treasurer, one of Llwyd's most prominent members at Wrexham, one deemed worthy by Courtney to receive prompt information of Powell's incendiary sermon at Christ Church in 1653,[4] was found wanting, most probably because five months before he had found the services of the supreme Cromwellian Philip Jones indispensable to evade unpleasant questions from certain Parliamentary committees[5] (it is to be noted that a 'Philip Jones' figured in the 'Word,'[6] but he must be found somewhere other than in the Fonmon-Llangyfelach magnate). Two 'esquires,' part-authors of the 'Examen,' one of them—John Griffith—also made to appear at the county sessions for affixing his name to the 1654 petition, and known to Richard Davies the Quaker as very much alive in 1658[7]; two Montgomeryshire sequestrators, Thomas Nicholls and Edward Vaughan, who were willing to exonerate Vavasor from certain charges made by his Anglican pursuers[8]—not one of the four subscribed the new manifesto. Of the five important magistrates of Radnor who gave ready ear to Powell and Capt. John Williams in February 1654, they are all absent from the 'Word for God.' More significant still, of the twenty-five approvers under the Propagation Act, only four are distinguishable (Powell himself, Morgan Llwyd, Jenkin Jones,

1 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Repn., p. 40.
2 An Answer to Valvasor Powell's Letter, p. 7 (misprint for 9).
3 Thurloe St. Pap., II, 124.
4 Ibid. I, 640.
5 Supra, pp. 110-111. A more convincing explanation of Lloyd's silence is supplied by A. N. Palmer (Older Noncon. Wrexham, p. 31) that he was buried on 19 November, 1655. This date, however, does not make his signature impossible.
6 p. 9.
7 Enwogion y Ffydd, Dos. II, pp. 470-471.
8 Examen, p. 3.

David Walter) ; of the eighteen ministers and schoolmasters, all quite willing to substantiate Powell's financial disinterestedness in the pages of the 'Examen'[1] and practically all hailing from his home province of Radnor and Montgomery, only ten are found in the 'Word for God' ; of the five Welsh-speaking itinerants figuring in Rawlinson MS. c. 261, induced to work in North Wales mainly through the persuasive efforts of Vavasor in person, only one was found grateful enough to follow his footsteps in 1655 ; of the two English itinerants of the Propagation in the same geographical sphere, namely Corbett and Hodson, neither of these names came to the rescue of the great millenarian (but a 'Matthew Hodson' subscribed Cradock's H.R.A. of South Wales a few months later with his name next before that of Walter Prosser[2]) ; even of the elders and preachers (six in all) prominent in Powell's own congregation in the county of Radnor, men who 'had known him from his youth,' men who were willing 'to appear in our Lord's quarrel for the Vindication of truth,'[3] one elder and one preacher seemed *not* willing to support his quarrel with the Protector. In short, only fourteen preachers, including both settled ministers and old itinerants, can be found among the subscribers of the petition ; six schoolmasters at most, and the fact that John Evans seconded the remonstrances both of 1654 and 1655 may account for the trouble experienced by him in receiving his arrears as Bala schoolmaster under the Propagation.[4] But would not the 'Richard Baxter' of p. 10 more than compensate for the absence of many of these humbler luminaries ? The title of the 'Word' admits that 'some few adjacent' had affixed their names in addition to those from Wales itself ; the Worcestershire divine had so little love for Cromwell's policy and methods that he could have come in with an easy conscience ; it is beyond doubt that Baxter's failure to impress Dr. John Owen and Philip Nye with his comprehensive attitude towards fundamentals of belief in the attempted concordat of November 1654 had exasperated him even more than the 'slow tedious speeches' of the Protector[5] ; it is also tempting, if unchivalrous, to think

1 pp. 13-14.
2 p. 13.
3 Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris—'Second Epistle to the Reader,' p. [3].
4 Cal. St. Pap., 1655-56, pp. 221-222.
5 Shaw, II, 87-89.

that Powell managed to secure his support under cover of his November visit to Berry. All these arguments notwithstanding, it is on the whole safer, in default of any direct reference to the matter in his own voluminous writings, to read into the entry not Richard Baxter of Kidderminster, but the Richard Baxter of the parish of Tregynon, abettor of conventicles at Llanllwchaiarn and Llandyssil in the deanery of Cydewain in 1668-1669.[1] It is from such parishes within the great Severn watershed, the Radnor and Brecknock highlands, and especially from the Wrexham border district that the main body of subscribers came ; and it is not without significance in the history and affinities of Welsh millenarianism that a goodly proportion even of Llwyd's own following had English names, while the 'Word' itself contains over fifty which can by no criterion be called Welsh. Mr. J. H. Davies has calculated that about fifty of Llwyd's congregation are found in its columns,[2] a conclusion which supplies a very serious rebutter to Miss Brown's dictum that 'the whole Welsh movement was generally considered a Baptist one'[3] ; this misapprehension, together with her other mistaken idea that Powell only began preaching the imminent reign of Jesus in 1652,[4] sadly detract from the soundness of her thesis in so far as affairs in Wales are concerned. The truth is that while in England Baptists predominated in the Fifth Monarchy world, in Wales Independents were to the fore, especially as Powell himself, even admitting that Thurloe's hearsay is substantiated by the arguments already cited, could not be safely called a Baptist before the 'Word for God' was signed. Again, at no time did the propagation of this picturesque gospel become a monopoly in the hands of either Baptists or Independents ; so Professor Lyon Turner's labelling of Vavasor as 'really a 5th Monarchist'[5] without further definition is as much of an inexactitude as the 'Sabbatarian' of Dr. Toulmin[6] or the 'Presbyterian' of J. R. Phillips.[7]

1 Lamb. 639, f. 139 (St. Asaph conventicles). Mr. Lleufer Thomas in the Dict. Nat. Biog. (Vol. lxi, p. 411, sub 'Jane Williams, Ysgafell') seems to have no doubt that the more famous Baxter signed the 'Word'; but in the opinion of the present writer the undoubted Montgomeryshire atmosphere of the entries before and after 'Richard Baxter' in the actual document, coupled with the preceding Lambeth reference, tip the balance pretty seriously against such a view.

2 cp. Gweithiau, II, Introd., lxxiv and Appendix VI, p. 323.

3 Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 203.

4 Ibid. p. 22.

5 Orig. Records of Nonconformity, II, 1203.

6 Quoted in Bapt. Hist. Soc. Trans., III, p. 256.

7 Hist. Civil War in Wales, II, Doct. cxi, p. 374.

And the intrinsic difficulties arising from such cross-classification combined with an Anglican's indifference to the light and shade of Puritan thought are well represented by Anthony à Wood—'what his Religion was I cannot justly tell you: some held him to be an Anabaptist, others a Fifth Monarchy man *and* a Millinary[1]; sure it is he was neither Presbyterian [n]or Independent.'[2]

It would be a serious fallacy to identify all the 321 men of the 'Word for God' with the advanced views preached in the opening letter. Besides Powell himself, these ideas can only be safely predicated of Llwyd; the opinions of David Walter have not survived either in pamphlet or sermon; Jenkin Jones furnishes a striking example of one who was no rabid millenarian, but for some time at least a very thoroughgoing opponent of the Protectorate as a political innovation. The best authorities on his outlook and career were the people of his own county: three ejected clergymen of Brecknock, with Thomas Powell of Cantref as the leading spirit, attacked him in a series of virulent letters, bearing dates in February-March, 1654,[3] just at the time when Jones was particularly active against the new powers, but not a word of rebuke do they utter on the point most vulnerable to Anglican ridicule; in the 'Alarum to Corporations' sounded by a Brecon man in 1659 who compares the dangerous designs of the old Approver and his 'congregated church' to the wildest doings of the Munster Anabaptists, active preparation for the Lord's coming does not find a place in the catalogue except in a weak phrase applicable to all Puritan preaching.[4] It is true that a letter was written in 1660 to the Fifth Monarchist Henry Jessey from Carmarthen prison (to which Jones and others had been consigned) by a converted Cavalier named Thomas Gwyn,[5] who had signed the 'Word for God' in close proximity to the one group which was undoubtedly millenarian—but it will be admitted that the logical accidents of dealing in tertiary causes are too dangerous to admit of a valid conclusion. Then come the two preachers,

1 This 'and' introduces a new and unnecessary division. Fifth Monarchism and Millenarianism were simply two aspects of the selfsame creed; one derived its inspiration from Daniel VII and the other from Revelations XX.

2 Athenæ Oxonienses, First Edn., p. 346.

3 True and Perfect Relation, pp 50-52.

4 pp. 1-8. [N.L.W., Cat. Civil War Tracts, p. 69, No. 210.].

5 The letter is given in full in 'The Lord's Loud Call to England,' p. 13—its date 29 June, 1660 [Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., E. 1038. 8].

James Quarrell and Charles Lloyd (*not* the Quaker of Dolobran), signatories of the 'Word for God'[1] and part-authors (with the two esquires aforesaid) of the 'Examen et Purgamen.' In this latter work, instead of the expected unqualified defence of Vavasor's declamations at Guilsfield and Welshpool (quoted in Alexander Griffith's 'Strena Vavasoriensis,' pp. 19, 25) to the effect that those who had not submitted themselves to the Saints should in a short time be all destroyed with the sword, they indulge in a half-hearted apologia that he (Powell) *might* have alluded to the prophecy in Revelations xiv, 20, and *might* have applied it as a warning, 'but not as this false Relation cites it.'[2] In answer to the same critic's accusation that Powell had seditiously incited the people against all subordinate magistracy here on earth in the interest of the King of Kings, they weakly and very vaguely retort that he only 'made humble addresses to Christ for them[?] and to them for Christ.'[3] It is on p. 18 only that they advise the great Anglican pamphleteer to 'take in hand' the books written in defence of Fifth Monarchy views ranging from Justin Martyr and Lactantius to Archer and Bridge, and endeavour to confute those learned writers who had given to the subject 'the solemnity of a weighty considerable Controversie'; but even this jejune appeal leaves a very different impression from the vivid phraseology of Feake or John Rogers or Vavasor himself. On p. 19, in combating Griffith's direct plaint that Powell's chief work was to preach and advance Christ's personal reign on earth, they fight a bloodless rear-guard action by saying that he never made it the subject of one whole sermon and 'doth very seldom, then very sparingly, touch upon it.' As will be seen within the compass of the next few lines, whatever manifestoes their hands might sign, their hearts were still with the loaves and fishes of the Fourth Monarchy. On no subject did millenarians speak and write with such consuming vigour as on tithes, and all the signatories of the 'Word for God,' assuming that they did not fall within the terms of Berry's insinuation that their names had been affixed without their knowledge, must have assented to Vavasor's sentence that they 'from their souls [did] witness

1 Quarrell (p. 11); Lloyd (p. 10).
2 Examen, p. 25.
3 Ibid. p. 28.

against this new Modelling of Ministers[1] (as anti-Christian) and keeping up of Parishes and Tythes (as Popish Innovations) and disclaiming all adherents to, owning of, or joyning with, these men in their ways.'[2] Yet one of them, John Davies, once dignified by Alexander Griffith as 'Proselyte and Journeyman' of Powell in Montgomeryshire,[3] had at the beginning of 1655 (1 February) been approved by the Triers for the living of Llandevally in Brecon[4]; another, Charles Lloyd, had as early as August 1654 been fully instituted to the rectory of Llanfyllin[5]—both appointments involving maintenance from the very tithes the 'Word for God' was supposed to condemn without qualification. Another signatory, John Hanmer, one of Powell's closest intimates, had been settled by the Propagators at Llanfihangel y Creuddyn[6]; and though he lost or resigned that living in 1658,[7] it is unlikely that disgust with the sources of his salary was the moving reason for that change. Closely allied with these palpable inconsistencies, and proving the very unstable equilibrium of Welsh Fifth Monarchy, come the tragic backsliding of friends from Vavasor's principles. The case of Llwyd himself must come first; as we have seen, he was settled at Wrexham in 1656[8] to receive support indirectly, but none the less surely, from the accursed tithes. Whether this conformity to the established system arose from some unknown personal antagonism to Powell or from the gradual obscuring of his advanced millenarianism by his still more advanced mysticism, it is certain that in 1655 he admitted that *the truth is between you* (meaning the three neighbouring 'Goodmen' who discussed the 'Present Government'), although on the same page, having already signed the 'Word for God' or about to do so, he went on to adjure O[liver] P[rotector] to let his heart be 'open to rebukes and pull down the pride that is about to over-top thee.'[9] Mr. J. H. Davies, in a natural desire to let him down lightly over this strange metamorphosis,

1 That is, by the Triers.
2 'Word for God,' p. 8.
3 Strena Vavasoriensis, p. 6.
4 Lamb. 997, iii, f. 138.
5 Lamb. 997, ii, f. 145.
6 Lamb. 1006, f. 56; 968, f. 8.
7 Lamb. 995, f. 175. Order of Trustees (20 May) to forbear payment of augmentation.
8 'Gweinidog yr Efengyl yng Wrecsam yn Sir Dimbych' (from Title Page of 'Gair o'r Gair,' first published in 1656—Gweithiau, II, 130-131).
9 'An Honest Discourse between Three Neighbours'—Gweithiau, II, p. 238.

goes so far as to say that 'it is likely he never received this money, as there exists no record of its payment in the accounts of the Government.'[1] If this theory be accepted, the whole edifice reared on the Triers' and Trustees' orders will come tumbling down like the proverbial house of cards. At the risk of repeating what has already been said elsewhere,[2] Llwyd was directly (16 October, 1656) recommended by the Protector and Council to receive from the Trustees £100 a year in lieu of what was formerly settled upon him by the C.P.G.W.[3]; on 24 December, 1656, he was finally approved by the Triers[4]: Lamb. MS. 992, f. 1, corroborated by 993, f. 48, definitely record an order (dated 31 December) of the Trustees that their receivers should pay him the £100; and when Mostyn succeeded to Wrexham on Llwyd's death in 1659, it was distinctly stipulated by the same Trustees that he was to receive the same maintenance as his predecessor had.[5] With due deference to his biographer's high authority, the cumulative effect of these records point to only one conclusion: whatever defence is possible for Llwyd's change of front, no refuge is possible in suggesting that he never received the money.[6] Within a year afterwards, Jenkin Jones was admitted to the living of his native Llanthetty, bringing certificates from (among others) three 'sober Christians,' as Thurloe would call them—Rice Williams of Newport, Wroth Rogers of Hereford, and Robert Weaver of Radnor.[7] The old itinerant Richard Roberts settled down at Morton Chapel in Salop in 1657, and James Quarrell, the lukewarm millenarian of the 'Examen,' at Ystradowen in the same year. At this point two men who did *not* sign the 'Word for God' call for lengthier reference. Richard Powell, the interesting character who combined the duties of Propagation approver with itinerant activities both in Wales and the county of Hereford,[8]

1 Gweithiau, II, Introd., lxxv-lxxvi.

2 Supra, p. 14 (references 3 and 4 below only).

3 Lamb. 977, f. 42.

4 Lamb. 968, f. 62.

5 Lamb. 987, ff. 200-201 [Entry B. 32]; a similar inference is gathered from 994, f. 209.

6 Mr. Davies' other note (Introd., lvi, n*), referring more especially to the pre-Protectorate period, 'nad oes brawf fod Morgan Llwyd wedi derbyn ceiniog erioed,' is in direct opposition to C. J., III, 565 and to Bodl. MS. 325, ff. 68-68b. However, judging from his footnotes, Mr. Davies does not seem to have drawn at all upon this particular evidence of the Bodleian Library.

7 Lamb. 998, f. 137—18 November, 1657.

8 H.P.M., p. 146.

had been in 1653 inducted to Glasbury,[1] the old living of Alexander Griffith, and the 'scouring of pistols' to destroy Cromwell's new accession of power did not make him surrender that 'corrupt' preferment or to refuse the added supervision of Llangattock and Crickhowell from 1657 until his death on 12 June, 1658 (his widow Alice testified in 1664 that he died before actually receiving any of the Llangattock profits).[2] This makes Griffith's stricture in 1654 that Powell used to receive tithe in kind from three neighbouring parishes[3] much more credible than the Examen's boast of his very successful subsistence without such aid.[4] It is probable that accident or illness prevented him from subscribing the petition, although the Lambeth MSS. prove that he was well enough at the same juncture of time to sign the certificate of Richard Swaine for the living of Clyro[5]; it is more charitable to suppose that a Puritan who so thoroughly recognised the 'new Modelling of Ministers' both in his own case and in that of others heard the voice of conscience more audibly than some of his contemporaries. Nor did Ambrose Mostyn sign, Vavasor's yokefellow in the Bodleian records of the C.P.M. There is some significant evidence, however, that he did not favour the newest developments in State affairs: on 24 October, 1654, it was reported to the Commissioners for Sequestrations in London that certain Llandinam interests 'stood void by the desertion of the last incumbents . . . [who] are not sequestered persons,'[6] a description that aptly fits men who withdraw from State pay without suffering formal ejection. Mostyn was one of these 'incumbents'[7]; he, however, disappointed the interested informers by claiming two years' *arrears* three months later, and judging from entries under 12 and 23 January, $165\frac{4}{5}$, these were duly paid to him.[8] Though he himself kept out from the books of the Triers, he was busy

1 Both the Glasbury report ('sixth' information) of the petty constables on 20 August, 1662, in Lamb. 1027 and the Exchcq. Depos. of 1664 (Brec. and Rad., No. 8) agree that he started duties in that parish on 'Easter Monday,' 1653.

2 The above Depositions contain the statements of the widow and prove conclusively for the first time that Richard Powell of Llangattock was the same man as Richard Powell of Glasbury.

3 Strena Vavasoriensis, p. 8.

4 p. 22.

5 Lamb. 996, f. 404. The application of Swaine to the Triers, enclosing his certificates, was presented on 22 November, 1655, the day after Berry forwarded the Worcester report to Thurloe.

6 Cal. Comm. Compounding, III, 1725-1726.

7 The term 'incumbent' for Mostyn in this connection is altogether unwarranted; he was never either vicar or rector comportioner of Llandinam; all he did was to draw his maintenance from the tithes of that and surrounding parishes in Arwystli.

8 Cal. Comm. Comp., supra.

preaching in Wrexham and its neighbourhood during 1655, even delivering the Assize-sermon there before the Judges on 25 September[1]; he was also actively inditing certificates for those who were desirous of approval by the London committee, Henry Parry of Cemmes[2] and Edmund Hall of Llansantffraid ym Mechain[3] being cases in point; but it was not before the end of 1656 that he was appointed officially to work at Holt.[4] The fact that he joined Powell's defenders in the 'Examen'[5] and refused to baptize a child on behalf of Philip Henry in 1657[6] seem to show that not only the acquaintance with his old friend had not ceased, but that Powell's influence over him, even after the latter had become a Baptist, was quite potent. But the evidence has yet to be discovered that will connect Mostyn with the Fifth Monarchy movement.[7] Powell himself was the other Llandinam beneficiary. He joined Mostyn in demanding his arrears in 1654; like Mostyn, he probably received them; and it demands some logical refinement to appreciate the consistency of denouncing tithes in London and applying for old arrears of pay derived from 'tithes, duties and profits' in Wales. In truth, Powell's record on this question of maintenance was hopelessly inconsistent[8]; he openly admitted after the Restoration that he had received between £600 and £700 from the C.P.M. and C.P.G.W. from 1648 to 1653[9]; and it is ground for some wonder that his opponents, both Anglican and Protectoral, did not reap greater dialectic advantage from facts which could be easily supplied (to government apologists at least) by the Commissioners for Sequestration sitting at Haberdashers' Hall. These Llandinam arrears were the last money he received from the State: "I and many more of my brethren did not act under O.C. nor took any salary at all, nor any other maintenance whatsoever since."[10] In cogent confirmation of

1 Rawlinson MS. c. 261, ff. 31-33 (obverso). He delivered about eight sermons (in the parish church, presumably) at this period, although the dates are not in all cases specified (vide ff. 1, 8, 12, 19, 22, 31-33, 42, 43).

2 Lamb. 997, ii, f. 208.

3 Ibid., f. 209.

4 Lamb. 968, f. 62; 977, f. 42.

5 'To the Reader,' p. [3].

6 Diaries, p. 42.

7 How much importance ought to be attached to the inclusion of Mostyn, Llwyd, Jenkin Jones and Richard Powell among the ministers-assistant under the ejection ordinance of August 1654 is discussed in Chap. XII, 235.

8 For his earlier uncertainties, see H.P.M., p. 164.

9 Bird in the Cage (see n. 10), pp. 6-7.

10 Bird in the Cage Chirping (1661), First Ed., p. 6. Do not these words of Powell's most effectively dispose of the statement of Calamy (worded, as it is, without any qualification as to place and person) that the same party was in the ascendant in Wales after 1654 as before that year? (Acct., II, Preface, xv).

this statement come the utter silence of the Trustees' records and the calendars of the Committee for Compounding; these prove also that a recent writer, usually very well-informed, is quite mistaken when he says that Vavasor received State pay till the Restoration; and he must be charged with a careless reading of the autobiography if he finds support there for the Fifth Monarchist's 'constant receipt of tithes.'[1] Thus of all the ministers, more or less Puritan, working in North and Mid-Wales, only fourteen subscribed the 'Word for God' and before 1660 all these had apostatized from their affected faith in a coming millennium except Henry Williams of Ysgafell, Powell's new lieutenant in Montgomery, and Richard Griffith, Edward Owen,[2] Morris Griffith—assistant elders and preachers in his Radnor congregation. The schoolmaster Rice Jones of Llanfair Caereinion managed to preserve the hopes (and phraseology) of the Fifth Monarchists until the beginning of April 1660,[3] but even he had not felt disposed to surrender a government post which brought him £20 a year from the sequestered church premises of Llanfair.[4] Powell was throughout supported by Captain John Williams, his preaching coadjutor in 1654, by Richard Price of Gunley and John Brown of Salop, who all three fearlessly kept the faith that led him in 1653 to suggest their names to Harrison as satisfactory members to sit in a parliament of saints.

But it is evident that neither the apostacy of friends nor the libels of enemies were able to daunt the undauntable spirit of the leading Welsh Fifth Monarchist. The stars in their courses were utterly unpropitious. A Welsh compatriot of Powell and Llwyd, Rhys Evans of Llangelynin in Merioneth (who affected to call himself 'Arise'), had in 1653 cast his prophetic mantle as a shield for the Fourth Monarchists and attempted to disenchant the visions seen by the Fifth. Early in December of that year he had published a refutation of a

1 W. Llewellyn Williams: Making of Mod. Wales, p. 271.

2 If he is to be equated with the Edward Owens who, according to the somewhat involved evidence of defendant Roger Thomas in a post-Restoration case, was lecturer at 'Kevenlees' (Cefnllys) as late as 1655 at a salary of £30, we have to witness still another of Vavasor's followers taking a considerable time to extricate himself from the trammels of State pay (Exch. Bills and Ans., Radnor, No. 21, Michaelmas, 13 Chas. II).

3 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, p. 407.

4 Lamb. 1006, f. 320. It is certain that he was paid this sum up to Michaelmas, 1657. [Commonwealth Exch. Papers, roll 290]. His name is down here as 'Richard' and the county as 'Merioneth'; but a collation of the relevant documents leaves no doubt but that he was the Caereinion schoolmaster.

pamphlet brought out in August by one of their leaders,[1] and in February 1654 had outlined his own 'Prophetick Proposals touching Mr. Feak . . . and the rest of the discontented and Independent party, foretelling the great Change that will happen in this present year.'[2] The Protector, unfortunately, could not always count upon the seer's support, as occasionally 'voices' came from heaven[3] and 'echoes' again to those,[4] which presaged the restoration of the deposed dynasty[5]; then Arise had to leave his home at Long Alley, Blackfriars, and seek the solitude of a prison cell. Much more disconcerting to Powell's cause than the uncertain visions of this secular prophet was the fact that an insurrection confined to Wales stood no chance of real success; more serious still, he could not count upon the united and enthusiastic support of his friends in England, as it became increasingly evident that the militant section in the capital were discouraged by the continued imprisonment of Harrison.[6] As to Wales itself, it may be argued that no H.R.A. was set on foot in the North to discount the effect of the 'Word for God'; but that arose simply because the moderate party there boasted no leader of the energy and calibre of Cradock. Miss Brown is of opinion that the submissive spirit of the South Wales 'Address' was not prevalent in the north, but founds this on the single letter of a singularly incompetent witness—the Thomas Cooper who was sent by Cromwell to Ireland at the beginning of 1656 to take command of the troops in Ulster. Passing through North Wales on his way, he was much cast down by the factious spirit displayed there, experiences which he recounted to Thurloe in a letter, dated 21 February, 1655-56, and written after crossing the Irish Sea.[7] Cooper, however, was an Englishman and a Baptist, and as the large proportion of the former element was of Vavasor's outlook and the small numbers of the latter were particularly attached to him, it cannot be said that communion with such spirits would lead

1 Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., E. 1498. 1; N.L.W., Cat. Civil War Tracts, p. 62, No. 300.
2 Ibid. E. 224. 1.
3 N.L.W., Cat. Civil War Tracts, p. 58 (Nos. 295 A, 296A); 63 (Nos. 297A, 298A).
4 Ibid. p. 60 (No. 305); 62 (Nos. 300A, 301A).
5 Ibid. p. 67 (No. 306A). This particular tract, called the 'Voice of King Charls the Father to Charls the Son,' was an invitation to the latter to come in peaceably . . . and shewing *also* 'the integrity of His Highness, Oliver Cromwell.'
6 Eng. Hist. Rev., XXV, p. 724.
7 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 551; for Cooper's movements see also IV, 408, 422, 433.

to a sure judgment upon the sympathies of the average-thinking Welshman. Nor can the interesting communication sent by Sir Richard, the reigning Pryse of Gogerddan, to his father-in-law 'the right honourable the lord [Bulstrode] Whitelocke at Chelsey,' one of the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury, be cited to prove that Vavasor's crusade was inordinately successful seven months after the 'Word for God' was presented to the Protector. It bore the date 12 June, 1656, and was to the effect that on the previous Saturday and Sunday 'within two miles of my house' at least 400 persons had gathered out of seven or eight several counties and 'commanded-in-chief' by Vavasor Powell. Pryse's enquiries had brought to light that these men had met to break bread at the parish church at Llanbadarn; that they were countenanced by magistrates, 'dissenters of the present government'; that a similar and far larger meeting was in contemplation within a month.[1] It may be safely assumed that none of the local squires of North Cardiganshire were included in these magistrates; the chief of them, John Lewis of Glasgrug, was in this very year publishing his 'Seasonable and Modest Thoughts' in furtherance of the National College scheme, in which Vavasor's Propagation nominees for vacant livings were adversely commented upon, the 'favour of the Protector' presupposed, and maintenance from sequestered revenues suggested.[2] The Llanbadarn conference was undoubtedly organised for a less innocuous purpose than merely to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at the parish church[3]; but in default of evidence that the 400 were in any sense delegates and remembering that they came from seven or eight counties, it assuredly required a further demonstration to impress the Cardigan countryside with successful opposition to Cromwell or with a possible alteration of government. Nor do the records of those days testify that there was any response whatsoever even in the advanced Welsh millenarian community to the plot formed by Venner

1 This important letter is given in full in Thurloe St. Pap., V, 112.

2 Quoted in 'An Early Attempt to found a National College in Wales' (J. H. Davies)—Wales, III, 121.

3 On 25 May, 1656, John Lewis addressed a letter to Baxter hoping he would reconcile the unhappy differences of those days and exercise his influence upon some 'mistaken Pastors, & they once gained the erringe vulgar (like a herd) would soone be whistled in' (Baxter Letters, Vol. II, ff. 128-129). One wonders whether Lewis had any knowledge of the projected Llanbadarn meeting held not many days afterwards.

the wine-cooper against the Protectorate government in March-April, 1657. The only person of probable Welsh affinities connected with this abortive movement was a certain John Jones. He, though within the Venner coterie, was a merciless critic of the proposed plan, stated bluntly that the leader and his friends had not the true spirit of God, were not supported by the 'auncient wise Christians,' and coupled them with Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Jones also accused Venner of appropriating the 'stocke and accounts' of the church, finally uttering the taunt that since they had bought horses for the venture 'rather then we would sell them off to loss . . . they having nearly eaten their heads off . . . wee would hurry and venter our lives in the field.'[1] The possible suggestion that he might be John Jones of Maesygarnedd is not ruled off because of the latter's love for the 'Instrument of Government' and its political corollaries, since he held views diametrically opposite (he had indeed been the recipient of a letter from Hugh Courtney dated the day after Oliver was proclaimed Protector in which that Fifth Monarchist decried the 'present shame' of the army conspirators[2]); but rather because on 6 May, 1656, he wrote a letter[3] to his old friend Harrison counselling moderation,[4] and still more because at this particular time he was indisputably in command of a certain portion of the troops in Ireland.[5] Search into the probable Welsh antecedents of the Venner John Jones is not made easier by the anomaly that while only one of that name signed the 'Word of God,' six such names figure in the loyal H.R.A. That he was a meticulous millenarian comes out in his additional argument in opposition to the particular time[6] fixed for the rising '. . . this time [of the Lord's coming] was not come by two moneths';[7] in other words, that the forty-two months of Revelations xi, 2,—the period of the Gentile domination of the Protectorate over the courts of the holy

1 The authority for this account is Eng. Hist. Rev., XXV, art. on 'Fifth Monarchy Insurrections' by Champlin Burrage (pp. 732, 733, 734, 735). The article is mainly based on Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4459, ff. 111-122, which is itself a deciphered transcript made by a Protectorate official in 1657-8 of a secret journal in cipher chronicling the internal deliberations of the Venner circle or 'church.'

2 Thurloe St. Pap., I, 640.

3 Simpkinson: Life of Harrison, App.—Nineteenth Letter, p. 298.

4 The Venner Jones was also a moderate in comparison to the extremism of Venner; but his moderation and that of Col. John Jones were in two different worlds. By this time the ideas of Harrison were anathematised as old-fashioned by the wine-cooper.

5 Thurloe St. Pap., VI, 94, 222.

6 9 April, 1657.

7 Engl. Hist. Rev., XXV, p. 732.

city (according to the latest interpretation given to that verse by the Fifth Monarchists)—would not come to an end till 16 June, 1657.[1] The references to Jones do not altogether exhaust the relations of Wales with the first Venner conspiracy, as Miss Brown puts forward a suggestion that the plotters' proclamation explanatory of their design—the 'Standard Set Up' followed by ten lines of title, and acquired by the tract-collector Thomason on 17 May, 1657—which was reported to Cromwell as having been composed by a leading spirit of the former Saints' Parliament, had as author no other than John Brown of Ness in Salop, one of Vavasor's nominees for that Parliament and signatory of the 'Word for God' eighteen months before.[2] This rests on the very slenderest foundations: Cromwell's information never narrowed down the writer to one of the *Welsh* members; a 'Browne' is certainly mentioned as one of Venner's group, but as a person indulging in criticism equally virulent as Jones', and that only four days before the rising was timed to mature[3]; besides, there is no valid reason for denying to the 'W. Medley, Scribe,' who affixes his name to the title-page, the nerve and facility necessary for its actual composition.[4] On the analogy of such arguments it would be quite justifiable to accuse the orthodox Philip Henry of having joined the ranks of the Fifth Monarchists, because a month after this, in a sermon on Luke xvii, 26, he held that 'Reigning Sensuality in the last Age is an Infallible Signe of X^ts^ approach to Judgement.'[5]

Sober history has little to say of Powell or his sympathisers during 1657[6] and 1658 till he was summoned to attend the Savoy Conference of Independents in the summer of the latter year, when he stipulated in his answer[7] that he hoped they would not 'go upon political and worldly accounts.' Quite as significant was the private seal attached to the letter, 'fresh and very remarkable, representing a skeleton or figure of death, holding in the right hand a dart, in the left

1 L. F. Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, pp. 116-117.
2 Ibid. p. 113 (n. 23). His name appears on p. 11 of the 'Word for God.'
3 Eng. Hist. Rev., XXV, p. 734.
4 It should be noted as a possible argument in favour of Miss Brown's suggestion (although she herself does not adduce it) that Brown was very probably the 'Capt. John Browne,' who wrote 'A Brief Survey of the Prophetical and Evangelical Events of the last Times' in 1655 [Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., E. 826. 18].
5 Diaries, p. 49.
6 Anthony Wood says that Powell was at Oxford on 15 July, 1657, when he delivered a characteristic diatribe at All Hallows (Life and Times, ed. Clark, I, p. 221).
7 It was dated 26 August.

an hour-glass [very apposite for a Fifth Monarchist] sitting upon the tree of life.'[1] Notwithstanding the direful portents of the seal and his own taciturn humour, it is more than likely, were he made accessible to the official and personal letters which Thurloe was patiently collecting, that his laughter would be both loud and long at some remarks passed by Henry Cromwell relating to this same conference, not of Anabaptists and Millenarians, but of 100 staid Independents and presided over by Dr. John Owen: that son of the departed Oliver, distrusting authorised meetings of ministers no less than unauthorised meetings of army officers, put it to General Fleetwood (20 October, 1658):—' will not the loins of an imposing Anabaptist be as heavy as the loins of an imposing Prelate or Presbyter? And is it a dangerous error that dominion is founded on grace when it is held by the Church of Rome and a sound principle when it is held by the Fifth Monarchy?'[2] It has never been brought to proof that Powell attended the conference; indeed, ' a noate concerning some stirrs in Wales,' written by an illiterate Government informer in September– just when the summoned delegates were making their way to London[3]—shows the author of the August answer going upon accounts which ordinary citizens would call very political and worldly, and inculcating as a sound principle not that dominion was founded upon grace but grace upon dominion. This ' noate '[4] speaks of ' Vav*i*sor ' Powell and Capt. [John] Williams as being very active, employing their emissaries everywhere, inveighing much against the Protector and the present government, ' tearing his proclamations,' it adds somewhat inconsistently, ' and putting *it* in their pockets.'[5] South Wales was to be the scene of a rising, Williams expressing himself as sorry ' for the . . . blood [that] wilbee spilte.' Doubtless the explicit references to secret meetings of extraordinary length, to the mysterious movements of Powell in the neighbourhood of Llanidloes, to the strangers excellently well horsed who stayed

1 The authority for the letter and description of seal is Francis Peck: Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. X, No. XXV, pp. 507-508.

2 Thurloe St. Pap., VII, 454.

3 The Conference was to open on 29 September. After an eleven days' debate the ' Declaration of Faith and Order ' was agreed to on 12 October.

4 Preserved in Rawlinson MS. A. 61, 29. No name is attached.

5 It is difficult to say whether the Protector referred to is Oliver (who died on 3 September) or his son Richard. Probably the ' proclamations ' refer to the accession of the new Protector, officially announced in the capital on the 4th (Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 448).

at his house and to the millenarian's own 'strange language,' placed the authorities on their guard, and in December (if not before) he was an inmate of Cardiff prison. Except that he drew up his will there on 21 December[1] hardly anything is known of the length of this incarceration. It is likely that he was kept under close surveillance during the comparatively effective period of Richard's Protectorate, to be set free in May when the republican faction in the army caused the latter's downfall and reassembled the old Rump. There is plenty of evidence that the Fifth Monarchists at this juncture, in default of securing a Sanhedrin of seventy godly men, exerted their influence to restore the old enemy as being the most likely body to be manipulated for their particular purposes[2]; this in turn gives point and prescience to Thurloe's remarks in 1655-1656 apropos of Vavasor's disruptive manifesto: 'it is evident they will call up againe the old Parliament which they themselves were the great occasion of destroyinge [in April 1653] . . but parliaments chosen by the people [are] the thinge[s] they most of all hate.'[3] And the less extreme members of the party had always held that it was right for the saints to obey the Fourth Monarchy, even to hold office under it, however corrupt it might be. Booth's Presbytero-Royalist rising of the following August saw the Fifth Monarchists in the full confidence of the republican government and acting in zealous co-operation with it: Hugh Courtney recommended, and that by Col. John Jones, to be governor of Beaumaris as in the old days[4]; Capt. Hugh Prichard, a signatory of the 'Word for God,' given £100 by the Council of State for payment of his troop[5]; and the more intimate Vavasorian, Capt. Richard Price of Gunley, granted supreme command of the militia forces in North Wales.[6] When the soldiers of Lambert had suppressed this 'Cheshire Race' the politicians, both inside the Rump and outside of it, carried on a seemingly endless discussion as to the best way of regulating Parliament for the future so as to ensure the most effective means of preserving the 'liberties of England'

1 Montgomeryshire Collections, xxxvi, 221; also David Davies: Vavasor Powell, pp. 161-162.
2 L. F. Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, pp. 176-183.
3 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 373—Letter of 1 January, 1655-56, to Henry Cromwell.
4 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, p. 28.
5 Ibid. p. 96.
6 Ibid. p. 99.

and the 'good old cause.' Of these Sir Henry Vane, apostrophised by Milton six years before as 'young in years but in sage counsel old,' was acknowledged as the custodian of strict commonwealth tradition and was known also to betray marked sympathy with the ideals of the Fifth Monarchists. He stoutly opposed any oath to be officially imposed against government by a 'single person' because the millenarians believed it would engage them against the coming kingship of Christ: many Baptists who sympathised with their views upheld his contention because of scruples against all taking of oaths. It was in this milieu that on 17 September, 1659, the Fifth Monarchists presented a petition to the Rump which declared strongly against dominion by any [earthly] single person and stated their belief that the recent troubles but marked the preparation for the rule of Christ. They asked that Parliament employ none who had been honoured by the two Protectors, that tithes be abolished and liberty of conscience allowed: all published two days later as an 'Essay toward Settlement upon a sure foundation . . . being a testimony for God in this perillous time.'[1] The science of artful engineering was not above being employed by these saints in the 'last days,' for they put at the head of the list of subscribers John Owen, *not* the famous Independent divine, but an obscure individual who happened to boast of the same name. Then followed Henry Jessey, Vavasor came next, lower down Hugh Courtney and Richard Price, and last but one of the twenty signatories Richard Saltonstall, who had some interests in the Wrexham neighbourhood,[2] was active in the anti-Royalist cause on the Montgomery-Salop border up to and even after the Restoration,[3] and who had signed the 'Word for God'[4] next to William Wynne of Cristionydd and one (if not two) other whilom Propagation Commissioners. Three names before Saltonstall and sixteenth on the list comes Richard Goodgroom, a 'sublimated saint' who received a commission in the army soon after the overthrow of the second Protectorate[5]; it is difficult to disbelieve

1 L. F. Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, pp. 189-190, especially n. 44 at the foot of the latter page.
2 J. H. Davies: Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, App. VI, p. 323, quoting A. N. Palmer: County Townships, p. 113; there is a reference to him in Chirk Castle Accounts (pub. 1908), p. 31, n. 98.
3 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 123, 176.
4 p. 11.
5 L. F. Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 185 (and n. 32).

that he was the 'Richard Goodgroome' who received £10 in 1650 and 1651 as usher of the Puritan free school at Usk.[1] Naturally, and the hopes of the organisers must have been faint indeed, nothing could come of this petition, as the Rump who received it were the same body who had solemnly sanctioned tithes less than three months before and had substituted the word 'unless' for the word 'until' [this Parliament shall find out some other and more comfortable maintenance][2]; on October 13 they were themselves dissolved for the second time by the legionaries of Lambert.[3] And more stirring events than that were to come: the failure of the Committee of Safety to secure political equilibrium; Monck's march from Scotland to London; and the re-assembling of the pre Rump Long Parliament on 21 February, 1660, a step which, by filling the House with Presbyterian advocates of treaties with Kings, traversed the smallest possibility of bringing about a millenarian revolution by political stratagem. The agreed dissolution of this last Parliament on 16 March to make way for new elections to the Convention, together with the letter sent to Charles two or three days later, naturally raised the hopes of well-informed Royalists to a high pitch and correspondingly damped the ardour of all Commonwealthsmen except a few sanguine Fifth Monarchists. It must not be forgotten that there existed a 'calculating' school among them who had always arrived at 1660 as the date for the final destruction of the 'little horn'; some like John Canne in his 'Voice from the Temple'[4] and John Rogers in 'Sagrir'[5] held that 1660 was the year when the saints' dominion would extend to Rome and 1666 when it would be visible over the whole world. Even the Welshman Llwyd, amidst his ever-shifting alternations of the exact date of the Lord's 'great Sabbath,' had once suggested 1660[6] (though in another of his Songs he was willing to agree upon 1665).[7] The letter that appears in the Calendar of State Papers under 4 April, 1660, proves Rice Jones of Llanfair Caereinion to be

1 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, ff. 45b, 51.
2 C. J., VII, 694.
3 Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 545.
4 Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., E. 699. 16.
5 Ibid. E. 716. 1.
6 'Paratowch cyn dyfod trigain
Gwae'r Twrk, Cythrel, Cnawd, a Rhufain
(Gweithiau, I, Song xxvii, st. 22, p. 60).
7 Ibid. Song viii, '1648': The Spring, st. 8, p. 22.

of this view.[1] He had been appointed Puritan schoolmaster there at the very end of the Propagation period,[2] appeared in the 'Examen' of 1654 to clear Vavasor Powell of any corrupt dealings in the salaries of itinerants and schoolmasters,[3] and signed the 'Word for God' at the end of the following year.[4] Now in 1660 he tells Evan Thomas, a tailor in Fountain Street, London, of the high character of Capt. John Williams, Vavasor's Fifth Monarchy colleague in 1654-5 and afterwards in the 'stirrs' of 1658, and dilates on the Lord's anger because 'whilst we had opportunity, we did not cut off those wicked Benhadads . . . [and because] we employ carnal selfish men in His work, especially that treacherous wretch the Lord General [Monck], but we hope he will be removed out of the way.' 'The Lord,' he added ominously, '[will] do terrible things in righteousnesse this month.' Indeed, a letter written four days later from 'Llanothing'[5] to Livewell Chapman, a prominent London Fifth Monarchist living at the Crown in Pope's Head Alley, publisher also of most millenarian literature of the time, and indited by no less a person than the late general John Desborough, seemed to promise prompt punishment to Monck and the speedy fulfilment of the Llanfair schoolmaster's prophecy.[6] It talked of securing the most important strategic points in North Wales; this accomplished, to advance to Gloucester by May 12, where the brethren of Worcester, Hereford, and presumably of South Wales, were to concentrate. 'If you have not disposed things otherwise allready, let the quakers have the knottiest peice, for they are resolute in performance though but rash in aduising.' The impression given by the State Papers Domestic is that this letter was intercepted by the authorities; Miss Brown's belief is that it was very evidently a forgery to make it appear that there was a concerted revolutionary movement under way while the elections for the Convention Parliament were going on.[7] One is glad to agree with a writer who, though

1 1659-1660, p. 407.
2 23 March, 1652-3 (Lamb. 1006, f. 320).
3 p. 14.
4 p. 11.
5 Llanwddyn, a village which is (or rather *was*) in Montgomeryshire.
6 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, pp. 407-408; Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends (ed. Penney), p. 116—inserted because of the one sentence quoted in the text about the peculiar part to be played by the Quakers. The actual St. Pap. is found in Vol. CCXX, 70.
7 Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 199. Dr. John Stoughton, writing in 1870, devoted an Appendix of 4 pages to discuss this letter, and came to the same conclusion as Miss Brown. He writes 'Livewell' as 'Linwell' and makes a very unsuccessful attempt to locate 'Llanothing.' (The Church of the Restoration, II, pp. 509-512.)

somewhat unsure in her judgments where developments in Wales were concerned, has done yeoman service in clearing up obscure recesses in the history of this period. She brings no further reasons to support her theory; in reality, they are so numerous that the chief difficulty consists in marshalling them with some degree of coherence.[1] Desborough, Oliver's brother-in-law, had been associated, not with extreme Fifth Monarchists, but rather with Dr. Owen's Independent congregation[2]; Livewell Chapman had been excluded (in January 1657) from Venner's deliberations as being too moderate, had addressed some very outspoken criticism to that firebrand a few days before his projected rising, and is altogether absent from the records of the second Venner outbreak in January 1661[3]; the term 'president' given to Desborough and 'clerk' given to a hopelessly obscure Hughes argue that the forger was acquainted with the modern-sounding officials of the Rota Club founded by James Harrington of the 'Oceana'[4]; the choice of Llanwddyn as the rebel leader's headquarters was an attempt to give verisimilitude to the whole document, that place being situate in the wild retreat of the county where Welsh Fifth Monarchy was most rife; the work cut out for the Quakers becomes more absurd when it is found that Col. Rich, a real militant millenarian, had moved in the Council of State seven months before that a Quaker should not even be retained as quarter-master.[5] Llwyd and Mostyn are referred to as persons likely to come up to London to further the good cause: the first was dead nearly a year, and if the second was on the way to the capital, it was with John Pugh of Glynceiriog to prove Llwyd's will and help executing its provisions.[6] Professor Firth does not condescend to mention the letter.[7]

Had the real writer not very probably been a London

1 In a particularly careful and accurate analysis given in a 'class-book' of the events of 1659-1660 occurs 'Desborough's Anarchist rising in Wales,' which seems to take for granted the bona fides of the St. Pap. and the consummation of the hare-brained policy outlined in it (Intermediate Text Book of English History, III, 161—ed. Fearenside). The Anarchists only existed in the mind of an enterprising maker of letters in London.

2 L. F. Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 176.

3 Eng. Hist. Rev., XXV, esp. pp. 725, 734, 744-745.

4 G. P. Gooch: Eng. Democ. Ideas in the 17th Century, pp. 301-302.

5 Extracts from St. Pap. . . . Friends, p. 116 (n. 1).

6 Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, pp. 279-281, principally latter page . . 'Proved at London, 18 April, 1660, and adm'on granted to Ambrose Moston and John Pugh, ex'ors.'

7 This is all the more significant in that in his authoritative chapter on 'Anarchy and the Restoration' (Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 557) he discusses at some length Lambert's futile movement of April 10-24.

agent of pro-Royalists who were bent on implicating a republican officer of such high credentials as Desborough, he would have seen well to include Vavasor as 'clerk' instead of the fictional Hughes, especially as Powell had a tract published by the forementioned Livewell Chapman about this time. This date is inferred from the fact that the great Puritan was lodged in various prisons for the rest of the year after 28 April (though it must be admitted that numbers of tracts and even books were composed under those conditions both before and after the Restoration). The substance of Vavasor's latest literary effort forsook the usual commentary on Daniel and Revelations to give a 'Small Curb to the Bishops' Careere'[1]—old matters of new import in face of their imminent restoration to the old power and dignity. It was in a Fleet Prison too (1661-1662) that Powell had leisure to re-affirm in the most uncompromising terms his belief in the gospel which had alienated many old friends and lost him the favour of the powerful Oliver: 'the Fifth Monarchy . . . I am persuaded of, and expect will be.'[2] On the margin he gives a list of learned writers who had contributed to the subject, not the lukewarm solemnity of the Laodicean compilers of the 'Examen,' but an 'unanswerable proof.' His final warning was that the monarchy of the saints will not begin 'before Christ the Monarch will appear *in* the head of it,' thus flatly contradicting the English millenarian John Rogers who maintained that government under the Seventh Trumpet was not initiated or 'matriculated' by the personal appearance of the Saviour.[3] His prison reflections prove that one prominent feature of his millenarian creed before the Restoration—the opposition to earthly magistrates—had become assimilated to the considered opinion of many moderate men of his party long before,[4] if indeed it had not ceased to be his own conviction after the downfall of the hated Protectorate in 1659. Vavasor now alludes to St. Paul's teaching in Romans xiii, 3, 4, and Ephesians v, 11,

1 N.L.W. Tracts (Civil War and Commonwealth), Cat., p. 72, No. 265; t is referred to also in Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 423-424, 484.

2 A Word in Season [a sub-division of 'The Bird in the Cage Chirping'], p. 83 (misprint for 38).

3 A Christian Concercitation (pub. Sept. 1659)—Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., E. 995.25.

4 Notably of Wm. Aspinwall in his 'Legislative Power is Christ's Peculiar Prerogative' (Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 104). Aspinwall was the writer 'refuted' by Arise Evans.

counsels willing and sincere obedience to them in all ' lawfull ' things, and repeats that he finds no warrant in the Scriptures ' to affirm that there are no magistrates now in the world ' or that such powers ' under and belonging to the Fourth Monarchy should not be obeyed.' That Monarchy, according to his view, was begun in Julius Caesar, and was ' up before Christ and the Apostles ' dayes ' ; nevertheless, the early Emperors, even Nero, were acknowledged by the primitive church.[1]

NOTE: RICHARD OWEN'S LETTER IN 1716.

Two years after the publication of Dr. John Walker's ' Sufferings ' in 1714, that author received a letter (dated 23 May, 1716) in which a certain Richard Owen of Ilford near Lewes in Sussex endeavoured to throw new light on Vavasor's sectarian outlook. This Owen dogmatically asserts that Powell was an Independent and *not* an Anabaptist, that he always maintained the ' Pedobaptists' cause,' and that he even had the hardiness—' if my memory fails me not '—sometimes to engage the mighty John Tombes in that controversy. ' But when Vavasor happen'd to be foil'd or pinch'd with a hard Argumt on that subject, wch he could not answer, his usual Evasion was this : you need not be so tight upon me about Infant Baptism ; for I have no children of my own to baptize, & never had, wch it seems was sufficient satisfaction to ye silly multitude, who had ye man's person in admiration ' (MS. J. Walker, c. 5, f. 24). It was well that Walker received this addendum too late for incorporation in his work, as it would only serve to intensify the heavy cloud of inaccuracy in which Vavasor's career had been already enveloped. Although it is evident from certain phrases in the letter that the writer was the son of a devoted Welsh follower of the great Puritan, it is equally true that on the Baptism question he traverses the explicit testimony of writers more strictly contemporary ; he sets Vavasor in opposition to Tombes in a manner not vouched for in any other source ; in any case, it can only refer with tolerable accuracy to a period previous to the visit of Jessey in 1655 and the information sent to Henry Cromwell by Thurloe in January of the following year (supra, pp. 214-216). As a serious rebutter to Powell's ultimate conversion to the Baptist faith, this letter of 1716 is of no value whatsoever.

1 A Word in Season, pp. 37-38.

XI.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Although Fifth Monarchy men and Quakers were bracketed together by certain Protectorate organs in 1655-56,[1] there existed no inherent ethical nexus between them, and Powell proved their consistent and inexorable enemy. Even when the 'Examen' was drawn up in 1654, at a date when the first flying columns of the new English crusade were crossing the border, his defenders boast that he had 'carried the flag from Dæmonaick Quakers'[2]; one of the latter, Alexander Parker, in July 1656 issued a tract of 30 pages called the 'Testimony of God' as an answer to 'the false doctrines held forth by a professed minister,' who is proved by internal evidence to be no other than Vavasor[3]; this is confirmed by the words of the Welshpool Quaker who says that Powell preached much against their 'Ways and Principles'[4]; and when the Quaker John Moon levelled his accusations against the 'blind priests' of the Arminian Baptists he committed the pardonable mistake of including among them the Welsh millenarian,[5] who happened also to be one of the ablest exponents of Calvinistic theology then living. The vivacity and sanguine vituperation of these English foreigners and the necessity imposed upon the care-worn controversialist of turning aside from Llanbadarn conferences to present one side of his shield to parry their attacks is the best evidence of the wonderful advance made by the Quaker gospel after it entered Wales in 1653, about six years after its unpretentious beginnings in Nottingham among the General Baptists of Mansfield. Had not these origins been more than usually obscure, so much so as to defeat hitherto the efforts of all Quaker and other historians

1 L. F. Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 102 (and n. 57).
2 p. 41. The 'border' in this particular case is the boundary between North and South Wales.
3 N.L.W., Cat. Civil War Tracts, p. 68, No. 140.
4 Richard Davies: An Account of the Convincement (1771), p. 38.
5 'True Light'—Title Page.

to associate a certain Rice Jones with any region west of Offa's Dyke (although some have gone so far as to write his name 'Rhys John'[1]), Wales might claim the credit to have practically attended at the birth of a typically English movement, and the doubtful honour of producing the first Quaker apostate. This Rice Jones, according to the Journal of the leader himself, 'came in' to Fox instead of proceeding to the battle of Worcester, and would persist in the opinion that Christ did not suffer outwardly on the Cross at Jerusalem, but that all his sufferings (and those of the prophets and apostles as well) were inward; he also maintained the strange dualism that it was possible to keep inward with God and at the same time yield the body to comply with outward and earthly things. Consistently with this untoward gospel Jones deviated later to keep an ale-house and found the opposition group of 'proud Quakers of the Castle Company' at Nottingham, and thus passed out of history.[2] Not so George Fox, the Drayton shoemaker of Leicestershire, well on the right side of thirty years of age, and blessed by Providence with one of the most virile frames ever given to mortal man; after some serious difficulties with the officers of the law in Nottingham and Derby, he proceeded to the north of the Humber and the west of the Pennines with the gospel of the 'indwelling light,' looking askance at the disputatious problems of the primitive church which found new and enervating life in the Puritan world of his day and holding up to scorn the sects and separations which to him—as to the contemporary London Welsh Presbyterian from another angle of vision[3]—rent the seamless coat of Christ. So impassioned was the appeal of the uneducated shoemaker, so auspiciously had he timed his appearance in a land of unsatisfied and distracting transition, that by the middle of 1653 he had successfully set up a new organisation which assimilated Baptists, Seekers, and Independents, Arminians and Calvinists, lecturers and ministers. The new movement soon included (among others) a proctor at civil law who had once been commissary of the archdeaconry of Richmond and

1 Journal of George Fox—Cambridge Ed. I, 396 (Notes by Editor, Norman Penney).

2 The authority for this account of Rice Jones is the Cambridge Journal, I, pp. 10-11, with the Editor's notes on p. 396.

3 Christopher Love: A Cleare and Necessary Vindication—Dedication, p [1]. (August 1651.)

another convert who was local clerk to Sequestration Commissioners. Women had also found vent for utterance in the latest sect: one was the wife of Justice Fell of Swarthmore near Ulverston, and the other Mary Fisher, who later braved the storms of the Atlantic to preach the new faith in New England and afterwards in the un-Quakerlike city of Constantinople.[1]

At this juncture, when Fox's preachers had only made sporadic incursions from the North Country, their coming into Wales was accelerated by the adaptive genius of Morgan Llwyd, ever ready, like a good Independent, to welcome new revelations both in thought and practice, and in many respects one of the most tolerant and comprehensive minds of his time. In July 1653, to use Fox's own words, 'Morgan Floyd . . . sent two of his congregation into the North to inquire concerning us . . . but when the Triers came down amongst us, the power of the Lord overcame them, and they were both convinced of the Truth.'[2] One of these remains unknown; the other, whose 'understanding was opened,'[3] was John ap John, son of another of the same name, who lived on a small estate of freehold at Penycefn, in the parish of Ruabon,[4] known in default of any satisfactory evidence about Rice Jones of Nottingham as 'the apostle of the Quakers of Wales.' There are some significant facts which support the idea that Llwyd never meant the visit of the two emissaries to be anything more than a journey of curiosity to be completed by an academic inquisition: he must have been busy at this time composing his 'Llyfr y Tri Aderyn,' a book that contains some cryptic phrases which can only be explained by what he had heard already of Quaker doings in the north: 'goleuni newydd,' 'dysceidiaeth ddwfn ddierth ddyrus,'[5] and especially 'mudion a byddariaid yn malu ewyn, yn llygadtynnu ac yn synnu'r gwirion.'[6] To Llwyd's probable consternation, the Swarthmore visits brought immediate results in the coming to Wrexham in October of the same year of two

1 All these assimilations are luminously treated in the work of the latest Quaker historian (W. C. Braithwaite: The Beginnings of Quakerism, I, pp. 42-122).
2 Fox's Journal (1891 Ed.), i, p. 188: Friends' Hist. Soc. Publcs., Suppt. 6, p. 6.
3 Friends' Hist. Soc. Publcs., Suppt. 6, p. 5 [quoting Gibson Bequest MSS., II, 33].
4 These facts have been lately established by the researches of Mr. Shankland (Cymru, May 1919,—'Pwy oedd John ap John a Chatrin Edward ?,' pp. 177-183).
5 Gweithiau, I, 250 (both phrases).
6 Ibid., 263.

Quaker missionaries, John Lawson of Lancaster and Richard Hubberthorne of Yealand. They attended a meeting of the Independent congregation, spoke bitterly of one of the ministers, who sat sobbing under the judgment laid upon him. Propagation Puritanism was brought into sudden relief against the new Quaker standards : ' they called themselves the people of God and Saints . . . said that Christ was in them, had a high form of words, but denied the power of God, and lived in pride, envy, and covetousness.'[1] Unfortunately, Llwyd had only one year before drawn a sad contrast between the ' vineyard of red wine ' he once had at Wrexham and the ' bryers, thorns and thistles tall ' that had overwhelmed it by April 1652 ; he had almost anticipated the Quakers' own words by ascribing the change to ' a boasting settled lofty mind.'[2] Remembering the indiscriminate itinerant system which obtained in the quasi-Propagation regime of 1653, the evidence is not at all definite that Llwyd himself was the sobbing minister (the record clearly suggests there were more than one present) ; if he really were, then the charge of pride would come with the greater poignancy to a man who in that same month of October preached before the Saints' Parliament[3] and brought out his classic work. That he in *1647* lodged in London at Ludgate Hill with Giles Calvert, the publisher of Bœhme's works in this country and later the great purveyor of Quaker books and pamphlets, is not very relevant as a determining factor in his Quaker relations,[4] as even Fox himself in that year was wrestling with spiritual difficulties and unconvinced as yet of his great mission ; but Llwyd's immensely receptive mind which made him the greatest exponent in Wales of German mysticism was not slow to appreciate the points of spiritual contact between this and the new gospel of Fox. The effect upon him of the Quaker impact was prodigious : his works from 1654 onwards abound with evidence of his mental oscillation between the Puritanism that rested on an open Bible and the unconventional teaching that deprecated a mere ' Jerusalem Christ.' In one place he refers with unassumed scorn to those who raucously spoke in

1 Braithwaite : Begs. of Quak., I, 123.
2 Gweithiau, I, Song xlvii, pp. 88-89.
3 Ibid., II, Introd., lxvii (authority for preaching sermon not given).
4 Ibid., Ibid., xxix.

the streets of an indwelling light[1]; in another with equal scorn to those, like Fox, who testified to an 'experimental' insight into the work of the Holy Spirit[2]; his advice in a third context is not 'to speak reproachfully of the outward Bible [as some Quakers did] nor give it a railing accusation . . . be not thou a mocker and scorner of Ordinances and institutions . . . instead of vilifying of outward things (as the manner of some is) seek after the Christ who is hid through all these'; 'be warned not to divide the Christ without and the Christ within'[3]; finally, 'run not after every noise of power, light, or religion on the streets.'[4] He seems on the other hand to have caught up Fox's own phraseology by referring to some saints as false, to some priests as proud, and to some guides as blind[5]; to his mother, full of curiosity about the new sect, he admits the Quakers say the truth, but not the whole truth, prefacing this remark with his professed desire to follow every man's good and rejecting all evil[6]; in May 1656 he goes so far as to enquire of Baxter the reason for that divine's unqualified criticism of the generation of Quakers, and before closing the letter delivers him a parenthetical rebuke about disdaining the day of small things, 'as Augustin the monke under the oake did the Welsh'[7]; in another letter to him seven months later, 'not to be published but among a few friends at the most,' he expresses agreement with the Quaker emphasis that men would not be as one in God till the fleshly mind was mortified[8] (a doctrine, surely, that was preached by many Puritans other than the followers of Fox).

While Llwyd was tossed by these various winds of opinion, the Quakers themselves were pursuing a definite policy of propagation. They formed a community at Malpas on the Welsh border late in 1653, and a historian of fanaticism in 1660 is not very sure whether it was among them or the Wrexham missionaries he heard first of 'long silences . . . great and dreadful shakings . . sending out shriekings and howlings.'[9]

1 Gweithiau, I, 'Where is Christ?,' sect. 1, p. 297.
2 Ibid., 'Lazarus and his Sisters . . . Paradise' (1655), p. 278.
3 Ibid., 'Where is Christ?,' sects. 9, 10, pp. 305-307.
4 Ibid., Ibid., sect. 11, p. 307.
5 The context is pretty clear that these 'priests' and 'guides' were so-called Puritans (see esp. I, 'Lazarus and his Sisters,' pp. 275-276).
6 Letter dated 27-5-58—II, pp. 268-269.
7 Gweithiau, II, 271.
8 Ibid., 274.
9 Richard Blome: The Fanatick History . . . , p. 108. (Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., E. 1832.2).

One apostle was to follow another. Thomas Holmes, the Kendal weaver converted during Fox's sojourn in the north, entered South Wales through Radnorshire in 1654, only to find that 'most ar welsh & sume canot vnderstand Englesh'; notwithstanding this linguistic disadvantage, 'ther is A great convincement.' Proceeding south after only two days' stay he preached 'A prety time to the people of Abergine [Abergavenny] which cast a sund [sound] thorow the town & county'; before 27 February, 1654-5, he was in Cardiff, having already found that 'the Lord was gathering a peopell' in Monmouthshire; in that county and Glamorgan he and his wife Elizabeth laboured up and down for some months as 'sarves of the lord.'[1] The journey was completed when Tenby, Pembroke and Haverfordwest were visited in June. This mission of the illiterate Holmes (who could write, but his spelling is atrocious) was later supplemented in 1655 when John ap John suffered imprisonment at Swansea,[2] in 1656 when Alexander Parker and three Welsh-speaking 'friends' made a renewed attack upon Radnorshire,[3] in 1657 by the appearance of George Fox in person. The leader's path was made more easy by the protection, if not actual favour, shown him by the local major-general James Berry and by the expert guidance of men already acquainted with the lie of the land—the two apostles (John and Holmes), Edward Edwards of Denbighshire, and the judgment-laying Hubberthorne, who by now had tried his hand not unsuccessfully as a writer of Quaker pamphlets. Fox crossed from Bristol to Monmouthshire, then proceeded to Cardiff (where he preached in the town hall), Swansea, Brecon, where 'somewhere near the town' he and John ap John addressed a particularly successful meeting; then to Pontymoyle in Monmouth, finishing up at Shrewsbury. From this centre a second crusade was undertaken through Montgomery, Radnor and Hereford, ultimately reaching Pembrokeshire, paying especial attention to Tenby and Haverfordwest. Thence they moved east to a large market town (Carmarthen, in all probability);

1 The incidents of this tour of Thomas Holmes are derived from an important letter sent by him from 'Cardife' to George Fox, dated '27 February' (Friends Hist. Soc. Publications, Suppt. 6, p. 22). Braithwaite in his 'Beginnings of Quakerism' (I, 207) makes the year to be 1655-56, forgetting that '1654[1655]' is endorsed on the MS. by Fox himself. Mr. J. H. Davies also agrees that the earlier year is meant. (Y Cymwyr yng Nghymru, p. 10).

2 Date of mittimus—8 October, 1655 (Besse: Suffs. of the Quakers, I, 745).

3 Supra, p. 241: Braithwaite; Begs. of Quakerism, I, 207.

then northwards to another important centre (Lampeter or Cardigan); it was a day of marketing when Aberystwyth was reached, where John ap John walked the streets testifying to the 'inner light.' After this, Machynlleth, Dolgelly, Carnarvon, Beaumaris, Wrexham and Chester came in their way, the county town of Merioneth being singled out for the assiduous hearing given to the preachers.[1] This Quaker itinerary on the whole was a great success; Pembrokeshire gave them a warm welcome; that Carmarthenshire was also affected comes out in Stephen Hughes' preface to Vicar Prichard's works in which he complains that Ranters and Quakers were ever shaking the foundation of faith in these later times[2]: in Radnorshire the people said they had never heard such 'an opening of the Scriptures in their lives and at one meeting many thousands were reported present, 'if he had such another, half the county would come in.'[3] The Wrexham atmosphere was little to their liking, especially as Llwyd had again succumbed to the lure of tithes and to the patronage of the ruling powers. The verdict on the local Independents who came to hear Fox and his followers was quite as unfavourable in 1657 as were Hubberthorne's strictures four years before: 'very rude and wild and airy they were, and little sense of Truth they had.'[4] John ap John came down South again in 1658, when it is recorded that he showed 'public opposition' to Evan Griffith the minister of Oxwich in Gower and was struck by Morris Bidwell, the old Propagation Approver and then one of the Swansea Independent ministers.[5] But it was to the historic visit of Fox rather than to the peregrinations of the other apostles that Quakerism in Wales owed its recognition as a new and weird element to be catalogued in the heresiographies of Anglicans and old-fashioned Puritans alike. For *after* Holmes' visit in 1654-5 men who later still became indubitable Quakers were found in league with the powers of this world: Morgan Evan, who converted Richard Davies of Welshpool, subscribed the H.R.A. in 1656[6]; so did James Picton, the Puritan schoolmaster of

1 For particulars of George Fox's journey see J. H. Davies: Y Crynwyr yng Nghymru, p. 10; Braithwaite: I, 209, 346-349.
2 N.L.W. copy, p. 4. Preface dated 4 March, 1657-1658.
3 Braithwaite: Begs. of Quak., I, 349.
4 Ibid.
5 Friends' Hist. Soc. Publics., Suppt. 6, p. 12.
6 p. 8; An Account of the Convincement . . p. 9.

Tenby[1]; so did Major John Gawler of St. Fagans,[2] sometime active agent of Sequestrators and Propagation Commissioners in Glamorgan,[3] though the evidence does not connect him so surely with the new movement as his relative Francis Gawler, the felt-maker of Cardiff, who became known to Anglican spies as conventicle 'teacher' of Llandaff Quakers in 1669.[4] Remembering the rigours and restrictions bounding Quaker activities after the restoration of the King, on no other ground than Fox's forceful field-preaching of three years before can such a moral upheaval be accounted for as swept into their ranks a Puritan vicar like George White of Ystern Llewern,[5] also the son of a former Anglican holder of the same living,[6] and the numerous other groups of Monmouthshire and Glamorgan Quakers who figure in the Llandaff conventicle reports. The same eventful year would see the conversion of the humbler Friends who found a burial at Lampeter Velvrey in 1663[7] and of others equally obscure who were reported in 1662 at Wiston, Casmael, Narberth and Haverfordwest.[8] Somewhat closer study will be given later to the reverberation felt in the camps of General and Particular Baptists, of the Bapto-Independents of Montgomery, and of the mystical neophytes of Wrexham. With all its consuming frenzy, the latest Puritan offshoot was never able to transcend with complete success its English origin and associations: it was in Anglo-Welsh districts that its mission made any effective headway; and though Welsh-speaking Welshmen became respected and even important members, political developments after 1660 prevented their influence from affecting the general outlook of the society (the claims of John Roberts of Siddington in Gloucester, though the son of an Abergavenny cooper, cannot be seriously considered in refutation of this argument[9]). The many Welsh Quakers of Merioneth are the only serious exceptions. In a letter of 9 October, 1651, John Jones of Maesygarnedd rhetorically bewailed to Morgan Llwyd their native county 'denied the

1 p. 9.
2 p. 8.
3 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, ff. 65-68.
4 Lamb. 639, f. 187.
5 cp. L. J., X, 531; H.R.A., p. 7; Lamb. 639, f. 186.
6 Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny (ed. J. A. Bradney), p. 37, n. 2.
7 Carm. Antiq. Soc. Trans., Part XIII, p. 47.
8 J. H. Davies: Y Crynwyr yng Nghymru, p. 11.
9 Enwogion y Ffydd, Dosbarth II, pp. 363-371; 'John Roberts' by E. T. Lawrence (1898); Ext. from St. Pap. relating to Friends, p. 340.

tender of gospell mercies'; 'is there no prophet, noe messenger of X^{t} y^{t} will make Duffryn Ardidwey in his way?'[1] They were certainly arresting vagaries of fate that the opportunist prophet Arise Evans rose from Llangelynin, that George Fox preached at Dolgelly, and that the three Humphreys brothers of Llwyngwril brought the Quaker gospel dangerously near to Ardudwy itself. More mortifying still was the thought that his intimate friend Llwyd was the unconscious conductor of the Swarthmore heresy into the already highly-charged atmosphere of Puritan Wales.

Quaker outlook in 1657 and the true perspective of Fox's visit to Wales are given a completer outline by the reluctant description in the State Papers of the departure of missionaries in that same year to France 'led over by the Spirit for the conversion of souls,' and of other 'ambassadors from the Lord' to the Duke of Savoy, men who 'dispayrd not of y^{e} gift of tongues.'[2] Scotland and Ireland had been already visited; from the latter a Roger Prichard crossed over to Wales in 1658 and held meetings at Llanfyllin and other districts in Montgomeryshire.[3] It is also significant that Fox's grand attack upon Wales fell at a time when Quaker principles were emerging from the amorphous polity that did duty for their early preachers in Lonsdale and the Cumbrian highlands into the more coherent doctrine which found expression in the address presented to the Council of State by twenty London Quakers in 1658 asking for the release of Friends from prison. One of these twenty was named Richard Davies, but he must not be confused with the Welsh Quaker of Cloddiau Cochion. This particular Londoner was one of five Quakers who sent a remonstrance to the Council against persecuting J.P.'s on 10 November, 1657, at a time when the Welshman had not left his native county.[4] He is again bracketed with six others as imprisoned 'ffor opening their Shopps and ffollowing their Lawfull Employments' on a Sunday in June 1662, which happened to be a day appointed to 'fast' for fair weather[5]; and with two others as being

1 Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, p. 289.

2 Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends, ed. Norman Penney, pp. 24, 28.

3 Richard Davies: An Acct. of the Convincement . . . p. 32.

4 cp. Extracts from St. Pap., pp. 31-32; Convincement, pp. 29-33. Davies, however, visited London in 1658-59, when he met his future wife.

5 Extracts, p. 149. 12 June, 1662.

unlawfully assembled together on 2 November, 1662.[1] During this time, the Montgomeryshire man was either an inmate of various prisons or interviewing hostile magistrates or secretly spreading his friendly gospel.[2] Though therefore the personality of the naive Welshman must perforce be eliminated, the address may very fairly be taken to represent not only his own personal sentiments but mature Quaker opinion throughout the land. They begin by giving a résumé of contemporary charges against the new 'publishers of Truth': 'common disturbers of ministers'; objection to swearing oaths; want of the ordinary respect to authority 'by putting off their hatts'; travelling up and down 'from one Country to another' without a magistrate's pass, more especially 'on y^e^ first day to meetinges at great distance'; refusal to pay court fees, to plead according to the usual forms, to give security to keep the peace and be of the good behaviour required by the local justices.[3] In answer they adopt the 'petitio principii' that they were ready to give free and willing subjection to the ordinances of men that were just according to the laws of God,[4] which itself was an echo of the axiom enunciated by Edward Burroughs, the Quakers' greatest pamphleteer: 'we do not wilfully disobey the laws of men but for conscience' sake.'[5] This inverted conception of passive obedience led the Quakers for a time to be naturally associated with the Royalist enemy[6]; in fact, the first reference to the society in the State Papers is an order of the Council of State (14 June, 1654) to Col. Saunders in Derbyshire to apprehend them on this particular score.[7] Some Puritan churches too, especially the Broadmead Baptist cause in Bristol, went further, and saw in them Jesuits in disguise or 'Sathan transforming himself into an Angell of light,'[8] an identical sentiment uttered by Morgan Llwyd in 'Llyfr y

1 Extracts, p. 160.
2 Convincement, pp. 46-63.
3 Extracts, p. 39.
4 Ibid p. 40.
5 G. P. Gooch: Engl. Democ. Ideas, p. 279.
6 It is worth noting that it was a Quaker, Richard Carver, who carried Charles II after the troublous days of the 'royal oak' into the safety of France 'from ye English shoare between Shorum [Shoreham] and Bredhemsten [Brightelmeston = Brighton]'. This story is detailed in his widow's petition to Charles in 1662 (Extracts, p. 158); it is not at all clear from her account *that he was a Quaker in 1651*. Fox was at that time busy filling up the outlines of his faith in the North.
7 Extracts, pp. 1-2.
8 Broadmead Rec., ed. Haycroft, pp. 36-42; see also Calamy's Abridgement of the Life of Baxter, I, p. 102.

Tri Aderyn '[1]; on another page the Welsh Puritan names them in dangerous proximity to the Papists and their ways (Baptists only coming in to separate them).[2] As late as October 1659 a prominent Baptist sympathiser published the 'Quaker no Papist'[3] to disabuse the community from the foolish misgivings of an age when a prominent Presbyterian like Christopher Love asserted that Cromwell invaded Scotland in 1650 through the counsel of the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Jesuits.[4] It should be pointed out that some time before the date of Denne's tract the Puritan powers had become convinced of their loyalty, curiously refracted though it was; there is extant the draft of a letter by Henry Lawrence, the President of the Council, expressing his belief that Quaker miscarriages arose rather from defects in their understanding than from malice in their wills.[5] Indeed, George Fox was careful to point out the utter repugnance of his people to all forms of antinomianism; and far from Clarendon's aspersion being true that they joined in a loyal address to be sent to Charles II in 1656, Fox in 1657 warned the Protector in person of the shame and misery he would bring on himself if he were to assume the title of King.[6] This interview and the efforts by the Quakers to secure the appointment of J.P.'s who would favour their practices, or at least to connive at them, serve to show that belief in the indwelling light was not incompatible with a desire to manipulate for their own ends the children of this world. It would be much more satisfactory to secure Gallio-like magistrates than to be continually boring the Council with petitions against 'the cruelty of men in authority.'[7] As early as 1655 the Quakers exerted themselves eagerly to obtain the appointment of such complacent J.P.'s, and went the length of sending up to London lists of those they thought suitable for the post (the earliest from Northamptonshire, 19 Dec.[8]); in Dorsetshire they developed such presumption as to suggest to the Council of State (October 1656) that the militia officers for the county, being in their opinion unfit for the office, should be replaced

1 p. 250.
2 p. 263.
3 Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., E. 1000. 13.
4 A Cleare and Necessary Vindication, p. 33.
5 The draft is dated 10 November, 1657 (Extracts, pp. 33-34).
6 G. P. Gooch: Eng. Democ. Ideas, p. 274 (and n. 3).
7 Extracts from St. Pap., ed. Penney, pp. 31-32.
8 Ibid., p. 6.

by two of their nomination.[1] Returns are also extant made by the Quakers about May 1659[2] of men recommended as Justices of the Peace, of which only one from Wales, that for Radnor, has been preserved among the State Papers. Four persons in that county are definitely described as 'ffreindes ffytte for y^e^ place'; then come two 'moderat' men already in commission, and five such not invested with that honour; at the end is another list of five 'who are men at y^e^ present in Comission, but Actors against ffreinds.'[3] Partly on account of this virtual rapprochement with the executive arm, partly because men who emphasised the presence of the Holy Ghost as an inward 'principle'[4] in workaday life would consider the carnal reappearance of Christ as a very subsidiary issue, it is extremely improbable that the Quakers were implicated in Venner's millenarian rising projected in April 1657, as is the opinion of a Royalist letter sent to France on the 23rd of that month.[5] And whatever Fifth Monarchy proclivities the 'Horn of the Goat Broken' issued by Hubberthorne[6] might portend were more than discounted by the arrogation of the title of inspired 'Messiah' by the Quaker James Naylor in 1656-1657 and the unanimity with which responsible Quaker opinion disavowed such a desperate hallucination.[7] Also, the growing pacificism of the new sect ill-adapted them to undergo the same yoke as the military firebrands of the Venner school. This feeling first became prominent in the fleet in the same formative year 1657 (and the last months of 1656): the master gunner of the 'Mermaid' was bent on showing no outward respect to his captain and roundly declared that no power should command him to fire a gun 'as that fr^m^ thence blood might be spilt'[8]; the boatswain of the 'Discovery' would not swear, but was willing to affirm[9]; while a Quaker gunner on the 'Assistance' did not feel himself free to stay much longer on that ship.[10] It was no wonder that the millenarian Colonel Rich would not have two Quakers—whose names, Daniel Davies

1 Extracts from St. Pap., ed. Penney, p. 10.
2 The Cheshire return was dated 27 May (Extracts, p. 110).
3 Extracts, p. 115.
4 William Tallack: George Fox, the Friends and the Early Baptists, p. 61.
5 Eng. Hist. Rev., XXV, p. 739 (n. 46)—letter sent by a P.W. to——.
6 Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., E. 883.
7 See esp. Cal. St. Pap., 1656-1657, p. 384.
8 Extracts, p. 14 (October 1656).
9 Ibid., p. 27.
10 Ibid., Ibid.

and 'one Jones,' unmistakably suggest Welsh associations—to remain any longer in his company[1]; on the other hand, some of Lambert's men engaged in quelling the Booth movement in 1659 seem to have espoused the Quaker cause and distinguished themselves by attacking Puritan ministers and wearing their hats in the churches.[2] It is doubtful if the London remonstrants of 1658 would defend such outrages, even when they were committed against men whom they called 'false prophets and hirelings'; but entry into churches they absolutely refused to discountenance—did not Christ go into the Temple and the apostles into the synagogues of the Jews?[3] And the humble friends who had accepted the new gospel in Wales, 'this dark corner of the land'[4] as the Welshpool Quaker puts it, were guilty of the same imprudences and would defend them doubtlessly with the same arguments: they also went to prison with Burroughs' logical 'non possumus' on their lips. A few instances must suffice. We have the contemporary references to Wrexham 'priests' and Welshpool 'steeple-houses'; John ap John's loud question to the old approver Morris Bidwell as to whether he was a true minister of Christ[5]; his refusal to take off his hat in a Tenby church[6]; the demand of Richard Davies at the end of a sermon that the preacher should make good his aspersion that he (Davies) was out of his senses[7]; Tobias Hodges the Cardiff tailor 'willfullie making a public disturbance in the Church of St. John the Babtist yesterdaie in the forenoone beinge the lords daie and disquietting Mr. Beniamyne fflower minister of Gods word then and there in the pulpitt'[8]; Dorcas Erbery, daughter of the famous William, guilty of a similar offence a little over a month later[9]; and the startling interruption made at one of Philip Henry's monthly conferences at Worthenbury on 31 March 1657, by a 'strange Mayd,' not actually a Quaker, but soon to become one.[10] One line of justification for this tumultuous

1 Extracts, p. 116 (n. 1).
2 Philip Henry: Diaries, pp. 68-69 (one of these was publicly admonished by the Worthenbury Puritan).
3 Extracts, p. 41.
4 An Acct. of the Convincement, pp. 32-33.
5 Besse: Suffs. of the Quakers, I, 735.
6 J. H. Davies: Y Crynwyr yng Nghymru, p. 10.
7 An Acct. of the Convincement, p. 31.
8 Extracts, pp. 52, 81-82—'mittimus' bearing date 20 July, 1658.
9 Ibid., pp. 52, 82—'mittimus' bearing date 31 August, 1658.
10 Diaries, p. 45.

entry into public churches was the enforced payment of tithes ; and it is against ' the popish priests' maintenance ' that the London petitioners concentrate their heaviest artillery. The command of God which gave tithes to the Jewish priesthood did not concern the Gentiles ; it was a command annulled by the advent of a new dispensation ; believing Jews did not pay tithes to the Apostles, nor did any of the Gentiles ; they were an interested fiction of the early Papacy ; with the exception of Puritan England all (or almost all) the Reformed Churches had cast them off ; as to first-fruits and tenths, they were ' y^e^ wages of y^e^ very pope himselfe.'[1] This fundamental objection of the Quakers was illustrated the next year by their petition to the Rump against payment, which proved the immediate occasion of the ' unless-until ' resolution on ministers' maintenance,[2] and by the publication by George Fox of his ' Great Mistery ' with its pointed and piquant questions as to whether God had commanded Easter reckonings and Midsummer dues, also if he had ordained ' treble damages ' for conscientious refusal to pay the same.[3] Great also must have been the zest with which another Quaker, simply because three Baptists sat on the board of Triers, complained that ' the Baptist sues us for the very tithe eggs,'[4] thus confusing the approving commissioners with the Trustees' receivers and also (unconsciously, no doubt,) echoing the particular wording of charges brought in 1652 against the Propagation tithe-collectors.[5] For Wales Mr. J. H. Davies has given a list of the first ten Quakers (all from Glamorgan and Monmouth) who were in trouble about their tithes in 1656, besides citing the long-drawn contention with the authorities of William Davies of Cardiganshire[6]— all sure signs that Thomas Holmes' first crusade had not forgotten to attack this open flank of official Puritanism. It may be added that John ap John had been threatened in various ways for his tithes as early at 1653,[7] and that John Williams of Llandilo at the end of this period had a horse worth £4 taken from him because he would not pay tithes

1 These arguments are all drawn from the London 1658 petition (Extracts, p. 41).
2 Supra, p. 236.
3 Especially pp. 214-215-216.
4 L. F. Brown ; Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 58 (n. 34).
5 A True and Perfect Relation, p. 45.
6 Y Crynwyr yng Nghymru, pp. 15-16.
7 H.P.M., p. 163.

amounting to 14/-.[1] Mansell committed one of his many mistakes in sectarian terminology when he informed John Walker that a certain Jenkin Howell was a 'Quaker' when he seized the vicar's house at Pendoylan and farmed the thirty acres' glebe[2]; he was equally wrong in describing as 'Quaker' Robert Edwards of Coychurch,[3] who acted as agent of the Puritan authorities in appropriating the tithes of disinherited clergy at Llanblethian and Cowbridge.[4] Taking a different standpoint, some more light would be welcome on the reason why Capel Hanbury of Pontypool refused to pay £60 tithes on the 1,000 cords of wood cut down by him at Llantrisant in 1659[5]—whether it was mere refractoriness or whether he had developed doctrinal affinities with the Quaker Hanburys of Pontymoyle close by.[6]

On this question the Quakers had an irresistible advantage when they came to a land in which the principle of a State-paid ministry had been long opposed by many Puritans. Moreover, of all the outcrops of the great movement which had grown apace since the Laudian canons of 1640 were made null and void, it was their doctrine that made least demands upon the intellect and was the most easily assimilated. By comparatively depreciating the letter of Scripture, they evaded the controversies over the Trinity, the Timothy and Titus verses dealing with a hierarchy of church-officers, the exact significance of the two great Christian ordinances and their interdependence, the precise definition of the five Calvinistic fundamentals, the apostolic succession and the 'jus divinum'; in fact, all the Biblical interpretations which had divided men into Anglicans and Presbyterians, Calvinists and Arminians, Baptists and Independents. The dumbfounding claims of the sects warring one with the other for predominance made the early success of the Quakers practically inevitable: 'I found those who had turned against [our version of] Truth burst into parties and got up into heaps one against another, till Truth was evil spoken of,' are

1 Carm. Antiq. Soc. Trans., Part XIII, p. 37.
2 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 67b.
3 The MS. reads 'Goston,' but a collation with the more authoritative reference to Edwards in Walk. c. 13, f. 19 leaves no doubt that Coychurch was really meant.
4 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 69b.
5 Exch. Bills and Ans., Mon., No. 21, Easter, 16 Chas. II; this case in another context is referred to infra (p. 285).
6 For Richard Hanbury, see Tanner MS. XXXVII, f. 119.

Fox's own words in special reference to Wales.[1] Dr. Thomas Rees, the Victorian historian of Welsh Nonconformity, is only elaborating a truism in saying that the Quakers did not trouble about the highways and byways, but converted existing churches, building up their own society upon the ruins of others[2]—a process all the more easy as many spirits, like Richard Davies of Montgomeryshire, were alive to the spiritual inertia that had overcome the penultimate stages of the Puritan revolution with its over-insistence upon the historical Scriptures,[3] its 'dry dead formal prayers,' all done 'in our own Will and time'[4] and not in obedience to what Gooch calls 'the dictation of an inward monitor.'[5] Nor should an inquiry into the success of the new appeal disregard the basic fact that the great mass of subterranean opinion in Wales was Royalist and Anglican, and whenever serious reflection among such was reverently applied to religious imaginings, it was to find comfort in the lax Arminian tenets taught by the Caroline divines and their humbler representatives among the ejected clergy. More important still, there were Puritan societies who had deliberately adopted the same conceptions of free grace in well-attested creeds. No potent spiritual alchemy was needed to make converts of these comprehensive Arminians; the Quakers attracted them as 'friends' indeed. As has been already mentioned, it was among such Baptists as these that the movement originated; and their contemporary confessions of faith furnish abundant evidence of the approximation of the two bodies both in thought and practice. That of the Midland General Baptists (1651) affirmed that 'God giveth every man some measure of light,'[6] which an untutored theologian might construe as the 'openings' and 'experiences' of the Quakers; the architect of the Somerset confession of 1656 had the year before been appointed 'messenger' to the associated churches,[7] a religious official that might very easily be transformed into a Quaker itinerant; both that of

1 Quoted by Braithwaite: Begs. of Quak., I, 347.
2 Hist. Prot. Noncon., 1883 Ed., p. 95.
3 An Account of the Convincement . . . , p. 3.
4 Ibid., pp. 4, 33.
5 Eng. Democ. Ideas, p. 270.
6 W. J. McGlothlin: Bapt. Confessions of Faith, p. 100—Article 28.
7 Ibid., p. 201.

the Midlands and the London manifesto of 1660 put ministers' maintenance on such a purely voluntary basis that no Quaker could possibly cavil at it[1]; women were given a prominent position in the polity of Quakers and General Baptists alike. These sympathetic traits notwithstanding, Gooch has made some very serious mistakes in pressing the resemblance too closely. He has a theory, based on the writings of Barclay and Tallack,[2] that the Quakers can be traced back through the General or Arminian Baptists to the Dutch Mennonites, a contention which allows the Gainsborough-Amsterdam Baptist John Smith (or Smyth) a far greater influence on the later developments of those Baptists than any recent student of their confessions of faith will allow; a contention also that overlooks the temporary effacement of the General Baptists from 1630 to 1640.[3] Then there is the fact that the early Seekers, whose tenets were divided from those of the later Quakers by the most attenuated of partitions, found no bitterer critic than Thomas Helwys, the real progenitor of the General Baptist community in this country.[4] Gooch's other statement that these Baptists went over to the Quakers almost in a body[5] is traversed in a much more direct fashion: the Midlands confession, drawn up nearly six years after the inception of the Quaker movement, representing thirty congregations with 61 delegates and drawn from the homeland of Fox himself, is a sufficiently convincing refutation without the collateral evidence of Article 75 against the scandalous aspersions of the new sect[6] and without the long and earnest exhortation against them in the preamble of the Somerset declaration.[7] For these Baptists were not lacking (apart from their inherent Arminianism) in doctrinal precision of a very exclusionist type, as witness the very stringent minute about the 'mixt communion' adopted by the Chatham

1 W. J. McGlothlin: Bapt. Confessions of Faith, p. 105—Articles 60 and 61 (Midlands); pp. 116-117—Articles XV and XVI (London).

2 Eng. Democ. Ideas, p. 271 and nn. 2, 3. Robert Barclay published his 'Inner Life of the Religious Socs. of the Comomnwealth' in 1876 and Wm. Tallack his 'George Fox' eight years before. Both are accepted as authorities on the psycho-philosophical aspects of Fox's teaching; but on the specific points mentioned in the text the conclusions of both have been superseded by the researches of Champlin Burrage, whose two volumes on 'The Early English Dissenters' were published in 1912.

3 Champlin Burrage: Early English Dissenters, I, 280.

4 Ibid., 215.

5 Eng. Democ. Ideas, p. 271.

6 W. J. McGlothlin: Bapt. Conf. of Faith, p. 108.

7 Ibid., p. xvii (Introduction).

quarterly meeting on 10 March, 1657.[1] Their representatives in Wales flourished in Radnor and on the upper Wye, founded in the early days of the Civil War by Hugh Evans of Llanhir, who had the co-operation for some time of Jeremiah Ives, soldier and controversialist,[2] and in 1651-1652 of Thomas Lamb of Bel Alley, who became Propagation 'lecturer' at the town of Brecon[3]; probably the 'Mr. Delemayne' who received £50 in the same year[4] is to be found in the Edward Del*a*maine who took out a licence as 'Bap^{ts} Teach' at St. Mary Cray in Kent under the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672.[5] It is practically certain that one of these Englishmen drew up the Confession of Faith in the Harleian MS. 6898,[6] a document whose intrinsic importance has been obscured by the vandalistic interference of some unknown person in cutting off the name of the author at the foot, by the amazing ignorance of writing 'Vavasour Powell' at the side, and by the surprising inexactness of Champlin Burrage, one of the most careful and scientific workers in the documents of the period, who represents the unknown author of the Confession as saying that his particular views were those *generally* believed by the Baptists of Wales[7]: the Confession itself has these words—'thus have I very briefly and confusedly . . . layd down the cheif tenents of that doctrine we hould, and some Reasons *why we discent from that doctrine that is comonly preached.*'[8] The rank Arminianism of the text totally excludes Powell from the authorship.[9] It was the apparent comprehension of this doctrine and the sterile isolation of a body that sent no delegates to arrange

1 Bapt. Hist. Soc. Trans., 1912-1913, p. 248—Resolution No. 6: 'It is also agreed that we cannot have communion with any that disownes any principle of y^e doctrine of Christ neither with those that practice mixt communion although themselves owne everie principle of Christ doctrine.'

2 H.P.M., p. 209.

3 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 63.

4 Ibid.

5 S.P. Dom. Car. II, E.B. 38A, p. 269—18 November, 1672. A person of the same name figures as 'teacher' to 30 or 40 Anabaptists at Burbage (Wilts.) in 1669 (Lamb. 639, f. 249b).

6 ff. 219—232.

7 Bapt. Hist. Soc. Trans., (November 1908), p. 4—introductory paragraph to a full transcript of the Harleian Confession. In 1909 the same MS. was copied by Mr. Shankland into the Trans. of the Welsh Baptist Hist. Society.

8 Ibid., p. 18.

9 This aspect of the case has been treated by the present writer in an article on 'Bedyddwyr Cymru yng nghyfnod Lewis Thomas' (Trafodion Cymd. Hanes Bed. Cymru, 1916-1919, p. 25).

the Midlands Confession of 1651[1] -one that was definitely designed to guide such Baptists in 'England, Wales, the Army, or elsewhere'[2]—which more or less betrayed their cause into the hands of the Quakers. Holmes reports to Fox in 1654-5 that 'the peopell called babtis' were convinced in large numbers, adding that many of their churches 'ar broken in peeses'[3]; Fox himself in 1657 puts it that 'Christ and the Apostles' free teaching was set atop of all the hireling teachers,'[4] a very inexact description of the unpaid Arminian leaders. The latter did not surrender their foothold without a stout fight. Nowhere were the Quakers hoist with their own petard so effectively as in the cross-examination of Alexander Parker and John Moon by William Bound of Garthfawr at the Scurwy farmhouse by Rhayader[5]; and surely vituperation could hardly surpass his and John Price's in writing the 'Sun Outshining the [John] Moon' in 1658. And if they kept up their English connections more industriously, the Radnor Arminians would know that it was their great exemplar Ives in his 'Quakers' Quaking' who collected a large number of anecdotes designed to expose that aspect of their worship which was most vulnerable to ridicule.[6] They would also hear that in 1659 Ives brought out his 'Eighteen Questions Propounded' to clear the air between the Army and the 'dissenting brethren'[7], besides subscribing a general (not *G*eneral) Anabaptist declaration in December of the same year denying a report that they meditated a resort to arms and professing a desire to live in amity with other Puritan bodies.[8] This was met by an 'Answer' from no less a person than the Quaker Richard Hubberthorne who (it is well to remember) was one of the two Northern missionaries who came to Wrexham in 1653 and accompanied Fox on

1 The original MS. containing the names of the churches and their 61 delegates are unfortunately in private hands, but Prof. W. J. McGlothlin the author of the codex of Baptist confessions published in 1910 (who holds the chair of Church History at the Louisville Bapt. Sem. in Kentucky) came into possession of a reprint which is equally rare and inaccessible. He very kindly supplied the names to the writer in a letter dated from America, 30 December, 1913. Hugh Evans' name does not appear, nor that of any other of the Welsh Arminians.

2 McGlothlin: Bapt. Conf. of Faith, p. 96.

3 Friends Hist. Soc. Trans., Suppt. 6, p. 22. Braithwaite (I, 207) takes this to mean that 'their congregations were in a shattered state, *i.e.*, divided into various groups.' It is doubtful if Holmes meant anything more than that they were swallowed up by the Quakers.

4 Braithwaite: Begs. of Quak., I, 348.

5 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed. (Pontypridd Ed.), p. 259.

6 Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., E. 883 [1656].

7 Ibid., E. 1010. 12.

8 L. F. Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Monarchy Men, p. 195 (and n. 56).

his Welsh tour four years later. Its contents are a further proof of the incompatibility of Quakerism with the politico-religious ideals of Baptists, General or Particular: 'you among yourselves are as a kingdom divided that cannot stand, and you are not they which are fit to Rule in the Nation to prescribe Liberty nor to give Toleration.'[1] The extent of the depredations made in the ranks of the Radnor Arminians by the Quakers, assisted in the attack by a man who did not quail before one of the keenest disputants of the age, conjoined with the repressions of the Restoration period, is seen in Henry Maurice's report of Dissenting Wales in 1675: 'there is another people in the west end of the county [Radnor] baptist in judgement and Arminian also for the most part . . . they meet at Peter Gregory's house.' A collation of this account with another entry in the same document proves that in 1675 this one house was large enough to hold the survivors of the once flourishing colony of Arminians in Radnor and Brecknock.[2]

It is time to open a new paragraph and move further south. Discussion of the nature and extent of Quaker reaction upon the Baptist community that followed Jenkin Jones must take note of the term 'Catabaptist' applied to him by Calamy's informant and of a statement from the same source that he was ejected at the Restoration from Cadoxton-juxta-Neath,[3] although the Lambeth records unmistakably placed him at Llanthetty in 1657[4] and the 'Alarum to Corporations' testified that he was there in 1658.[5] As for the nebulous term 'Catabaptist' it has never yet been proved to be any other than a synonym for 'Anabaptist'[6]; as for the second point, Mr. Shankland completely disavows the testimony of Calamy and prefers to keep Jones strictly to his native place. At first sight the record of certain

1 This tract is not found among the Thomason Collection, but in the great Quaker repository at Devonshire House (L. F. Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 138, n. 7).

2 Broadmead Records, ed. Underhill, Addenda B, cp. pp. 512 (Brecknock), 518 (Radnor).

3 Account, II, 732.

4 Supra, p. 225.

5 pp. 2-8—26 September, 1658.

6 The chief authorities for this statement are Burrage's quotation of John Veron's 'Holsome Antidotus' of 1548 (I, 56) Dr. Daniel Featley's seventh edition of 'Dippers Dipt,' published in January 1645 (Thomason Coll., E. 268. 11), and Blount's 'Glossography,' published in 1656. The theory that Anabaptists rebaptized and that only Catabaptists baptized by immersion has long ago been abandoned. Thus Joshua Thomas and Spinther James in translating the term as 'gwrth-fedyddwyr' did it a great injustice.

Exchequer proceedings in the year 1663 seems to make Calamy's position quite unassailable and Mr. Shankland's correspondingly weak; it suggests that a certain John Bowen presented to the rectory of Llanthetty under the Great Seal on 7 July, 1660,[1] was only *confirmed* in his title by the King[2] and had held the living since 1658, which would make the promotion of Jenkin Jones to Cadoxton natural if not certain. But a closer reading of this tithe recovery case proves that Bowen was not at Llanthetty before 1660, that quite in the Restoration temper he looked upon himself as the immediate successor of the old ejected rector Richard Williams[3] (who had died in September 1657), and was therefore the only proper beneficiary of the parish tithes falling due from that date. As to Jenkin Jones he would regard him not as interloper but as a literal nonentity.[4] Notwithstanding this indirect corroboration of Mr. Shankland's view[5], there is very strong circumstantial evidence of Jenkin Jones' activities (not necessarily as settled minister) in North Glamorgan and the Vale of Neath: Nathan Jones' sentences about his large influence at Merthyr[6]; Edward Dafydd placing him among the 'fanatics' next before Howell Lewis of Blaencanaid in the same neighbourhood[7]; the mention of 'Catabaptists' at Baglan in 1669[8], a place within easy distance of Cadoxton, suggestively pointing to old associations of Jenkin Jones; and most cogent of all, the groups of Quakers who grew up in his footsteps both at Merthyr and at the 'Caderston' [Cadoxton] of the Llandaff conventicle returns[9], a very natural corollary to Jenkin's invariable preaching of free communion. And what land had been more fruitfully watered for the acceptance of Quaker principles than Cardiff and its environs, where Erbery's later years were engaged in decrying a paid ministry, denouncing all sects, and presaging the arrival of the Third Dispensation and its

1 Patent Rolls, 12 Charles II, Part I, No. 410.
2 For such confirmations in 1660 and after, see infra (Part II, pp. 363-366).
3 Williams had been turned out before the Propagation Act (MS. J. Walker, c. 7, f. 214). Walker misunderstood the contraction 'Will' in the MS. and copied his name into the 'Sufferings' as 'Richard Witt' (Part II, p. 409).
4 The Llanthetty case is given in full in the Exchequer Bills and Answers, Brecon, No. 11, Easter, 15 Charles II.
5 *i.e.*, Bowen's deposition does not make it impossible that Jones remained at Llanthetty until the Restoration.
6 Wilkins: Hist. of Merthyr Tydvil, esp. pp. 94, 95.
7 Cerdd y Ffanaticiaid, 'Seren Gomer' reprint, July 1902, p. 169.
8 Lamb. 639, f. 187.
9 Ibid., ff. 187-187b.

new apostles? He himself never became an actual 'friend,' but his daughter Dorcas did, and found herself in a London prison as a temporary follower of the 'Messiah' James Naylor[1]; as we have seen, she was consigned by 'mittimus' to another at Cardiff in August 1658.[2] The number and daring of the Cardiff Quakers were so pronounced as to cause Joshua Miller, the London bookseller settled by the C.P.G.W. in the rich living of St. Andrews[3] and approved there by the Triers in 1654,[4] to bring out as early as 1655 a 'faithful discovery of their ways and opinions . . and of some dangerous and damnable Doctrines' in his 'Antichrist in Man the Quakers' Idol.'[5] Quakers were very naturally there, with their headquarters at Llandaff, in 1669.[6] The small body of 'close' Baptists that followed Miles were encased in a triple armour of aggressive Calvinism, strict communion, and the skill of a consummate dialectician; but their divided views about the principle of State pay made their preserves a happy hunting-ground for the decentralising Quakers. It was in 1655 that the Abergavenny section crystallised their negative attitude towards a subsidised ministry in the famous resolution of July, and it is still an open question for research whether the 'sund' cast by Thomas Holmes in the town and 'the prety time' he enjoyed there at the beginning of that year was not its main motive cause. What authentic history makes clear is that when Miles saw well in 1656 to define his creed as an 'Antidote against the Infection' of the Quakers[7] in the Brecon general meeting of 29 and 30 July, half his ordinary delegates did not obey the summons to attend; indeed, in order to ensure anything like a weighty assembly and an imposing declaration, he had to call to his aid the Baptists of Hereford and Bradwardine,[8] the district on the Welsh border from which he himself originally hailed (but which Baptists were considerably tainted by the custom of mixed communion taught them by their great neighbour

1 Extracts from St. Pap. relating to Friends, pp. 26-27.
2 Ibid., pp. 52, 82.
3 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 17; Calamy: Acct., II, 731.
4 Lamb. 966, f. 33; 968, f. 147.
5 N.L.W., Civil War and Commonwealth Tracts, Cat. pp. 65-66, No. 1364.
6 Lamb. 639, f. 187.
7 Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., E. 892. 10—reprinted and edited for the Welsh Bapt. Hist. Soc. in 1904 by Mr. Shankland.
8 See title page.

John Tombes of Bewdley and Leominster[1]). Armed by these reinforcements Miles struck out against the Quakers with pugnacious agility. He boldly defended State maintenance, basing his arguments on well-known texts in Corinthians and Timothy, and somewhat unjustifiably adding, in face of the Quakers' undoubted vigour in propagating their gospel, that they envied the work of the Puritan ministers more than their persons, else 'they could not chuse but confess that the double pains and travels night and day [of himself and others] deserves double honour.'[2] The 'Antidote' is also important as giving a strictly contemporary conspectus of Quaker doctrine and that in a setting almost completely different from their own London address to the Council of State two years later: how they decried original sin[3]; how they asserted a glorious dispensation within men, making them as good as God Himself, perfectly holy and without the least stain of sin 'even on the trivial occasions of this corrupt world'[4]; how they set their posts by God's posts, refused to salute anybody, and carried their disrespect to ministers so far as not even to accost them as 'masters'[5]; how they ridiculed the sacred ordinances of the Lord together with the censures for sin delegated to his accredited servants in the church.[6] Miles declared there was no inherent or habitual righteousness; he defended a literal interpretation of the Scriptures, 'delivered by the immediate hand of God himself'[7]; described ministers as 'God's Embassadors,' 'the precious stones of Syon' and not the 'earthen pitchers' of the Quakers[8]; inserted a passage to eulogise the Propagation Act, 'much envied and too short-lived,'[9] and another, as befitted a man who had signed the 'Humble Address' at the beginning of this same year 1656, in favour of the later dispensation that had succeeded it (as wielded by 'godly men and nursing fathers'[10]). In his closing pages he describes with glowing but restrained eloquence the 'active graces' which flourished in orthodox

1 Fenstanton Records (pub. by Hansard Knollys Society, ed. Underhill), in which are included the records of the Baptist Church at Hexham, to which letters were sent by the Herefordshire churches in 1653-4 (pp. 309-340, and more especially 349, 352).
2 p. 25 (of reprint); verses quoted are I Cor. ix, 6-11; I Tim., v, 17-18.
3 p. 1 (inference).
4 pp. 6, 19, 20, 25.
5 pp. 23, 24.
6 pp. 22-23.
7 pp. 13-14.
8 p. 1 (To the Reader).
9 p. 16.
10 p. 32.

Puritan societies under the auspices of these earthly magistrates,[1] and also the certain promises of God unaffected by the external attacks of Quaker enemies or by the inward imaginings of those 'Angels of light and Messengers of Christ' (so called)[2] who 'built upon the sandy or rather aiery foundation of men's wandering fancies.'[3] The great Baptist certainly did not underestimate the imminent danger: the Antidote's sub-title was 'a faithfull Watch-Word from Mount Sion to prevent the ruine of Soules'; and the epistle to the reader emphasises in the military metaphors of an old soldier the state of traditional Puritanism as that of a 'besieged city.'[4]

One would naturally expect that Vavasor, whose homeland lay athwart the great Quaker highway from Chester to South Wales and whose vague Independent polity administered by quasi-Baptists practising open communion was peculiarly susceptible to the new attack, would enter the lists with arguments but little short of the South Wales Baptist's in constructive force. The records only serve to disappoint such a hope. In that age of salvation by tract and pamphlet, in composing which (as the frequent mention of the printer Giles Calvert on title-pages in the Thomason Collection testifies) the Quakers ultimately became as adept as any, Powell was content with displaying 'much offence' against such old disciples as Richard Davies,[5] uttering fiery denunciations from his pulpits, and sometimes (as at Knighton in September 1658) engaging in public dispute with Friends like Morgan Watkin of Radnor, who at once 'shot' through the press 'an Arrow . . . out of Zion against Babilon and her Merchants, among whom is found Vavisor Powel.'[6] Occasionally, too, he would in his headlong exposition of Fifth Monarchy hopes from such texts as Jeremiah xxxi, 33, 34, assert that 'the Time would come that there would

1 pp. 44-45—'Invitations to Back-Sliders.'
2 pp. 18-19.
3 p. 1 (To the Reader).
4 Ibid.
5 An Acct. of the Convincement, pp. 38-39.
6 This tract bears the title 'The Perfect Life of the Sons of God vindicated, and also an Arrow shot out of Zion . . . Vavisor Powel, pleading for sin and Imperfection, in a Dispute at Knighton in Radnorshire.' It runs altogether to 40 pp. and is one of the treasures of the Salesbury Collection at U.C.S.W., Cardiff. The exact date of the dispute is given on p. 11. [The writer owes this reference to the Rev. John Jenkins, M.A., B.Litt. ('Gwili').]

be no need of the Scriptures any more than another book,'[1] a conclusion that alert Quakers would immediately interpret to their own advantage. The inevitable result was the accession to the Quaker ranks not only of Davies, but of the two Lloyds of Dolobran, and of many others, including some women, who were imprisoned as 'Friends' for several years and released in 1672[2] (three at least of whom had signed the 'Word for God' in 1655).[3] Three of Powell's old followers[4] in Montgomery deviated from the old Puritan paths: the William Evans of Meifod who was a Quaker 'publisher of Truth' by 1669[5]; the Thomas Ellis who was once deacon in Powell's 'gathered church'[6]; and the William Lewis of Guilsfield whose house and its conventicle of Friends was so dramatically surprised by 'the Bayliffe of Pool' on 25 July, 1669.[7] Once included among his Radnor followers must have been the Peter Price of Glascwm, Evan Lewis of Colva, Howell Jones of Cwmdeuddwr, and Hugh ap Edward of Nantmel, men described by the Quakers in 1659 as 'ffreindes' fit for appointment as J.P.'s[8]; and one of the 'moderat' men already in commission was John Dancy of Glascwm, an old C.P.G.W., and as late as March 1654 elder in Powell's Radnorshire congregation[9]: probably his failure to sign the 'Word for God' is to be explained not by a disinclination to annoy the favourers of the Protectorate but by the disintegrating conclusions of the Quaker preachers who passed through the county in 1654-1655. Equally serious, and even more inevitable, were the annexations made at the expense of Llwyd's vineyard at Wrexham and among the comrades in the mystical faith he had taught and nurtured in his native county both by visits and letters. Chief among these were Owen Lewis of Tyddyn-y-Garreg, Robert Owen of Dolsere, the three brothers Humphreys from Llwyngwril, and John Thomas of Llaethgwm near Bala[10]; the list of eleven attested by Llwyd's

1 Davies does not actually say that the 'great Scripturian' who preached thus was Vavasor, but the context unmistakably points to him as the author. (An Acct. of the Convincement, p. 5.)
2 Extracts from St. Pap. relating to Friends, pp. 346, 354.
3 This refers to the men, not to the women.
4 All three subscribed the 'Word for God' (p. 10).
5 Lamb. 639, f. 139 (St. Asaph conventicles).
6 Joshua Thomas: Hanes y Bedyddwyr, p. 283.
7 Lamb. 639, f. 139.
8 Extracts, p. 115.
9 Examen, p. [3]—Second Epistle to the Reader.
10 J. H. Davies: Y Crynwyr yng Nghymru, p. 11.

biographer to have been of his particular flock and to have also signed the 'Word for God'[1]; the Howell Hughes of Brynrodyn referred to by Llwyd in the letter to his mother in July 1658,[2] and who in July 1659 was deemed safe enough to be entrusted (among others) with the duty of 'settling the militia' in the county of Merioneth[3]; and Brian Sixsmith, the last signatory but two of the 'Word for God,'[4] who is found in 1664-1665 'dispenser of Quakers' books' at Wrexham, standing 38th in order out of a list of 44 compiled for the whole country by the Restoration informers.[5] These references to old signatories of the 1655 document, subscribed as it was by some men in deference to the personal magnetism of Powell and Llwyd and by many others as a symbol of hostility to the new political orientation, is not meant to signify a transition from Fifth Monarchy to Quakerism, a standpoint foreign to that adopted in these pages; it only connotes that the new faith was the ultimate refuge of many persons who were once associated with the two leading millenarians. But it must be admitted that those sanguine minds, disappointed in 1660 by the second coming not of our Lord but of a merry and very material earthly monarch, were naturally drawn to seek consolation with the devotees of an inward gospel. Later it will be seen what was to be their lot at the hands of men who wielded even more effective weapons than the pungent gibes of the triumphant Huw Morus, whose Quaker represents the last word in a cycle of fanaticism which had already exhausted Independency and Anabaptism,

> 'Yfory a'i drwper, i beidio a'i bader,
> A threnydd yn Gwacer, oer eger ei rudd;
> Fel mwrddrwr penisel, heb gyfarch na ffarwel,
> Un dull ac anifel anufudd.'[6]

Within two years after the 'dispute' at Knighton, Morgan Watkin was to find the ramparts of Babylon commanded by other generals than Vavasor Powell, whose archers lacked nothing in marksmanship, who filled their quivers with writs rather than with writings, and who were not willing to cry truce with the Quakers even at the armed peace of the Toleration Act.

1 Gweithiau, II, p. 324. Some of these 'eleven' are also included in n. 10 (p. 265).
2 Ibid., p. 269.
3 Firth & Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, 1335.
4 p. 11.
5 Extracts from St. Pap. relating to Friends, p. 229 ['Brewen Sixsmith'].
6 Cymru, xxi (September 1901), p. 111, st. [13].

XII.

'PRELATISTS AND PAPISTS.'

There is some danger amidst this war of words and these ramifications of doctrine (which, after all, affected only a minority of the inhabitants of Wales) to obscure the interests and fortunes of the hundreds of sequestered clergy, 'the branches of an unfruitful vine of which,' in the mixed metaphor of the Major-General, 'men could not even make a pin to hang a garment on,'[1] 'the Roses blasted beyond recovery,' thought Morgan Llwyd.[2] The truth is, and both soldier and mystic must have been thoroughly cognisant of it, that though Cromwell refused in his letter to Cardinal Mazarin on the subject of indulgence to the Roman Catholics to make a public declaration on that particular issue, yet he reminded his correspondent that under his government there was 'less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament [Long or Rump].'[3] One evidence of this changed attitude was the Protector's grant of £200 towards the public funeral of Archbishop Ussher besides permission to use the Anglican burial service, and the proclamation on religious liberty issued on 15 February, 1654-1655, which, without any specification of the tolerated sects, promised pardon 'to all persons in this Commonwealth fearing God, though of differing judgments, by protecting them in the sober and quiet exercise and profession of religion and the sincere worship of God.'[4] This edict in many respects represented the high-water mark of religious toleration in this country for many years; and nowhere did it cast a premonitory shadow of hope before it more reassuringly than in the devastated vicarages of Wales. Three clergymen of Brecknock, all turned out of their livings, once incumbents of Cantref, Llanfeugian and Abereskir respectively, were

1 Thurloe St. Pap., IV, 334—21 December, 1655 [Berry to Thurloe].
2 An Honest Discourse—Gweithiau, II, 237.
3 G. B. Tatham: The Puritans in Power, pp. 233-234.
4 Ibid. pp. 234-235.

determined as early as March 1654 ' to bestow their paines ' upon their old parishioners and put themselves upon the ' candor and clemency of our present Governour ' in preference to the short shrifts of their Catabaptist neighbour Jenkin Jones[1]; Alexander Griffith about the same time harboured a hope that the Protector would lend a more willing ear to the embezzlement and other charges brought against the Propagators than the Rump and its committees had vouchsafed,[2] a hope that was to some extent fulfilled by the appointment of the new commission of inquiry in August 1654.[3] But it was the county of Montgomery, probably because it was the seat and centre of the Protectorate's most determined opponent, that seemed the favoured land for experimental essays in indulgence and for relaxation of the Propagation stringency. Thomas Lloyd, once rector of Llanbrynmair, was repossessed of that interest about 1654, without ceasing to keep up his old residence at Berriew[4]; William Jones, ejected by the C.P.G.W. from Llangadfan, was restored ' by an Especial Act of Grace from his highness the Lord Protector '[5]; John Davies, likewise ejected from Garthbeibio, at the expiry of the Propagation Act ' entered upon the tithes himself and received the issues and profits thereof for three years without control '[6]; Richard Jones of Llanfair Caereinion ' did all the offices of a minister in the said parish ' of which he had once been vicar[7]; and Oliver Rogers was ' always resident ' at his old curacy of Buttington.[8] The latter two had to go without any official salary, but their activities must have been connived at by the central and county authorities. Even William Langford, sometime pluralist rector of Welshpool, allowed to ' elect ' Llanfor in Merioneth by the Propagators,[9] was not prevented to visit occasionally his old sphere; it was he in 1657 who went to the parents of the Quaker Richard Davies telling them that ' I was gone distracted and that they should see for some learned men to come to me and restore me to

1 A True and Perfect Relation, p. 52—Letter dated 6 March, 1653-4, and sent to Jenkin Jones.
2 A True and Perfect Relation—Epistle Dedicatory to the Protector.
3 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 990-993.
4 Mont. Ret., First Fruits, April 1658, 118.
5 Ibid. February, 1657-8, 115.
6 Ibid. April 1658, 118.
7 Ibid. ibid.
8 Ibid. ibid. 119.
9 Rawl. MS. c. 261, Reprint, [18].

my senses.'[1] His old vicar at Llanfor, Theodore Roberts, had been ejected by the Propagators for scandal at their Welshpool session on 18 June, 1651[2]; in 1658 his character had been so transformed as to be approved by the Triers for the living of Manavon; and it is doubtful if the government would object to his emulating the vigilance of his ejected predecessor John Kyffin in reporting adversely on Vavasor Powell's sermons in that neighbourhood, so long as he did so directly to the Secretary of the Council and not to that Anglican repository of scandal, Alexander Griffith.[3] The fortunes of David Roberts and John Hughes were surely unique. The former had been instituted to the vicarage of Llandinam (to perform the spiritual duties of the absent comportioner rectors) on 7 January, 1622-23[4]; on 11 June, 1647, having already received the favourable certificate then necessary from the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, he was granted an augmentation of £50 a year from the C.P.M.; before December 6 the committee had received a complaint from the Puritans of the county that Roberts was both disaffected to the Parliament and guilty of scandalous conduct, which, however, did not (pending further inquiry) lead to the suspension of the June order; subsequent orders of 24 December, 1647, 4 February, 1647-48, and 12 October of the same year prove that the charges were not substantiated; indeed, on the last date the C.P.M. ordered that the £50 be paid *him* in 'y^e^ first place before any payment be made out of the said Impropriacion for increase of any other Ministers' maintenance by vertue of any order of this Committee,'[5] meaning the order of 7 June, 1648, allocating some of the Llandinam tithes to Ambrose Mostyn, Vavasor Powell and Morgan Llwyd in conjunction.[6] All this did not prevent the C.P.G.W. from ejecting David Roberts less than two years later, although the Rawlinson MS. specifies no particular cause for that proceeding[7]; nevertheless, he continued more or less clandestinely to officiate there during the rest of the Propagation period.[8]

1 An Acct. of the Convincement . . . , p. 29.
2 Rawl. MS. c. 261, Reprint, [28].
3 Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris, p. 20. The particular sermon referred to was preached from 1 Cor. xv, 18; Kyffin said that Powell taught 'all our Forefathers were damned . . . [thus] blasphemously abusing his text.'
4 Lib. Inst., Bangor, f. 6.
5 As to these various orders, see Bodl. MS. 325, ff. 164-164b.
6 cp. Bodl. MS. 325, ff. 68-68b.
7 11 June, 1650, at Llanfyllin (Rawl. MS. c. 261, Rep., [19]).
8 Mont. Ret., First Fruits, February, 1657-1658, 114.

On some date in 1654, he formally received the approbation of the Triers ; and there is an entry in one of the interregnum State Papers according to which the Commissioners for Sequestrations in London issue an order on 6 December, 1654, to their local representatives in Montgomery that they take the requisite measures to pay him his salary,[1] indirect evidence that the Protectorate comportioners of the rectory were as remiss in their pastoral duties as their Anglican antetypes. For some undefined reason these were withheld from him in 1656 and the succeeding year, implying in other words that he was ejected once more.[2] He finally emerges in 1657, very correctly described as 'clerke,' occupying the rectory of Penegoes to which he had been approved on 12 December.[3] Thus out of all the Puritan inquisitors he encountered during his large experience (being at least twice approved and twice ejected) he would reserve the more bitter memories for the Propagators.[4] Very much alike would be the feelings of John Hughes, who once held the rectory of Llanaber with the vicariate of Towyn in Merioneth. The Propagators forced him to relinquish the second (rather he 'elected' the first) on the same day that Roberts was evicted from Llandinam[5] ; in 1654 the Triers allowed him not only to stay at Llanaber but also promoted him to the rectory of Darowen. Of this arrangement there is the strongest collateral proof in the Rawlinson MSS., where he describes himself as 'minister of the gospel to the parishioners of Llanaber,'[6] in the Towyn report of the petty constables of 1662,[7] and in a return of pluralists made by the Bishop of St. Asaph in 1665 in which the same John Hughes is described as 'Rector of Darowen, Vicar of Towyn and Rector of Llanaber.'[8] Possibly the best illustration of the relative popularity of the new régime is found in the attitude of twelve clergymen instituted by bishops before the war who remained unejected by the C.P.G.W., very probably through the good word of

1 S. P. Dom. Interreg., G22, f. 1490a.
2 Mont. Ret., First Fruits, February, 1657-8, 114.
3 Ibid. 115.
4 A 'David Roberts' signed the 'Word for God' (p. 10), but it would strain the imagination of the most credulous to identify him with the vicar of Llandinam. Moreover, the surrounding names bespeak Radnor and Brecon rather than Montgomery.
5 Rawl. MS. c. 261, Rep., [19]. This MS. does not specify the living relinquished, only the result of the election made—'Mr. John Hughes Elected Llanaber.' Towyn is arrived at by collation with other MSS.
6 Rawl. MS., D. 843. 84—letter written to Protector in 1658-1659.
7 Lamb. 1027, Entry 33a, Answer III.
8 Lamb. 639, f. 302.

Vavasor Powell himself; of these only one—Evan Ellis of Pennant Melangell—signed the 'Word for God' in 1655,[1] a tolerably good omen that the other eleven preferred the sure blessings of the Protectorate to the prophesied thunders attending the 'last days.' Their names are recovered from the 'Examen Vavasoris,'[2] which also contains a scurrilous epitaph 'in perpetuam Mr. A. G. *perpotantis* memoriam' and recounts a tale of the great critic's drunkenness when vicar of Llanwnog and Trefeglwys, 'that the sexton did ring a peal for him, thinking verily he had been dead indeed'[3]; however, be the story true or not, Alexander would draw some satisfaction from the fact that Powell, the hero of the 'Examen,' did not any more receive a part of the tithes of the Arwystli parishes for his maintenance, and express some cynical delight (in judicious company) when he himself actually became 'Puritan' schoolmaster at the Hay.[4] Other Welsh counties are not so well represented as Montgomery. Evan Price, ejected from St. Athan in Glamorgan before 1649,[5] is reinstituted there in 1658, probably on account of his great age, being over 89 in the latter year according to Walker's information[6]; Simon Lloyd, instituted to the Denbigh Llanynys in 1640, finds the same favour[7]; David Jones of Llanbadarn in Radnor, ejected during the Propagation, comes back in 1655[8]; likewise Oliver Thomas, the 'malignant' incumbent of Lawrenny in Pembrokeshire,[9] gets approval for Nevern in 1658. The case of the latter has been somewhat confused through the suggestion of a recent writer that he was the same person as Oliver Thomas the 'approver,' the author of 'Carwr y Cymry,'[10] a theory which cannot hope to stand in face of the following consideration: the approver held Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant

1 p. 10.
2 p. 12.
3 p. 46. Griffith was instituted to Trefeglwys in 1622 (exact date not legible), to Llanwnog on 16 July, 1633 (both attested in Lib. Inst., Bang., f. 67). It was on 6 September, 1639, he went to Glasbury (ibid., Menev., f. 57). See also Lamb. 1027, Glasbury Rpt., Ans. 2.
4 Supra, p. 57.
5 M.S. J. Walker, e. 7, f. 208b—'St. Albans.'
6 Sufferings, Part II, p. 338.
7 cp. Archdcn. Thomas: Hist. Dioc. St. Asaph (1874 Ed.), p. 437; Lamb. 996, f. 462.
8 cp. Walk. c. 13, ff. 66, 68; Lamb. 968, f. 159; 997, iii, f. 161. It is a curious fact that when Jones came to review his career in an Exchequer tithe-case after the Restoration, he not only forgot this favour of the Triers, but said not a word about his original ejection by the C.P.G.W. (Bills & Ans., Radnor, No. 4, Mich., 13 Chas. II).
9 Walker, e. 7, f. 212.
10 J. C. Morrice: Wales in the Seventeenth Century, p. 155.

from some date before 14 May, 1650,[1] up to 1653, in which year his name as 'Carwr' appears in commendation of a book published by Richard Jones of Llanfair[2]; the other Oliver was ejected from Lawrenny in 1650 and his wife was in receipt of £7 fifths in 1650-51.[3] At the Restoration he petitioned for restitution to his old living,[4] but was asked to stay at Nevern, to which he was re-instituted by the Bishop of St. David's on 10 October, 1662.[5] One of the Anglican clergy ejected for scandal by the C.P.G.W. was Edward Wynne of Llanymawddwy,[6] heir of Bodewryd in Anglesey, a D.D. of Oxford, nephew to Bishop Owen of St. Asaph, and married to the widow of Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd[7]; before June 1654 he had found his way back to his old living, since in that month he was signing the certificate (in company with Dr. John Ellis of Dolgelly and nine others) of Humphrey Thomas to the rectory of Llandanwg.[8] It is well to mention also, in corroboration of the early Protectorate tolerance, that the presenting of certificates from Dr. George Griffith of Llanymynech, Thomas Lloyd of Llanbrynmair and John Lloyd of Marchwiel[9]—the last a brother to two ejected clergymen,[10] and all of pronounced Anglican antecedents—did not serve to invalidate the claims of the certified in the opinion of the Triers. And no doubt Edward Ellis of Guilsfield and Dr. Hugh Lloyd of the Glamorgan St. Andrews, both of whom had for various reasons come within the orbit of the Committee for Compounding,[11] would certify to the impartial verdicts passed upon them by that dreaded body; but there is no record that either the former (an old Episcopalian nominee for the Assembly of Divines) or the latter (first Bishop of Llandaff after the Restoration) ever condescended to ask the favour of the Triers or the Protector. The younger Dr. Peter du Moulin did so condescend, and received the

1 Rawl. MS. c. 261, Rep., [18].
2 p. 10 of 'Testûn Testament Newydd'—fifth 'encomiastic.' Most probably Thomas died in that year; it is absolutely certain he had passed away before April 1657 (Lamb. 1004, f. 50).
3 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 7b.
4 House of Lords MSS., Pets. of 1660, Classifying Letter P.
5 Exch. First Fruits, Bishops' Certificates, File 13 (St. David's), Schedule 20 Ap.—20 Oct., 1662.
6 Rawl. MS. c. 261, Rep., [29].
7 J. C. Morrice: Wales in the Seventeenth Century, p. 175.
8 Lamb. 997, ii, f. 88. But see infra, p. 386 (n. 3).
9 See especially certificates in Lamb. 997, i, ff. 66, 244; ii, f. 208.
10 Samuel Lloyd of Gresford and Humphrey Lloyd of Ruabon (Archdcn. Thomas: Hist. Dioc. St. Asaph (1874), p. 830).
11 Cal. Comm. Compounding, IV, 3056 (Ellis); V, 3211 (Lloyd).

Protector's permission 'to exercise his ministerial abilities in this country,'[1] but not in Wales; he only finds a place in this context because his father, the famous French Protestant bishop and controversialist, had been invited to England by the two Stuart kings and granted (among other more substantial preferments) the sinecure rectory of Llanrhaiadr D.C.,[2] and afterwards a similar interest at Llanarmon-yn-Îâl.[3]

It is not likely that the re-infiltration into the Puritan ranks of these Anglican elements gave no concern to the supreme powers; in fact, by an 'additional ordinance' of 2 September, 1654, it was an express instruction to the Triers that they were not to grant admission to any previously sequestered or delinquent clergyman except upon a signification from the Protector and Council.[4] On this aspect of the religious problem two pamphlets preserved in the Thomason Collection are invaluable, neither of them bearing directly on cases from Wales, but each throwing a very welcome light on the procedure of the Commissioners for Approbation. One is called the 'Inquisitio Anglicana, or the disguise discovered . . . in the examination of Anthony Sadler,'[5] and purports to be a faithful record of his experiences before the Triers, he having once been incumbent of the sequestered living of Bishopstoke in Hants, and now desiring re-admission. He waxes minutely over the delays in getting a hearing, the slighting of the certificates he produced, the doctrinal cross-examination he had to undergo—the Independent Philip Nye dealing with 'regeneration' in the morning and the Baptist John Tombes taking up 'original sin' in the afternoon, both besides roving to other fields of theological abstruseness.[6] Nye himself brought out in answer 'Mr. Sadler Re-Examined,'[7] explaining that the delay in coming to strictly 'Anglican' cases was caused by the press of applications from those whose *existing* tenure required confirmation. He cites cases

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1656-7, p. 62—7 Aug., 1656.
2 Lib. Inst., Bangor, f. 4—18 April, 1620.
3 Ibid., St. Asaph, f. 155—8 June, 1626 and 17 April, 1635; cp. Walker, Suff., II, p. 7.
4 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, 1026.
5 E. 813. 23; cp. Walker, Suff., I, 175-178.
6 Tatham characterises this 'a confused and unedifying discussion on points which neither the candidate nor the commissioners understood' (Puritans in Power, p. 245). Such a remark is both unnecessary and inaccurate, as Nye and Tombes were expert divines but a very slight degree below Baxter and Dr. John Owen. If these profound points were ever adequately understood by mortal men, the writer submits that the theologians of this period, Anglican no less than Puritan, came nearest in doing so.
7 E. 818. 10.

(though Sadler's is not one of them) where the certificates were forged,[1] and categorically states that he himself and other of the Commissioners had been offered from £20 to £40 to get a certain person approved (though he does not in set terms say that this unknown was an Anglican applicant).[2] But the practically verbatim report of the doctrinal inquisition Nye passes by without comment, merely saying that he had heard some of his fellow-Triers ' wonder with what conscience he [Sadler] could offer . . . to be deposed for the truth of them.'[3] The impression left by the Independent's assertions and silences is that the net was pretty finely drawn, and in attempting to defend the Triers' indulgence ' and their unwillingness to misunderstand of any person's worth ' he claims that liberty was given to those that for the present were disapproved ' to return and be examined again toties quoties,'[4] a form of tolerance which Sadler and other disappointed seekers would undoubtedly class as a captious and tantalising subterfuge. As a matter of course, much would depend upon the attitude of the applicant ; it is no wonder that William Thomas, ejected from Penbryn in Cardiganshire, and one day to be Bishop of St. David's and afterwards of Worcester, was able to retain his vicariate of Laugharne when one reads the Assize sermon he delivered at Carmarthen on 16 March, 1656-7, (and printed ' at the request of some eminent Auditors ')—a sermon learned, wise, replete with sound Christian doctrine, containing many quotations from the Fathers and Latin jurists, and devoid of any obscure or oblique references to the controversies of the day.[5] Hardly as much can be said for Robert Morgan, a future Bishop of Bangor, the Llanddyfnan rector left unejected by C.P.M. and C.P.G.W.,[6] who in ' the scantling of time allotted ' to him at the interment of Owen Holland of Berw managed to insert many derogatory references to ' new lights,' ' honest Ministers,' and the Anglesey pacification of 1648.[7] At the other end of the scale from these learned men came Dr. John Owen's

1 E. 818. 10, p. 6.
2 Ibid., p. 10
3 Mr. Sadler Re-examined, p. 8.
4 Ibid p. 10.
5 N.L.W., Civil War and Commonwealth Tracts, Cat., p. 68, No. 319. Walker's statement that ' he taught a school at Laughern in Caermarthenshire ' lacks good foundation (Suff., Part II, 385).
6 ' The best cure in the diocese '—Bishop Humphrey Lloyd to Sancroft in a letter dated 9 May, *1684* (Tanner MS. CXLVI, f. 106 verso).
7 Mostyn MS. 229, ff. 1, 8, 29.

'beggarly readers'[1] and insufficient curates to whom, as far as the evidence of the records go, some mysteriously special consideration must have been shown by all the Puritan authorities. When all the lists of Propagation evictions are sifted, only eight curates figure, four in North Wales and four in the South, one other being a doubtful case.[2] Here again the returns of the Montgomeryshire sheriffs are those that give most illumination. Of the five curates specified as such in the 1652 return for first fruits[3]—Richard Evans of Forden, John Davies of Tregynon, Simon Jones of Mochdre, Rowland Evans of Carno, and a Humphreys of Llanwddyn—none seemed to have suffered any change by 1658 except the first, ejected two years before.[4] A Salisbury Jones, curate at Llanllugan in 1652, is found replaced by a 'Mr. Griffiths' in the report of the later sheriff[5]; but Edward Roberts maintained a similar post at Berriew amidst a camp of disinherited higher clergy.[6] The same tale is told in other counties. The surveyors of St. David's dean and chapter lands in 1649 found William Jones curate for the prebend of Llanddarog[7] and a Morris Edwards likewise at Llanddewi Aberarth[8]; those for St. Asaph report Foulke Lloyd curate at Henllan[9] and Richard Hughes as curate at Llanfair Talhaiarn, who received for his pains one quarter tithes from the townships of Garthewin and Bodrhychwyn[10]; and those for Bangor found Edward Jones at Llannordineio at a salary of £20 per annum.[11] Their meagre pay notwithstanding, all could not have been dead before the C.P.G.W. one year later began thinning out the ranks of the clergy. Whatever was their fate, it is an ascertained fact that the Propagators did occasionally grant augmentations to worthy curates, as in the case of Thomas Maurice of Llangristiolus,[12] thus following in the wake of the C.P.M. who erected the curate Morgan ap

1 This term occurs in the sermon delivered by him before Parliament on 30 October, 1656 (quoted in Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon., p. 95).
2 H.P.M., pp. 115-133.
3 Public Rec. Office, Exch. Miscellanea, p. 4.
4 Mont. Ret., First Fruits, Feb., 1657-8, 114.
5 Ibid., 116; cp. Exch. Misc., 1652, Ret. p. 4.
6 Ibid., April, 1658, 119.
7 Lamb. 905, f. 42.
8 Ibid., f. 48.
9 Lamb. 902, f. 30.
10 Ibid. ff. 34-35.
11 Ibid. f. 62.
12 Ibid. ff. 51-52; Anglesey 1652 Ret.—Hundred of Llifon; Rawl. c. 261, Rep., [25, 31]

Morgan to be full-fledged minister at Meliden in Flint.[1] And judging from the references to 'readers' in the letter written by the group of Merionethshire ministers to the Protector about 1658[2] and the definite allocation of a curate to Whitwell chapel by the two rectors of Malpas,[3] the conclusion seems irrefragable that where the parent church was in the hands of ministers definitely approved and thoroughly satisfactory, the Triers gave them a free hand in making provision for their subsidiary duties and interests (whatever changes befel the living of Ruabon, the same curate Edward Pritchard did duty there from 1638 to 1662[4]). Whether a confirmed Anglican was qualifying to be a future bishop or was fated to remain an obscure curate, it was wise for both in those days of divided allegiance to emulate the example of Hugh Roberts, vicar of Wandsworth in Surrey, for whom no Welsh associations have hitherto been discovered[5] and who, though instituted to the living by the Puritan Lords in 1646,[6] was evidently some ten years later under the suspicion of the ruling powers. For all that the people of the parish had perfect faith in him: they say in a petition to the Protector that he had never spoken against the Government, had published all ordinances (a duty that at that period fell to the lot of ministers), observed all days of humiliation and thanksgiving, promoted all collections, and lived an exemplary life.[7] Mansell places the Stephen Slugg, who was instituted to the livings of Llantwit and Llysworney on 6 September, 1629,[8] in a not dissimilar category by calling him 'a trimmer and a favourite of y^e^ times.'[9] And Robert Jones, instituted to Llandwrog on the last day of October, 1637,[10] ejected by the Propagators in 1652, in two months restored by them on appeal,[11] and found in the autumn of 1658 subscribing the

1 Lamb. 902, f. 28; 994, f. 213; 1004, f. 78.
2 Rawl. MS., D. 843. 84.
3 Philip Henry: Diaries, p. 125.
4 Chirk Castle Accounts (pub. 1908), p. 81, n. 251.
5 It is true that a Hugh Roberts hailing from Denbighshire entered Brasenose in 1639 (Bras. Coll. Reg., ed. Heberden, I, 176), was made Fellow in 1658, and expelled before the end of the year for non-submission to the Visitors (Burrows: Register, 199, 482); but it is not easy to imagine *him* being appointed *Puritan* minister in *1646*.
6 L. J., VIII, 174.—17 February, 1645-1646.
7 Cal. St. Pap., 1655-1656, p. 75. The petition was presented on 26 Dec., 1655.
8 Lib. Inst., Llandaff, f. 15.
9 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 69b.
10 Lib. Inst., Bangor (deanery of Arfon).
11 Lamb. 1027, Report 29.

Carnarvonshire address of congratulation to Richard Cromwell,[1] it is easy to conjecture what his old Anglican friends thought of *him*.

The danger that menaced Roberts, the compliancy that overcame Slugg and Jones, the disclosures of the 'Inquisitio Anglicana,' and the relatively few ejected that were later admitted into favour, demand in the interests of historical truth that the other side of the picture be shown. None of the Welsh nor any other bishops seem to have received any financial compensation for disturbance; it is certain that the accounts of the South Wales Propagation treasurer do not contain a single reference to them. In his denunciation of certain Puritan divines who were very prominent in agitating for a settled State maintenance in 1653 Erbery transforms this supposition into a certainty: 'these,' says the lifelong opponent of bishops, 'fell into a worse condition than you are yet, having not the Fifth nor a farthing of all their Lordly revenues for their wives and children.'[2] It is true that a stringent order was given to the Major-Generals on 31 October, 1656, to see concerning the due payment of fifths to the ejected by the 'intruded' ministers,[3] but eight months after this was very unfavourably modified to the effect that these payments were only to be made when the expelled clergyman had not a real estate of £30 a year nor personal property up to £500 (coupled with this was the provision that he was to remain out of the parish).[4] Nor did Puritan policy ever recede from this severe standpoint, for even the Presbyterians at the very end of the month's innings allowed them by Monck in 1660 were content with repeating word for word Cromwell's enactment of 1657.[5] Again, any hope of special generosity from the government committees was dashed to the ground by an instruction from the London Commissioners for Sequestrations on 24 November, 1654, to their local county representatives that they were not to pay fifths without an express order to that purpose, 'we having only power to

1 Pennant's Tours in Wales, ed. Rhys, App. xxiii, p. 583. His name is down as simply 'Robt Jones, minister,' but no other fits the description except this rector of Llandwrog.

2 Ministers for Tythes, p. 5.

3 Cal. St. Pap., 1656-57, p. 144.

4 Ibid., 1657-58, p. 18—26 June, 1657. All this did not prevent Sir Thos. Myddelton of Chirk from making secret money allowances to the family of 'ficer y Waen' (Chirk Castle Accounts, passim).

5 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-60, p. 394—16 March, 1659-1660.

continue fifths already granted, not to allow them.'[1] Three months before this the Protectorate had forged its own engine of ejection for scandalous, ignorant, or insufficient ministers (whether these were clerics hitherto unrejected or ministers approved by previous Puritan bodies or even by the Triers themselves), by which special lay commissioners were appointed for every county in England, and for Wales one group of sixteen for all North Wales and another of twenty-one for the South.[2] They approximated in personnel to the former C.P.G.W., though much more restricted in number. Ministers were also nominated in this ordinance to act as ' assistants ' to the Commissioners, separately for each county in England (including Monmouth), a group of sixteen for North Wales and twenty-four for the South.[3] They numbered forty-eight altogether in the thirteen counties, thirteen more than the old total of Propagation approvers. Naturally men who were later to figure prominently in the H.R.A. were invested with this new office in the South and those who evinced *no* desire to support the ' Word for God ' in the North. Three who *did* subscribe the latter document—Morgan Llwyd, James Quarrell and Jenkin Jones—were also named in this ejection instrument of 1654, a mystery only to be explained by assuming that this was done without their permission and that they did not actually sit.[4] Mostyn was also included in the North Wales panel and Richard Powell in that for South Wales—two men who did not subscribe the ' Word for God ' a little over a year afterwards, but whose attitude (especially the second) to the political Protectorate was more than dubious—but it would be hazardous to draw any definite conclusions from the mere insertion of their names in the ordinance. To use an apt but hackneyed expression, the name of Vavasor Powell, who was credited by the Anglicans with being the dynamic force behind the

1 Cal. Comm. Compounding, I, 710.

2 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 973, 976-977.

3 Ibid., 981 (Monmouth), 983-984 (N. Wales), 984 (S. Wales). Five new reinforcements for North Wales were included on 5 August, 1658 (Cal. St. Pap., 1658-1659, p. 110).

4 The ' Word ' was not yet signed, but the attitude of these three must have been well-known to the authorities. Did the Protector and Council cherish the idea that they might be excellent censors of scandal although themselves as citizens ' sitting on the steps of the Tower ' ? And it would not be altogether relevant in September 1654 to bring forward the argument that Llwyd (and the others) were content to receive State pay *more than two years afterwards.*

Propagation ejections from Wrexham to Brecon, is conspicuously absent from Cromwell's new ordinance, which in a negative fashion is very cogent testimony that he, and not Llwyd nor Jenkin Jones, was the head and front of the Welsh offending against the Protectorate. Without further reopening the millenarian issue, let it be said that the commissioners and their assistants, who were ostensibly called in to interpret delicate points of doctrine and of conduct, were supplied with an exhaustive list of the sins and peccadilloes which were obnoxious to the Puritan standards and whose commission would entail the supreme penalty of ejection: they ranged from blasphemy and atheism to scoffing at 'strict profession' and 'encouraging Whitsun-ales, Wakes, Morris-Dances, May-poles and Stage-plays.'[1] But so rigorous had been the regime of the Propagators that proceedings under this ordinance in Wales and Monmouth demand but little space; besides, no written record of the new ejectors has been preserved. It is deduced, however, from other sources that the 'dejection' of Dr. William Hill on being turned out from the rectory of Llanrhaiadr D.C. in 1650[2] now fell to the lot of William Young of Pwllycrochan in Pembrokeshire[3]; to Archibald Sparkes of Northop[4]; to Richard Evans of Forden[5] and Silvanus Griffiths of Llanwyddelan[6]; while there are strong reasons for inferring that Christopher Coles lost the rectory of Nannerch[7] to which he had been instituted by the Bishop of St. Asaph on 10 February, 1637.[8] Walker supplies the name of Hugh Jones of Llanrwst as having been ejected in 1656[9]; it is true a cleric of that name became vicar there in 1642[10]; the combined force of these two entries (plus another in the Journals of Parliament) point to the conclusion that the living of Llanrwst for eight years held an Anglican vicar unejected and a Puritan rector (William Brigdale) appointed by the Lords in 1648.[11]

1 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, p. 977.
2 Rawl. MS. c. 261, Rep., [20]. It is only fair to add that the grimly humorous words 'and dejected' have been inserted by a later hand than that of the official scribe to the North Wales Propagation Commissioners.
3 He petitioned the Convention Lords for restitution in 1660 (Lords' MSS., classifying letter Y.).
4 Supra, pp. 30-31.
5 Mont. Ret., February, 1657-8, 114.
6 Ibid., April 1658, 119.
7 Lamb. 1008, f. 393 (entry for 11 December, 1655).
8 Lib. Inst., St. Asaph, f. 141.
9 Sufferings, Part II, p. 285.
10 Lib. Inst., St. Asaph, f. 147.
11 Supra, p. 70.

Whether Theodore Price was officially ejected or no, it was not likely that he was asked to 'supply the vakancy' at St. Athan after Evan Price acceded there in 1658.[1] Humphrey Jones of Llandrillo in Edeyrnion only held that living barely a year when he had to give way to a John Taylor.[2] And Charles Edwards—how is one to explain his approval for Llanrhaiadr in 1657 and the presentation of Francis Howell there in 1659[3] except on the ground that he resigned or (as is more probable) was removed on account of trouble with the parishioners and complaints made against him to the Government?[4] In opposition to the statements of two recent writers, Edwards was *not* at Llanrhaiadr to be deprived in 1660[5]; otherwise his name, assuredly so well known to James Owen of the neighbouring Oswestry, would have been included among the first in the Denbighshire list of sufferers supplied by him to Calamy.[6] For if he were still rector there, the dispensation granted on 26 October, 1660, to the new Bishop of St. Asaph to hold the living of Llanrhaiadr 'in commendam' after the manner of his predecessors would make it impossible for any brand of Puritan to remain there much longer.[7] As far as the mysterious career of the author of 'Hanes y Ffydd' and 'Hanes y Ffydd Ddiffuant' can be made out, he never actually conformed at the Restoration, or at any time after; but his attitude towards Puritans and Puritanism requires considerable explanation from the days he got into difficulties with the 'Visitors' at Oxford[8] to the last days of his life when he declared himself inclineable to take up the work of the ministry 'if a maintenance could be had for him,' only to refuse the repeated offer of £8 a year from the Common Fund established by the London Presbyterians and Independents in 1690-91 (and ultimately accept

1 Supra, pp. 46, 52.

2 Archbishop of Wales: Landmarks (1912), Appendix G, p. 303.

3 Lamb. 999, f. 172, No. 525—12 Jan., 1658-1659. The only Puritan of this name in the records was the Francis Howell, Fellow of Exeter, who became Principal of Jesus in 1657. Did the Oxford don succeed where the Cambridge professor had failed? (supra, p. 96.)

4 J. C. Morrice: Wales in the Seventeenth Century, p. 184.

5 Ibid., (1918); also Alexander Gordon in 'Freedom after Ejection' (1917), pp. 257-258.

6 Quite pertinent in the same context are two other facts: it was outside Oswestry that Edwards lived when he received his licence on 10 Aug., 1672 (S.P. Dom., Chas. II, E.B. 38A, p. 234); James Owen and he are placed next to each other under 'Salop' in the Gordon MS., f. 62.

7 Given by Archbishop Juxon—Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 322.

8 Burrows: Register of the Visitors, pp. 122, 135 (May June, 1648).

it for the first half of the latter year.[1]) Leaving the fortunes of Charles Edwards wrapped up in their traditional obscurity, we have the word of the Montgomery Sheriff and jurors to some 'voluntary cessions,' also unexplained, in that county, besides the temporary hiatus in the history of David Roberts of Llandinam. The word 'removed' is clearly legible on the same parchment describing the connection of Henry Parry with the living of Cemmes, but an unfortunate blurring of the record prevents our knowing whether it was compulsory or otherwise[2]; and no light has yet come why John Hanmer 'lost the said place' of Llanfihangel y Creuddyn in 1658.[3] A clergyman named Godwin described by Archbishop Sancroft in a letter to the then Bishop of St. David's on 2 August, 1684, as one 'who hath suffered exceedingly under the Persecution of that party' in the diocese[4] cannot refer to the Puritan period, as there is no reference to such a name in the authentic records: whether the 'Dr. Godwyn' who was captured at Hereford when it fell to the Parliament on 25 April, 1643,[5] be the same as the 'Mr. Goodwyn' who was 'secured' in the same county at the beginning of 1656[6] or no, they were both associated with that geographical sphere and not with the west of Offa's Dyke.[7]

It was not this innocuous and somewhat unnecessary supplement (as far as Wales was concerned) to the Propagation machinery that bore most hardly upon the old clergy but the orders issued by the Protector in consequence of the abortive Penruddock rising in the early months of 1655, orders that quite overshadowed the modified liberty proclamation of February.[8] The first came on 24 August, by which the Major-Generals were instructed to enquire strictly into the effective execution of the Ejection ordinance of the previous

1 Gordon MS. (discovered in 1912), ff. 62, 92.

2 Mont. Ret., First Fruits, February, 1657-8, 114.

3 Lamb. 995, f. 175.

4 Tanner MS. xxxii, 112.

5 J. R. Phillips: Hist. Civil War, II, Doct. xxi, p. 70

6 Rawl. MS. A. 34. 901 (third column of prisoners.)

7 Perhaps it should be mentioned that a Francis *Godwin* was Bishop of Llandaff in 1603 (see his letter to Camden in B.Mus., Cott. Coll., Julius F. vi, f. 298) and that a Nathaniel *Goodwyn* was admitted to one of the St. Asaph prebends on 27 April, 1668 (Bps.' Certifs., File 15). But the former passed away in the reign of James I, and it is difficult to conceive of a St. Asaph prebendary falling within the terms of the Archbishop's letter to the Bishop of St. David's. No cleric of this surname appears in Lib. Inst. (St. David's) or in the admissions in the same diocese after the Restoration.

8 Supra, p. 267.

year,[1] and on 21 September were issued a number of proclamations for 'securing the peace of the Commonwealth.'[2] One directed that from 1 November, 1655, none of the Royalist party were to keep in their houses chaplains, ejected ministers, or fellows of colleges, nor to have their children taught by such—an order that would cause Jeremy Taylor to carry on with great circumspection his private devotions at Golden Grove with the Earl of Carbery,[3] and likewise Francis Davies, ejected rector of Llangan in Glamorgan, one day to be Bishop of Llandaff, who was now 'entertained as Chaplain to y^e^ Countess of Peterborough.'[4] Another went on to say that none who had been, or who should be, ejected from any college, benefice, or school, for delinquency or scandal, were after the aforesaid 1 November to keep any school, preach, or administer the sacraments, marry persons or use the Book of Common Prayer, on pain of three months' imprisonment; for a second offence, six months; for a third, banishment. These penalties were all to be rigorously enforced 'unless their hearts are changed, and they obtain the approval of the Commissioners for the Approbation of Public Preachers.' As it was found impossible to put the whole of these orders in force within the time originally appointed, by a subsequent declaration of 24 November[5]—the day by which the Royalist clergy were to lose their chaplaincies, &c.—the date was altered to 1 January, 1655-1656, accompanied by another saving clause that to those who could produce real restimony of their godliness and good affections to the government 'so much tenderness shall be used as may consist with the safety and good of this nation.' And that the attitude of the Protector and Council had not considerably changed by 1657 is seen from the letter forwarded by the president of the latter, Henry Lawrence, to the Ejection Commissioners asking them to pursue their work with renewed diligence.[6] Special importance attaches to a proclamation of the Protector bearing the date 3 July, 1655. It stated

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1655 p. 296.

2 Ibid., p. 347. There was another supplementary declaration 'showing the reasons' for such severe strictures 'on occasion of the late insurrection' (Cal. St. Pap., 1655, pp. 405-411).

3 Dict. Nat. Biog., lxiii, p. 190.

4 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 69b.

5 Cal. St. Pap., 1655—1656, p. 28. This subject will be found very lucidly discussed in Gardiner: Hist. Comm. and Protectorate, III. 334-335.

6 13 August (Cal. St. Pap., 1657-8, p. 63) this in turn is almost an exact copy of another missive sent on 26 April, 1655 (Cal. St. Pap., 1655, p. 145).

that many ejected clergy somehow managed to retain their places, while others, evidently on a mistaken assumption of Protectorate leniency, brought suits for their recovery 'to the great discouragement of the godly ministry'; they were *not* to be restored: no suits at law were to be allowed; possession and profits were to be ensured to the approved minister; those clergy who proved refractory were to forfeit fifths.[1] No doubt this order was meant to make impossible the breaking open of barn doors by an ejected clergyman at Grittleton in Wiltshire[2]; the unauthorised tithe-gathering of John Davies of Garthbeibio, who was 'prohibited again not to officiate there or elsewhere by an Order'[3]; and the work of Dr. Hugh Williams, one of the disinherited Llandinam comportioners, in taking tithes from his old tenants, which he was peremptorily ordered to restore by the Commissioners for Sequestrations.[4] It was at this period, too, that great tribulations fell to the lot of Matthew Herbert, expropriated rector of Llangattock in Brecon, and once tutor to Henry Vaughan the 'Silurist' of Scethrog.[5] He had been bold enough in 1655 to sue certain of his old parishioners for 'non-payment of tithes to him as rector,' with the result that he was apprehended and not suffered to go at liberty till he had given a guarantee in writing not to molest the tenants under a penalty of £200. This did not prevent his commitment 'about 9 April, 1656,' to the common gaol of Brecon, where he had to stay seventeen weeks for what his supporters said was no more than loyalty to the King[6]; there was even a threat of banishment, a calamity only averted by an intercessory letter sent to the influential Parliamentarian Henry Herbert of Coldbrook in Monmouth by the old rector's sympathisers including among them another independent Parliamentarian, John Williams of Cwmdu.[7] Such were

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1655, p. 224.
2 Ibid., 1654-5, p. 170.
3 Mont. Ret., First Fruits, April 1658, 118. The Sheriff was not very particular about his negatives.
4 Cal. Comm. Compounding, III, 1726.
5 Exchequer Depositions, Mixed Counties (Brecon and Radnor), No. 8, Hilary, 15 and 16 Charles II (claim for recovery of sequestered profits). The deponent responsible for this evidence was Lewis Gunter of Crickhowell.
6 His wife 'Johan' refers to 'several imprisonments . . . leaving wife and children destitute and with many debts to pay' in her petition to the new House of Lords on 11 June, 1660. (House of Lords MSS. Comm. Rpt., App. I, p. 96.)
7 'Independent' because he was one of the Protectorate Commissioners appointed to audit the accounts of the South Wales C.P.G.W. and their officials (Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 991).

some of the vicissitudes of the ejected; nor was the life of many of those officially unejected one to be envied. Though a very pertinacious attempt was made to prove him guilty of delinquency, Nathan Jones of Merthyr was not deprived of his living, as is distinctly stated in his own account 'found in an old chest in the Parish Church' and incorporated in the narrative of the local historian.[1] Mansell in 1709 must have misunderstood the old vicar's account when he examined the same MS. 'extant under his own hand,'[2] with the result that Walker solemnly catalogued him in his list of Anglican sufferers.[3] Nathan's case was exceptional both in the lurid details with which he supports his several 'charges' and in the anarchic vigour of early Nonconformity in those remote highlands. He says that the desk which held the Bible was employed to carry mortar for the masons; that horses were brought into the church and hay put up in the steeple; sometimes the bell was rung to disturb him; at another time he was pulled out of the pulpit; at other times, again, some enthusiastic itinerant, mayhap a Quaker, would preach from the yew-tree the while he himself was holding forth in the church.[4] He makes it abundantly clear that tithes were not forthcoming. A similar story, based on some papers seen by him at Lambeth, is told by Walker of Anthony Bonner of Llanwenarth-cum-Aberystruth, who, though not a prey to the official sequestrators, found the tithes and profits withheld by the Baptist opponents of State maintenance in any form who were a growing power in North Monmouth.[5] Neither Jones nor Bonner were blessed with much worldly prudence: the former seems to have been as uncompromisingly outspoken as his namesake of old; the latter, an old man who had been instituted to the rectory as early as 25 November, 1616,[6] saw well in 1653, after hearing a sermon at Abergavenny full of cogent reasoning by the expert disputant Tombes, to follow the latter to his lodgings, badger him with impertinent questions, and so force on the notorious debate of 5 September between Tombes and another ejected vicar, John Cragge of

1 Wilkins: Hist. Merthyr Tydvil, esp. p. 95.
2 MS. J. Walker, c. 4. f. 65.
3 Sufferings, Part II, p. 286.
4 Wilkins, p. 93.
5 Sufferings, II, 212.
6 Lib. Inst., Llandaff, f. 17.

Llantilio Pertholy.[1] Lower down in the same county a less romantic character tells his story. A Walter Rogers, instituted vicar of Llantrisant in 1621[2] and passed over by the various Puritan inquisitors, led a comparatively uneventful life until just one year before the Restoration, when Capel Hanbury of Pontypool cut down 1,000 cords of wood at Coedbach in that parish; these were worth about £600 when sold, but Hanbury forgot to set out the tenth part thereof to the vicar, thus defrauding the latter of no less than £60.[3] Next, two ejected clergymen will be summoned to illustrate how some occupied their large leisure in literary pursuits and also how varying was the attitude of the old order when confronted with the exigencies of the time. Thomas Powell of Cantref, a sometime Fellow of Jesus, and foremost among the Breconshire trio who were bent on testing the new tolerance of the Protectorate,[4] did not meet with an encouraging response, and crossed to the Continent. There (as he himself puts it) making the pen to write what the tongue was prevented to speak, he composed 'Cerbyd Jechydwriaeth,' and dedicated the work to the wife of one of the staunchest Royalists in the county, Lady Eleanor Williams of Gwernyfed.[5] Richard Jones, vicar of Llanfair in Montgomery, ejected by the C.P.G.W. at their Llanfyllin session on 11 June, 1650,[6] brought out on 1 January, 1652-53, 'Testûn Testament Newydd, neu Benhillion Cymraeg mewn Egwyddoraidd Drefn' dedicated to Edward Vaughan of Llwydiarth, whom he congratulates upon his discharge from sequestration at the hands of the Committee for Compounding[7]; he thanks him also for his timely support against 'enllibaidd rywogaeth Thomas,'[8] here referring, no doubt, to his 'losing the heritage of the

1 A very satisfactory account of this dispute, based on the voluminous literature that arose out of it, is given in J. Spinther James: Hanes Bed., II, 303-306. Bonner is there referred to as 'clerigwr oedranus o'r gymdogaeth.'

2 Lib. Inst., Llandaff, f. 121. The vicar's troubles seem to have affected his memory to some extent, seeing that he gives the date of his induction as '20 years before' 1659.

3 Exch. Bills and Ans., Mon., No. 21, Easter, 16 Chas. II; No. 138 (same term), a duplicate of the above plaint.

4 Supra, p. 267.

5 Charles Ashton: Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig (1650-1850), pp. 51-52.

6 Rawl. MS. c. 261, Rep., [19].

7 Cal. Comm. Compounding, II, 1626; Epistle Ded. to 'Testûn', pp. 1-3.

8 It is doubtful whether the reference is to the doubting disciple or to Capt. *Thomas* Nicholls, one of the Montgomery sequestrators of church premises. Very curiously in the Museum copy of the work the word is printed to look more like 'Merrus' than 'Thomas'; in that case, he would, without much doubt, have in his mind *Morris* Lloyd of Welshpool, one of the 'setters of tythes' in the eastern districts of the county [Mont. Rets., F. Fruits, 115 (Llandrinio), 118 (Llanerfyl)].

children of Levi,'[1] and the packed witnesses that hied to to Llanfyllin in his disfavour. Though he emphasises the silence enjoined by authority upon him and his fellows (which, as we have seen, he did not observe), the array of 'encomiasticks' that prefaces the work prove him the object of respect by Anglican and Puritan alike[2]; at least two ejected clergy of the county appear side by side with Peter Moyle, a steward of the lordship of Ruthin whose certificate was found useful by three ministers desirous of the Triers' sanction,[3] and with Oliver Thomas the Approver whose synonym of 'Carwr y Cymry' in this preface is one of the strongest links of evidence that he wrote the work of that name published anonymously in 1631. By 1 August, 1655, the 'Gemma Cambri, seu Mnemonica Bibliorum' was ready for publication, sped on its way by an 'epistle complimentary' from James Howell, the author of 'Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ' and the future historiographer of Charles II[4]; by the Master of Jesus[5]; and by John Wynne[6] who had been instituted by the Puritan Lords to the living of Llangwm on 4 November, 1648.[7] More significant still, the Latin sub-title reads 'Johanni Owen S.S. Theologiæ doctor uni Senatorum Angliae,' who can be no other than the great divine and most distinguished of the Puritan Triers[8]; and the readers are asked to accept the book 'fel ped fai Berl gwerthfawr yn dystiolaeth o'm dyled-swydd tu ag at y wladwriaeth hon.'[9] Jones was also a typical example of an ejected clergyman with many children who stubbornly refused to leave his old parish through all the tribulations of the time.[10] Many others migrated: William Bayly of Penstrowed to Llanegryn in

1 'At y Darllenydd,' p. 4.

2 pp. 7-10.

3 Lamb. MSS. 996, ff. 462, 594; 997, ii, 83; see also Chirk Castle Accounts (pub. 1908), p. 25 and n. 77.

4 pp. 11-12 in 'Gemma.' [Clark's reference to 'Richard Jones' Gemma *Cambricum*, Oxford, *1652*' is singularly inaccurate for that correct editor (Wood's Life and Times, I, 331, n. 4).]

5 pp. 13-14.

6 p. 17.

7 L. J., X, 597.

8 Morrice's theory (Wales in the Seventeenth Century, p. 169) that he was Dr. John Owen, the Bishop of St. Asaph who died in 1651, is in the writer's opinion very unlikely. The 'Senati Angliae' must be taken to connote the board of Triers then sitting.

9 Gemma Cambri, p. 10.

10 Morrice gives moderately strong reasons for believing that Jones died at the end of 1655 or the beginning of 1656 (Wales in the 17th Cent., p. 170); but it is difficult to reconcile such a conclusion with the explicit statement of the Sheriff of Mont. (April 1658, 118) that 'the said Mr. Jones is still alive and resident in the said parish.'

Merioneth.[1] John Hughes of Llansantffraid ym Mechain to Meifod.[2] Rice Wynne of Castell Caereinion to Berriew.[3] Undoubtedly this circumstantial account of the Montgomery sheriff would be complemented by similar evidence from other counties were their returns preserved; Mansell indeed, depending on traditions half a century old, recounts many instances in Glamorgan of dispossessed clergy, whether at home or away, who were hard driven to keep body and soul together. The same sheriff also preserves evidence of the deaths of some clergy during the Puritan interregnum: Edward Williams the poor and deprived vicar of Llanbrynmair in March 1657-8[4]; William Jones of Llangadfan on 2 April, 1658, 'having resided there for 38 years last past'[5]; and Griffith Parry of Bettws, 'late deceased.'[6] Such references occasionally appear in post-Restoration documents such as the 'Second Admissions' and in depositions made at the Court of the Exchequer. Of the four sometime Welsh bishops three died before the return of the King: Morgan Owen of Llandaff about the end of 1644[7]; John Owen of St. Asaph at Perthkinsey on 16 October, 1651[8]; and Roger Mainwaring of St. David's at Carmarthen on 16 July, 1653.[9]

The career of one outstanding layman who efficiently seconded the labours of Alexander Griffith and other pamphleteers was so closely interwoven with the interests of the Anglican clergy that Walker verily believed he was one of them and that his sequestered living was called 'Caergay-Morion'[10]; if he be proved at fault, he lays the blame on what he dubs the confused and unsatisfactory account given by David Lloyd in his 'Memoires.'[11] Rowland Vaughan had fought at Naseby, had his house burnt down by Col. John Jones,[12] and was 'secured' by the Major-General's deputies for some time in 1656[13]; but in 1658 he was free to publish

1 Mont. Ret., April, 1658, 118.
2 Ibid. 119.
3 Ibid. 118.
4 Ibid. 118 (also Ret., February, 1657-8, 114).
5 Ibid. 118 This is corroborated by an entry in the Lib. Inst. (St. Asaph, f. 165) that he was instituted there on 25 October, 1621.
6 Ibid. 119.
7 Walker, Suff., Part II, 37.
8 Ibid. 1.
9 Ibid. 16.
10 Ibid. 390.
11 It must be admitted that Lloyd does not expressly say that he was *not* a clergyman (p. 576).
12 Dict. Nat. Biog., lviii, p. 178.
13 Rawl. MS., A. 34. 901 (fourth column of prisoners).

four translated works, whose texts supply spirited and well-reasoned arguments in defence of Anglican polity by some of the foremost Anglican divines, and whose introductory matter (by Vaughan himself) breathes impenitent Royalism and an ineradicable hostility to the new vagaries of faith and the new order of preachers. The original of one of these translations, a sermon on schism preached by Dr. Jasper Maine at Watlington in Oxfordshire on 11 September, 1652, was presented to Vaughan by Dr. George Griffith of Llanymynech, the future Bishop of St. Asaph, to act as 'Mithridat'[1] or charm against the wily arguments of one whom he refers to as the archbishop of the new saints. The striking similarity of this term to Alexander's description of Powell as metropolitan of the itinerants,[2] the prominent place given in the preface[3] to the learned Doctor who was the Anglican hero of the Newchapel dispute with Powell in 1652, the vivid sidelight cast on a scene at the Merionethshire Assizes when John Lloyd of Maesypandy was Sheriff, coupled with Vavasor's plaint that a wicked fiddler was hired to kill him when one of such Assizes were held[4]—all taken together do not leave much doubt that he was the villain of the piece who appeared in person to accuse Vaughan of persecuting Puritans in a county which had produced a regicide and a mystical rhymer who sung that the law was ever above kings.[5] For our present purpose the personality of the Puritan archbishop is not of supreme importance. It was some years afterwards, away from the unseemly tumult of Assizes in the silences of Caergai, that Vaughan essayed the task of transforming into Welsh the Watlington sermon[6] and did so, he says, for two main reasons: a desire to bring back the saints and their archbishop to the orthodox way in matters of faith, and a still more lively and sporting delight to see them struggling to drive Dr. Maine and such learned men to the ropes.[7] Keen

1 Probably a reference to 'Mithridates de differentiis linguarum tum veterum . . . Conradi Gesneri' which contained the Lord's Prayer. (The Bible in Wales (Ballinger), Bibliog., p. 4).

2 Strena Vavasoriensis, p. 1.

3 Dedicated 'i'w anwyl nai Ev. Vaughan a'i deulu cariadol ym Moel y Fronllwyd.'

4 Life, p. 125. The scene at the Assizes is rather fully described in Vaughan's preface.

5 Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, I, Song xxvi, pp. 55-56.

6 This translation is found among the Civil War Tracts in N.L.W. (Cat., p. 58, No. 187) sub '1652,' which was the year when the original sermon was delivered. It ought to have been entered under '1658' on pp. 69-70.

7 'neu gael gweled eu gwaith yn gyrru Doctor Main a'r cyfriw ddysgawdwyr i'r tô'(Preface). By 1658 Vavasor was much further removed from orthodoxy than he was at the Dolgelly Assizes.

must have been the zest of the rooted Royalist over the passages where the Oxonian waxed eloquent about the Tylers and Cades of the Parliamentary cause[1]; over the context where he could translate into Welsh—'onid ydym ni yn cyttuno ag hwynt hwy ym mhob peth ond lle y maent hwy yn anghyttuno a'r Scrythyr? '[2]; and where the text (Hebrews x. 24. part of 25) was applied to the Puritan counterparts of Jannes and Jambres.[3] The original of one of the others—'Yr Arfer o Weddi yr Arglwydd a Ymddiffynnir yn erbyn dadleuon y newyddiaid o'r amseroedd yma gan Ioan Despagne'—he alleges was sent to him by that very conservative Puritan, Dr. John Ellis of Dolgelly: and his dedicatory letter to the learned rector speaks of his own work as girding at the untoward events of the time 'hyd y llyfaswyf,' and of finding only too much exemplification of the Latin tag, 'nimia libertate sumus deteriores,' in a land where weavers, tinkers and cobblers put the properly ordained servants of the Lord to undeserved shame.[4] The Welsh language was not such a ready instrument in the hands of contentious laymen in South Wales, but the refusal of Richard Seys of Swansea with sword drawn to allow the old approver Morris Bidwell, also John ap John's antagonist, to be buried in the chancel of St. Mary's is sufficient evidence of the strong feeling that sometimes other than slumbered under the shadow of the Puritan pikes. "He was soon forced away by the fanaticks and secured . . . and some time after Richard Seys purchased the chancel of St. John's . . . of Mr. Bussy Mansell of Brittonsferry, purposely for a Burying Place for his family, and took up his father's Bones out of St. Mary's and buryed y^m^ in St. John's.'[5]

Popery even more than Prelacy was subject to the disenabling clauses of the chief legislative pronouncements of the time—the Instrument of Government (Art. xxxvii),[6] the Humble Petition and Advice (clauses x-xi),[7] and the resolution

1 p. 14.
2 p. 22. The spelling is given direct from Vaughan's version.
3 Pregeth yn erbyn Schism, p. 23.
4 Charles Ashton: Hanes Llen. Gymreig, pp. 25-26.
5 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 72. No doubt the Matthew Seys, M.A., who acted as ensign to Lord Norris' troop at Oxford during the troubles of 1685 (rebellion of Monmouth) was a member of the same loyalist family (Life of Anthony à Wood, 1848 ed., p. 268)
6 Shaw, II, p. 85.
7 Ibid., pp. 92-96; Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 1053-1054.

of 21 May, 1659, on the public profession of faith made by the reassembled Rump.[1] Though Cromwell for political reasons suggested some form of practical indulgence in his letters to Mazarin, there is not much doubt that his real convictions on the subject had been expressed in his correspondence with the Governor of Ross in 1649 — 'I meddle not with any man's conscience, but if by liberty . . . you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain words, and to let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of'[2]; and in the proclamation of 24 April, 1655, 'for exercising the laws against priests and Jesuits, and for speedy conviction of Popish recusants.' An oath was to be tendered and taken without equivocation or reservation importing a denial of Papal supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, and of the doctrine that salvation could be merited by good works.[3] This attitude was also that of the Independent divines: Owen, Goodwin and Nye in November, 1654, when an attempt was made to arrive at an agreement with the Presbyterians, rejected with some heat a formula of concord suggested by Baxter which (in their opinion) would comprehend Socinians and Papists.[4] And even this supposed outburst of tolerance on the part of the great Worcestershire divine must be brought into strict collation with his later retort to Clarendon at the Worcester House conference of October 1660 between Anglicans and Presbyterians that there were parties tolerable and parties intolerable, 'as for Papists and Socinians, for our parts we cannot make their Toleration our request.'[5] It was left to Henry Denne, a prominent General Baptist, to make in 1659 a spirited defence not of Quakers only, but of Catholics as well.[6] In the previous year had been given to the world the 'Testimony of William Erbery Left upon Record for the Saints of Succeeding Ages,'[7] which contains the answer (running to 55 pages) he made on 9 March, 1652-1653, to the charges of blasphemy and heresy brought against him before the 'Honourable Committee for Plundered

1 C. J., VII, 662.
2 G. B. Tatham: The Puritans in Power, p. 233.
3 Cal. St. Pap., 1655, pp. 139-140.
4 Shaw, II, 86-90.
5 Docts. Act of Uniformity, ed. Gould, pp. 62, 406; Frank Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, p. 13.
6 'The Quaker no Papist'—Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus., E. 1000. 13.
7 N.L.W., Civil War and Commonwealth Tracts, Cat., p. 70, No. 344. Two points should be remembered: that Erbery died in 1654, leaving his friends to produce the 'Testimony'; that many of his other works are included in this unwieldy 'tract.'

Ministers.'[1] His defence in face of the particular impeachment of advocating 'wicked Liberty to the Popish Religion'[2] was a bold assertion that honest Papists who had given assurance to the State of their peaceable subjection should have the same liberty of conscience as Protestants at that time enjoyed in France[3]; it was typical of Erbery's inconsequential mind that ten pages before he is identifying Popery with the dragon, many-headed and many-horned, that figures in Revelations xii, 3.[4] About the same time, arising out of an effort to prove the close affinities of even Independent polity with the old cast-off Popery, he says unhesitatingly that the Papists and Prelates were 'the neerer in form to the true ordination of Ministers.'[5] But neither on this subject nor on hardly any other could Erbery be looked upon as a true representative of Welsh Puritan thought. Nor can the tradition preserved by the author of the 'Athenæ Oxonienses' that Vavasor thought the Roman community had most of the truth next to the 'gathered churches'[6] be seriously assumed to be his considered judgment, but one of those precipitate dicta for which he was so notorious. On this Popish issue, Llwyd's attitude was that of the average Puritan, unequivocal and unmerciful. His early songs bracket the Pope with Beelzebub, two powers who had between them 'made christendom their slaughterhouse, the church their dancing school'[7]; in 'Llyfr y Tri Aderyn' he does not deny learning to the Papists, but dwells on the cruel persecutions they had always been guilty of[8]; he makes his Lazarus in one context to ridicule their 'conceits of merits,' 'their several Limbus and chambers of torments,'[9] and in a later parenthesis to describe purgatory as 'that fals meritorious fiery airy pit.'[10] Goodman Past in the 'Honest Discourse' advised the Romish people to run out of Babel quickly;

1 pp. 313-368 in this copy of the 'Testimony'—368 misprinted as 338.
2 p. 333.
3 p. 334.
4 p. 324.
5 The Children of the West, pp. 53-54. (N.L.W., Civil War Tracts, Cat., p. 61, No. 237).
6 First Edition, p. 347. Anthony Wood says he was told this by 'M. LL. who knew and was acquainted with V. Powell.' It is barely possible that he was referring to Morgan Llwyd, always remembering that Llwyd died in 1659 and that there is no evidence he ever met the Oxford historian. The writer can but suggest Dr. *Martin Llewellyn*, Principal of St. Mary Hall after the Restoration (Wood's Life and Times, ed. Clark, I, pp. 316, 324).
7 Gweithiau, I, Song VIII, '1648' (The Winter), st. 1, p. 19.
8 Ibid. pp. 263-264.
9 Ibid. 'Lazarus and his Sisters . . . Paradise,' p. 278.
10 Ibid. ibid., ibid., p. 281.

'for your Tower must suddenly fall, and that fall will be great indeed.'[1] The downfall of the Pope was an integral item in the millenarian programme; but Llwyd was far too well conversant with the mighty hold that the objective splendours of the pre-Anglican system possessed over the imagination of the last people in Southern Britain who accepted the Elizabethan Reformation to make the mistake of a very competent authority on the fortunes of Welsh Catholicism and say that the Civil War left 'few living witnesses' for the ancient faith in the thirteen counties.[2]

Mr. Llewellyn Williams' interesting and illuminating fifth chapter[3] deals with the activities of Catholics (especially the Jesuits), within and without the Principality, mainly in the time of Elizabeth, but there is plenty of proof that he had pursued his researches far into the reign of Charles II.[4] It is surprising therefore that he has overlooked altogether the important testimony of one of the Harleian MSS.,[5] which supplies (inter alia) the number of Popish recusants in 1603 in the four Welsh dioceses (11 men and 21 women in Bangor, 100 men and 150 women in St. Asaph, totals of 381 and 145 for Llandaff and St. David's respectively); and also a MS. preserved in the Tanner Collection at the Bodleian which supplements this as far as the Llandaff diocese is concerned, analysing the 381 into 140 men and 196 women for Monmouthshire, 21 men and 24 women for that part of Glamorgan that fell within the diocese.[6] Nor does he seem to have examined the evidence of Puritan and other records from 1645 to 1660, a period when many good men, bored to distraction by 'blind guides' who possessed very loud voices, saw well to seek a tranquil refuge in the bosom of the great church which claimed unbroken historic continuity. This evidence is little short of overwhelming. First in point of

1 Gweithiau, II, p. 237.
2 W. Llewellyn Williams: The Making of Modern Wales, p. 257.
3 Ibid., ibid., pp. 195-258.
4 It may be submitted that the text and footnotes on pp. 223-224 are in themselves a contradiction of the generalisation on p. 257.
5 280, ff. 157-164 (quoted by Edward Owen: Catalogue of Welsh MSS. in the British Museum, I, 124). It is true that the term 'recusant' is sometimes loosely used for both Protestant and Papist dissenters. This consideration, however, cannot affect these lists of 1603: Wroth was not made vicar of Llanfaches until 1617 (Lib. Inst., Llandaff, f. 125), and there is no evidence that Penry on his infrequent visits to his native county after his declared adherence to separatism had gathered around him any organised band of Puritan 'refusers.' Nonconformists, in the ordinary sense, can be safely ruled out of Harl. MS. 280.
6 CXLVI, 153.

time comes the Tanner MS. LX[1] which gives the name and history of a Philip Morgan of Trallwng in Brecon, aged 50 years, an old student of the University of Douay 'who had taken on him the habit of the Order of St. Bennetts'; after visiting London, Somerset and Devon 'officiating that office,' he was captured in Mumbles Roads when crossing to Glamorgan from Clovelly[2] and taken before John Crowther, 'Vice Admirall of the Irish Seas,' at Penarth on 6 March, 1645-1646.[3] The Holywell district, nearly three years before, is described as 'mostly Papist'; though the Captain Byrch who made this remark said many irresponsible things in his letter from the 'Red Lyon' at Chester to the Marquis of Ormond's secretary,[4] on this subject he is indirectly supported by the sixty-eight Papists who were counted at Holywell, Llanasa, and Whitford in 1676.[5] Then comes the Raglan influence in Monmouth, with a great array of impropriate Anglican interests wielded by a Catholic peer[6]; the negotiations carried on in 1645 by the sixth earl of Worcester (later Marquis) and titular lord of Glamorgan with Cardinal Rinuccini to bring over 10,000 Irish soldiers to further the fortunes of the Royal cause[7]; another member of this powerful house, Lord Charles Somerset, also a recusant, was impropriator of the living of Monmouth.[8] If it may be objected that abortive Irish negotiations with Roman cardinals had little to do with Wales and that the Somersets of Raglan had inherited but a modicum of the Cymric fervour so characteristic of the Yorkist and Tudor Herberts, the records of the Committee for Compounding will yield up names of suffering Royalists more unmistakably Welsh: Baynham Vaughan, the Papist and delinquent who farmed the impropriate rectory of Clyro in Radnor under one of the prebendaries of St. David's,[9] and whose fine was delayed by the sequestrating authorities getting confused between Clyro in Radnor and Clitheroe in Lancashire[10]; Bodenham Gunter of Gwenddwr in Brecon, whose lands were finally

1 f. 523. [The writer has deemed it prudent to go somewhat outside the chronological limits of his period in order to set his argument going.]
2 'Gloughvelly' in MS.
3 His later history is unknown.
4 J. R. Phillips: Hist. Civil War, II, Doct. xxxvi p. 111 dated 12 Dec., 1643.
5 Salt MS. 2112 (Stafford), f. 412—census ordered by Archbishop Sheldon in 1676.
6 Cal. Comm. Comp., III, 1710-1712 supply excellent illustrations of these interests.
7 Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, pp. 328, 338; also Index, p. 978.
8 H.P.M., p. 2.
9 S. Pap. Dom. Interreg., F1, f. 273.
10 Cal. Comm. Comp., III, 2360-2361.

forfeited for treason in the Act of Sale of 18 November, 1652[1]; and Margaret Morgan of Llansore in Monmouth, 'sequestered for her recusancy, but never convicted.'[2] Reinforcing these appears the name of Mary Progers of Grosmont, who as a Papist received 'thirds' of £13 6s. 8d. in 1650 and 1651, £14 13s. 4d. in 1652[3], out of her impropriate rectories as arranged in various sequestration ordinances for 'ordering and managing the estates of papists.'[4] In connection with this allowance of 'thirds' it is not without interest that Col. Philip Jones on 13 January, 1653-4, was made one of a committee to propose an ordinance for sale of two-thirds of 'Papists' lands' for the service of the State.[5] Before this the Rump had passed a severe act banishing all priests and Jesuits; obedience to it brings forward two new names in the Calendars of State Papers: a Charles Lloyd of Carmarthen who could not come to London 'in order to his going beyond seas' until the sheriff received a warrant for that purpose from the Council of State[6]; and Edward Games of Newton in Brecon who gets a passport to 'foreign lands' from the Council on 2 February, 1653-54.[7] Nor is there ground for thinking that *all* the 'conscientious people' said to be unnecessarily troubled in the town of Carnarvon were genuine Protestants in view of the Protector's proclamation that the officers of the law were only to inquire about persons (over twenty-one years of age) who had not received the Sacrament for the space of one year or who were Popishly affected[8]; it is doubtful also whether the Irish priest named Petre would land at Holyhead and wend his way to Beaumaris unless he had some correspondence with secret Catholics, Welsh or English, living on the island, seeing that all hope of furthering the cause of the King's Irish contingent had lapsed long since.[9] The objurgations of Alexander Griffith on this subject in South Wales must be viewed with a natural suspicion. In describing

1 Cal. Comm. Comp., IV, 2999-3000; for Act see Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 634, 638.
2 Ibid., 2816. This statement was submitted to the Committee on 14 September, 1654, by Thomas Morgan, one of her relatives.
3 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, ff. 43b, 51b, 57b.
4 Esp. Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 329-335—25 January, 1649-1650.
5 Cal. Comm. Comp., I, 667.
6 Cal. St. Pap., 1653, p. 273.
7 Ibid., p. 466.
8 Cal. St. Pap., 1655, pp. 66-67.
9 Tanner MS. LIX, 642, 643. This was in 1647—letters of Lord Bulkeley to Col. Mytton and Robert Coytmore, secretary to the Puritan Earl of Warwick (7 January, 1646-1647).

the iniquities of the Propagation in a challenging letter to Vavasor Powell he says that as a resultant of the wholesale ejections 'Superstition and Popery is allready Crept in among us . . . as is sensiblie discovered by three parishes in Brecknockshire,' a statement impossible to refute as he does not condescend to give their names.[1] One can only surmise that they are to be equated with Trallwng, Llywel and Devynnock, each of which contained Papists in 1676, the latter as many as 13[2]; the wording of the Benedictine priest's confession in the Tanner MS. seemed to show that his father, Roger Morgan, lived in Trallwng at least as late as 1646.[3] The letter of the three Brecknock clergymen to Jenkin Jones in 1654 support Alexander by averring that 'for want of Heavenly Doctrine . . . the many dry and thirsty soules in this County do daily relapse into Popery, and that in no small number.'[4] The Petitioners of 1652 against the hated Act were more explicit: they denounced by name the usher of Brecon free school, Hugh Powell, as 'a known Papist, and one that hath formerly bred up many Children in Popery, to the griefe and discomfort of their Parents'[5]; the fact that his name does not appear on the pay-lists of the Trustees and that some of these children may account in 1676 for the thirty-five Papists in 'the town and parish of Brecon' seem to justify the Petitioners' accusation.[6] In any case, the number of Papists in South Wales during Propagation times[7] was large enough to affect the revenue of those incumbents who lost the usual compulsory Papist 'Easter-booke offering' on account of the new Puritan condemnation of a practice insisted on in the days of Elizabeth and the first Stuart kings; in turn, the C.P.C.W. utilise this deficiency as one of their reasons for exacting tithes so religiously from the parishioners.[8]

The potency of the Catholic appeal to men of Welsh associations can be illustrated from other sources: an M.P.

1 Bound in the same tract as the Petition of 1652, p. 21 (misprint for 23). (N.L.W. Cat., Civil War Tracts, p. 57, No. 275).
2 Salt MS. 2112 (Stafford), f. 393.
3 Tanner MS. LX, 523.
4 A True and Perfect Relation, p. 51—6 March, 1653-1654.
5 Ibid., p. 32.
6 Salt MS. 2112 (Stafford), f. 393.
7 The historian of Cowbridge has discovered that that neighbourhood boasted many fervent Catholics in the 17th Century, and names Turbervilles of Penllyn and Sker who were in trouble for recusancy in 1650 (Dr. Lemuel Hopkin-James: Old Cowbridge [1922], pp. 197-198).
8 A True and Perfect Relation, p. 44.

for Denbighshire in 1588, John Edwards of Chirk, was attainted for recusancy in 1614[1]; the sons of a Provost of Oriel—Dr. William Lewis of Llanddwywe in Merioneth, the probable author of the 'Defosiwnau Priod' published in 1655—went over to the Church of Rome during this period[2]; and described as 'a Catholic and ardent loyalist' is Edward Progers of Gwernvale in Monmouth, son of an equerry to James I, brother to a 'Serjeant Porter' of James II, himself a Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles II.[3] But more pertinent as traversing Mr. Llewellyn Williams' dictum and affording positive proof of the silent growth of Popery during Propagation and Protectorate times is the sensational appearance of 541 Roman Catholics in Monmouthshire in the religious census of 1676, a number within 66 of being equal to all other dissenters in that dissenting county gathered into one total.[4] If, as Mr. Williams says, the Great Rebellion left few living witnesses to the ancient religion in Wales, how comes it that the Anglican informers in 1676, whose cue it was to make the numbers of all 'inconformists' as low as possible,[5] had to admit no less than 416 Papists in the deanery of Abergavenny alone?[6] Was not the attack upon Henry Walter and other Puritans at Llantarnam in July 1660 mainly engineered by Papists?[7] Was a College of Jesuits not discovered at Cwm in the Herefordshire parish of Llanrothall (just bordering on Skenfrith and St. Maughan's in Monmouth) in 1679 and among the literature impounded 'a number of Welsh Popish books lately printed'?[8] Was not a murderous assault in the spring of 1680 made in Chancery Lane upon the person of a Monmouthshire J.P. named Arnold for his instrumentality in bringing to justice Father David Lewis, executed at Usk in

1 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn. in Wales, p. 72.

2 Walker: Suff., Part II, 77; Morrice: Wales in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 171-172. Walker states that Lewis held also a living he calls "East Woodham"; he is therefore the D.D. who represented himself to the Convention Lords in 1660 as 'having been illegally put out of his rectory of East Woodhaye in the County of Southampton' during the late troubles, he having been domestic chaplain to Charles I 'and then in attendance on His Ma[t]ie in Oxon.' (House of Lords' MSS., Petitions, Classifying Letter—L.),

3 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn., p. 18.

4 Salt MS. 2112 (Stafford), ff. 418-422.

5 Edward Cardwell: Docty. Annals of the Reformed Church of England, II, 290-291; Prof. Lyon Turner: Orig. Rec. of Nonconformity, III, 57.

6 Salt MS. 2112, ff. 420-421.

7 The Lord's Loud Call to England, p. 26 (Thomason Coll., E. 1038. 8).

8 A Short Narrative of the Discovery . . . by Herbert [Croft] Lord Bishop of Hereford—27 February, 1678-1679, pp. 1-10. On p. 7 the Bishop reports that it was founded in 1653, that 34 were baptized there into the Roman faith that year, 155 altogether reconciled to the same faith, and 15 regained to Catholicism who had apostatised (N.L.W., Post-Restoration Tracts).

August 1679 ?[1] And in 1665 even Dr. George Griffith of St. Asaph had to report three 'practisers of physick' in that diocese, bearing the names of Turner, Mostyn and Vaughan, all unlicensed, and all three rank Papists.[2] The inner significance of these post-1660 records lies in the fact that the Restoration witnessed no fervid renascence of the Catholic faith: however fierce the Cavalier Parliament were in repressing Puritan nonconformists, they were equally obsessed (and even more so) in watching very closely the King's insidious efforts to secure a general indulgence and in executing to the smallest iota the old penal laws against the Papists. Arguing retrospectively, the Catholics of Wales in the new era were sons and grandsons of men who had never accepted the Protestant Reformation, and who, throughout the tribulations of the Civil War and the Commonwealth that followed, had remained living, if silent, witnesses to the old faith. Of the superstitious beliefs and usages which had flourished under the shadow of the mediæval church Wales was a tender mother, as witness 'the frequent calling upon Saints in prayers and blessings,' the peregrinations to wells and chapels indicted by John Lewis of Glasgrug in 1646,[3] the 'crossing Foreheads and Faces' which was a scandal to Richard Davies when he turned Quaker about ten years after that.[4] Twenty years later still Charles Edwards professes to believe, if his words are interpreted aright,[5] that the traditional elves and ghosts of the woodland glades were all silent, done to death by the arrival of newer knowledge[6]—a conclusion not accepted by students of social evolution or by experts in Welsh folk-lore.

NOTE: ALEXANDER GRIFFITH, HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN.

His wife's maiden name was Gaynor Goodman; since one of her sons was named Godfrey and that, on the high authority of Archdeacon Thomas, was a common Christian name of the Goodmans of Ruthin, it seems natural to infer she was a member of that well-known family (Mont. Colls., xxxii, ii, 205, n. 3). Alexander himself

1 Philip Henry: Diaries, p. 287; also W. Ll. Williams: Mak. of Mod. Wales' 223, n. 5. For a different view of the attempt upon Arnold, read John Pollock: The Popish Plot, App. D, pp. 394-399.

2 Lamb. 639, f. 303.

3 The Parliament Explained to Wales, Part III, p. 30.

4 An Account of the Convincement . . . p. 41.

5 'A'r cythreuliaid yn y coedydd wedi distewi.' He could surely not be referring to secret Puritan conventicles when he himself four years before had received a licence as 'general teacher' under the Declaration of Indulgence.

6 Hanes y Ffydd Ddiffuant (1676-77 Edition), p. 210.

hailed from Llysfaen in Carnarvonshire, being son (probably) to the Owen Griffith who was instituted there on 16 Feb., 1614-1615 (Lib. Inst., St. Asaph, f. 148). Concerning the pamphleteer's second son (also named Owen) a difficult and somewhat vexatious problem will be discussed under ' Puritan Conformists ' on pp. 366a, 366b infra ; Godfrey was admitted rector of Llyswen, evidently in place of his father, on 12 Feb., 1665-1666 (Bishops' Certs., St. David's, File 14), which partly explains why Alexander himself received the rectory of Llanelieu (he had been restored to Glasbury at the end of 1660) on 17 December, 1670 (ib., File 15). Here it may be noted that, unless some of the strictures passed by Vavasor and his followers on Griffith's moral character were true, it is one of the arresting surprises of the Restoration why such a valiant Church defender received such meagre promotions and why such halting appreciation has been meted out to him by Anglican historians (as, *e.g.*, by J. C. Morrice in his ' Wales,' pp. 61-62). One of his three daughters, Ursula, married one of the Blayneys of Montgomeryshire, and died in 1673, just seven weeks before her mother (Mont. Colls., xxxii, ii [Regs. of Trefeglwys], p. 205, nn. 2, 3). Another daughter was said to be living as late as 1715 (to be inferred from the fact that the information came to Walker too late to be entered in the ' Sufferings ' of 1714), who is referred to as ' not particular of her father's sufferings ' because of her tender age at that remote period, a statement not very easily reconciled with the fact that, assuming he had no daughters born to him after leaving Trefeglwys, his two other daughters (Elizabeth and Margaret) were born in 1624 and 1625 respectively (Mont. Colls., supra, pp. 203-204), and so would be quite old enough to appreciate their father's lot when he was turned out by the Propagation Commissioners in 1650 (H.P.M., p. 133). The above allusion to a surviving daughter of Alexander—she must have been about 90 years of age—is contained in a MS. of proposed emendations or additions to the ' Sufferings ' (M.S. J. Walker, c. 7, f. 51) ; a grandson is also referred to as ' a very worthy clergyman in Surrey.' The stout old Anglican himself had, according to the parish registers, died on 21 April, 1676 (Morrice has 1690) ; as the evidence in the Llangattock Exchequer case puts him ' about 63 years ' at the beginning of 1664 (Depos., Mixed Cos., No. 8, Hilary, 15-16 Chas. II), he must have lived to the age of 75, having survived his old opponent Vavasor by nearly six years. His death, occurring just at the time that Sheldon was making his notorious census, prevented any return of ' sectaries ' being made for the parish of Glasbury (as to this hiatus, examine ff. 393-396 of the Stafford Salt MS. 2112).

Part II.

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNIFORMITY.

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN WALES.

I.

THE COMING OF THE KING.

It is recorded of Dr. William Beale, who was ejected from the Mastership of St. John's in Cambridge and the sinecure rectory of Aberdaron annexed to it,[1] that on his death-bed at Madrid he had 'a Persuasion of the Restoration.'[2] No political expedient was left untried by the republican powers to disenchant such illusions and to keep out at all costs the son of the beheaded Charles Stuart. The Parliament of Saints had to give way to the 'Instrument of Government'; the Royalist risings brought the Major-Generals into being; the anaemic Protectorate of Richard led to his resignation and the first restoration of the Rump in May 1659; the grandees of the Army re-ejected it in October and set up a Committee of Safety; this body was later transformed into 21 'Conservators of Liberty' to maintain the seven 'unalterable fundamentals'; in December 1659 the Rump was again restored and its ranks reinforced by new and carefully-packed republicans. Just at this juncture, when the new Parliament had been summoned to meet on 24 January, 1659-1660, a letter was penned in Dublin by Col. John Jones to 'His Excellencie the Lord Generall Fleetwood' (bearing the date of 6 December), portraying most vividly the gathering cloud of difficulties which ultimately broke in a storm that overwhelmed the 'good old cause.' He diagnosed the hopes of certain politicians whose ambitions centred in dividing up the solidarity of the Army; he showed himself well posted in the deep-laid schemes of Monck in Scotland; and divined very accurately the fluctuations of opinion among men who

1 Instituted on 28 March, 1640 (Lib. Inst., Bangor, f. 1).
2 Walker: Suff., Part II, p. 148.

otherwise wished well to the Commonwealth: how those who loudly called for the supremacy of Parliament 'doe not declare *what* Parliament,' and how 'the best of those that seeme thus zealouse for *a* Parliament were against the restitution of y^e^ longe Parliament [Rump] to their last sitting.'[1] He betrays a true prophetic instinct in describing the growing hopes of the Cavaliers that the new Parliament would never agree with the Army; that one of them must be laid aside; that if the Army be the unfortunate factor eliminated, it followed that another Army must be raised of other principles, 'and those wilbee such as countenanced Sir George Booth's designe [of the preceding August], *i.e.*, Cavallieres, under y^e^ maske of a Presbiterian Interest, such as would have y^e^ pease established on y^e^ Concessions at y^e^ Isle of Weight'; more than all, that there was 'noe other Interest intyre in y^e^ Three Nations' but that of Charles Stuart. 'Whatsoever y^e^ Lord directs you to doe att your Councell do it quickly. Delayes and long Debates are exceedingly dangerouse, if y^e^ Spring overtake you before you come to settlement I cannot see how you will avoyd ruine according to y^e^ reasonings of men.'[2] This intensely practical bent of the Welsh regicide, the stern morale which had refused to countenance the schemes of the extreme but influential Baptists of Dublin,[3] which had estranged the affections of the Cromwell family because he saw no possible salvation in the continuance of Richard's Protectorate,[4] which had consistently kept aloof from the mystical millenarianism of his intimate friend Llwyd[5]—led him to pass by without cursory notice the amateurs who were busy erecting new buttresses for the republican towers or suggesting new foundations for completely new buildings. Some proposed that there should be side by side with a popular assembly a select number of men in the nature of the Lacedaemonian Ephori entrusted with a power of veto to defend the basic

1 May 7—October 13, 1659.

2 [Rev.] D. Davies (of Harlech): Ardudwy a'i Gwron, pp. 209-210. The writer has not had opportunity to examine the original of this letter. It comes from the same source—the 'Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, New Series, Vol. I (1860-1861)'—as that from which C. H. Simpkinson has drawn in his 'Life of Harrison' (pp. 293-299) and Mr. J. H. Davies in his Vol. II of Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd (pp. 287-303). It is evident that the Rev. D. Davies has transliterated the 'y^t^' of the original into 'yet' instead of 'that,' which in some of the letters, though not in this one particularly, makes utter nonsense.

3 L. F Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 136; Gweithiau Llwyd, II, 300-301.

4 D. Davies: Ardudwy a'i Gwron, pp. 210-212 (transcripts of letters by Jones).

5 See esp. letter to Llwyd from Dublin, 30 Sept., 1653 (Gweithiau, II, 302-303).

laws of the constitution, while James Harrington with ideas derived from his long sojourn in Venice would have none of the millenarian sanhedrin of 70, but two Councils, both chosen by the people, one consisting of 300, empowered only to debate and propose laws, the other of 1,000, delegated to resolve and determine, and both renewable by rotation.[1] Milton in his 'Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth' condemned the 'Oceana' scheme of Harrington as too intricate and rigid, rejected altogether the principle of rotation, and suggested a permanent Grand Council, combining with this an extended system of local self-government, each county to become a sort of little commonwealth, with councils, schools, and law-courts of its own.[2] Kingship was ruthlessly swept aside, also successive and transitory Parliaments; none of the Council were to be removed except by death or on conviction of crime.[3] 'I like not the democratic forms' was the dictum of Baxter, who tried his hand in the 'Holy Commonwealth' (more or less as a relaxation from doctrinal hair-splittings) as architect of a new constitution. To him the sovereign was above all positive laws; the only check on him was to be found in the efficacy of the moral code; but the 'magistrate' deserved obedience only in the ordinary routine of life. Baxter's utter lack of sympathy with the more undisciplined religious propaganda of the Puritan interregnum made him say that only sheer anarchy could result from any uncalled man dreaming that every opportunity was a call.[4] Last of all came the latter-day ideas of the William Prynne who had once suffered so severely from the attentions of the Court of High Commission and who had declared in 1643 that Parliaments were above Kings.[5] Now he finds that the republican oligarchy had violated the whole body of the laws and that it was 'the extremity of injustice to deny them [the House of Lords] their ancient hereditary right'; he so boldly advocated the return of the King that a Royalist agent sent word to Ormond 'that he may be called the Cato of his age.'[6]

1 For these schemes, see Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 544 (chap. by Prof. C. H. Firth).
2 Ibid. ibid. 556.
3 G. P. Gooch: Eng. Democ. Ideas, pp. 314-317.
4 Ibid. pp. 310-313.
5 Ibid. p. 117.
6 Ibid. pp. 313-314.

A man like John Jones, since May 1659 the first of three Commissioners in the government of Ireland and member also of both the Council of State and the Committee of Safety,[1] had more respect for Cæsar than for either Cicero or Cato; in any case, the grandiose scheme of Milton, called by Professor Firth 'the last word of expiring Republicanism,' had not been propounded when he wrote his letter from Dublin. The colonel was one of those who had implicit faith in the maintenance and supremacy of the Army as both 'salus populi' and 'suprema lex'—'Councells without fforce to justify them are insignificant'[2]; but he was not above aiding and abetting other Army officers in securing a docile Parliament: 'I beleeve most of our elections [in Ireland] will fall upon our ffreinds now in England.'[3] Nowhere was his presence for that purpose more necessary than in North Wales and in his own county of Merioneth, for which Lewis Owen of Peniarth was elected, an old Royalist who was on 8 December, 1645, captured in bed by another Col. John Jones [of Nanteos] and who was in 1660 to be nominated by Charles II knight of the Royal Oak.[4] The boroughs of Montgomery sent up Charles Lloyd of Garth who had already represented the county since 1654, and lived to be created a baronet by the restored King on 10 May, 1661.[5] The boroughs of Flint elected Sir Thomas Hanmer's son John, a gentleman who was in 1660 to subscribe £600 to help facilitating the King's return, assemble at his own expense a body of 60 horse, to be knighted soon after the Restoration, and nominated a knight of the Royal Oak[6]; Carnarvonshire William Glynne of Lleuar, who was unsuccessfully petitioned against by the Puritan colonel Thomas Madryn, his plea not being entertained as it was 'rec[d] too late'[7]; the boroughs Robert Williams of Conway and Penrhyn, eldest son of Sir Griffith Williams[8] and closely connected with the illustrious Archbishop John Williams who died at Gloddaeth in 1649.[9] Hardly better from the genuine Puritan point of view were Griffith Bodwrda, member

1 Of course, his attendances in London were very infrequent.
2 D. Davies: Ardudwy a'i Gwron, p. 209.
3 Ibid. p. 210.
4 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn. in Wales, pp. 116-117.
5 Ibid. pp. 144, 149.
6 Ibid. pp. 87, 91.
7 Ibid. p. 61.
8 Ibid. p. 67.
9 Walker: Suff., II, 82.

for Beaumaris, a voracious place-hunter who managed to curry favour with both the Long Parliament and the Protectorate[1]; and Edward Vaughan of Llwydiarth, chosen for the shire of Montgomery, once subject to the inquisition of the Committee for Compounding, and at all times the succourer of ejected clergy.[2] South Wales was in a similar plight. Who could put down as loyal supporters of the republic at this most critical time Henry Williams of Cabalfa, the new M.P. for Radnorshire,[3] who had married Mayzod, daughter of the greatest of all Royalists, Judge David Jenkins of Hensol[4]; William Morgan of Machen and Tredegar, one of the new M.P.'s for the county of Monmouth, who was to continue in that capacity for 19 years after the Restoration[5]; David Morgan of the boroughs of Carmarthen, described in August 1644 as 'having turned to them that are in actual war against the Parliament,' and later displaced as Sequestration Commissioner for the three south-western counties?[6] Evan Seys of Boverton, M.P. for Glamorgan, was indeed nominated as one of the commissioners in the act 'for the security of His Highness the Lord Protector' of 27 November, 1656,[7] and also attended his funeral in state; but he condescended to receive a pardon under the Great Seal on 18 May, 1662, and sat in the Cavalier Parliament for twenty years.[8] The situation was only partially saved by the inclusion of such names as John Price of Gellihir, brother-in-law to Col. Philip Jones, for the town of Cardiff[9]; Nathaniel Waterhouse for the boroughs of Monmouth, 'a faithful friend and servant of the two Cromwells'[10]; and William Foxswist of Carnarvon, the first M.P. ever returned for Swansea, who happened to be second Justice of Great Sessions for Brecon, Glamorgan and Radnor.[11] In other words, despite the drastic powers of revision invested in the Council of State, Wales even more

1 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn. in Wales, pp. 4-5, 10.
2 Ibid. pp. 143, 144.
3 Ibid. p. 174.
4 The voluminous tracts brought out by Jenkins in defence of the Royal cause (and of his own life and interests) are referred to passim in N.L.W., Cat. of Civil War Tracts, pp. 26-75.
5 W. R. Williams, p. 125.
6 Ibid. p. 53.
7 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 1040.
8 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Repn., p. 98.
9 Ibid. p. 107.
10 Ibid. pp. 125, 136. He it was who had the unpleasant duty of informing Col. John Jones that Richard Cromwell 'had been pleased to interdict the Payment of the Annuity which his late Highness . . . had settled upon his wife' [Oliver's sister]—Ardudwy a'i Gwron, 210-211.
11 W. R. Williams, pp. 66, 112.

than England witnessed the majority casting away the shackles girt on by the minority ; after 15 years of repression the submerged Royalism of the gentry was bursting into view once more ; and the squires of Merioneth, like Rowland Vaughan of Caergai, insisted on having to represent them a man in Lewis Owen of Peniarth ' ar ôl ein rhywogaeth.'[1] This rising tide is very evident also in the lists of sheriffs.[2] Henry Lloyd of Bodwenny is sworn in Anglesey for 1659-1660, a squire who in 1648 was (with others) willing ' to prostrate his life to preserve this island [of Anglesey] ' from the attacks of Colonels Mytton and John Jones.[3] Morgan Herbert of Hafod Uchtryd and John Williams of Meillionydd, for Cardigan and Carnarvon respectively, were two dexterous trimmers who held the post, the first from 1657 to 1660,[4] the second from 1658 to 1661.[5] In Merioneth the office was held from 1658 to 1660 by Richard Anwyl of Park[6]—whose family had intermarried with that of Sir John Owen of Clenennau, a Royalist who can assuredly be mentioned in the same breath with Judge David Jenkins—through whose influence, without much doubt, his relative John Anwyl, a graduate of Brasenose,[7] was able to keep his livings of Llandanwg and Llanbedr free from the ominous glances of the Propagation Commissioners.[8] Charles Van of Coldra in Monmouth held the shrievalty in that county from 1658 to 1660.[9] After this, it is almost refreshing to read that the Carmarthen sheriff for 1659, Rowland Gwynne of Glanbrân, was deemed a bad enough Royalist to be put out at the Restoration and his year of office completed by John Vaughan of Plasgwyn,[10] and that three sound Baptists were holding the shrievalty and under-shrievalty of Glamorgan in 1658-1659 and up to the coming

1 This phrase is adapted from the ' dedication ' of his ' Pregeth yn erbyn Schism.'

2 It must be remembered in connection with the dates in the text that up to the time of William and Mary the sheriffs held their posts from and after the Feast of All Saints (Breese : Kals. of Gwynedd, pp. 31-32).

3 Nicholas : Annals and Antiquities, I, 32 ; J. R. Phillips : Hist. Civil War, II, Doct. cxvii, 400.

4 J. R. Phillips : List of the Sheriffs of Cards. (1868), p. 19. It should be pointed out, on the other hand, that ' articles of misdemeanour ' for forbearing to punish ' fanatics ' and other offenders were presented against Herbert by the Cavaliers of Ceredigion about June 1660 (Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 59-60).

5 Breese : Kalendars of Gwynedd, p. 56.

6 Nicholas : Annals and Antiqs., II, 92 ; Breese : Kals. of Gwynedd, p. 75.

7 Brasenose Coll. Reg., Vol. I, p. 149 (Vol. LV in Oxf. Hist. Soc. Publics.).

8 Lamb. 1027, Entry 33b. Anwyl was dead before the Protectorate Ejectors started operations.

9 Nicholas : Annals and Antiquities, II, 761.

10 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 50 ; Buckley : Genealogies of the Carmarthenshire Sheriffs (1539-1739), p. 120.

of the King.[1] The loyalty to the Puritan government of Robert Davies of Gwysaney, High Sheriff for Flint in 1659-1660,[2] will not stand a moment's consideration: when the time came to elect members for that county to the Cavalier Parliament in 1661, the then Earl of Derby wrote to his Flintshire tenants moving them to appear at the election and 'bestow your votes as Robert Davies, y^e^ late High Sheriffe of y^e^ County, shall direct, and for such p'sons as he shall nominate, as his Loyalty to his Prince . . . is sufficiently known.'[3] Denbighshire could not suggest a better Puritan than the same Edward Vaughan who represented Montgomeryshire in Parliament,[4] which was only natural in a county which in 1655 had accepted as High Sheriff John Jeffreys of Acton, father of the un-Puritan Lord Chancellor and Chief Justice.[5] Vaughan reported to the Council of State on 30 August, 1659, that a month before (evidently during the crisis caused by Booth's Cheshire rising) he had been annoyed by Roger Sontley and John Manley, captains in the militia force,[6]—good proof that he did not enjoy the confidence of the one, a very prominent member of the dead Llwyd's congregation at Wrexham,[7] nor of the other, the squire of Bryn-y-ffynnon who had married a daughter of Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, the Commonwealth ambassador murdered at the Hague.[8] Naturally after the replenishing of the Parliament elected in December 1659 by the members of the Long Parliament 'secluded' 11 years before, appointments allied in personnel to the foregoing were accelerated and the path to the Restoration made easier and more sure. John Gunter, the first manager and solicitor of the Petition of 1652 against the Propagation Act, breaks a silence of five years to give important information to the Army Commissioners about affairs in South Wales, information not further defined, but which assuredly would not be to the advantage of the Propagators or of the friends of the now despised Protectorate[9]; the same gentleman finds himself

1 Nicholas: Annals and Antiquities, II, 600.
2 Taylor: Hist. Notices of Flint, p. 53.
3 Ibid. p. 145—dated 8 April, 1661, from Chester.
4 Edward Parry: A List of the Names and Residences of all the High Sheriffs of the County of Denbigh, pp. 23-24.
5 Ibid. p. 23; Nicholas: Annals and Antiqs., I, 399.
6 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, p. 159.
7 Gweithiau Llwyd, II, pp. 266, 267.
8 A. N. Palmer: Hist. Older Noncon. Wrexham, p. 3.
9 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, pp. 288-289.

named as assessment commissioner in the ordinance of 26 January, 1659-60,[1] and in the militia act of two months afterwards, where he would find the congenial company of Henry Williams of Cabalfa.[2] Colonel Edward Freeman also, the head and front of the same notorious Petition, a sufferer for his activities from 1653 to 1659, secures a place among the same commissioners in the counties of Hereford and Glamorgan,[3] while yet another of its foremost organisers, William Thomas of Brecon, the author of the 'Alarum to Corporations' in 1658 against such heretics as Jenkin Jones of Llanthetty, is emboldened at the end of 1659 to report to the London authorities that he is the object of attack by the Recorder of the town and the Puritan High Sheriff, Lewis Jones of Trebinshwn.[4] *He* is also asked to help administer the militia act of 12 March, 1659-1660, in the county of Brecknock.[5] It was doubtless the influence of this trio, moulding the very sympathetic material that entered this Parliament both in December 1659 and February 1660, that led to the passing of a very ambitious act at the very last session[6] of the Long Parliament on 16 March to 'take the Accompts' of the C.P.G.W. from 1650 to 1653 once more (of which 'taking,' however, no record has yet come to light[7]). And these appointments and acts shadowed forth a more serious background. The Booth rising had found an active supporter in the Sir Thomas Myddelton of Chirk, whose victorious career as Major-General for the Parliament in the early days of the Civil War had seen Morgan Llwyd (if not Vavasor Powell) acting under him as chaplains[8]; on 25 August, 1659, his castle stood out last against the soldiers of Lambert[9]; by 12 March of the following year this was a positive recommendation for asking him to administer the new 'settling of the militia.'[10] Other castles in North Wales had fallen into the hands of the insurgents of August[11]; Bussy

1 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 1382.
2 Ibid. 1447.
3 Ibid. 1369, 1432, 1447-1448.
4 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, pp. 288-289.
5 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 1447.
6 'Sitting' would be a more accurate term—it was on that day, by arrangement with Monck, that they dissolved.
7 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 1465-1467; also C. J., VII, 880. It is of some interest that William Prynne, a week previous, was asked to form one of a committee to further the fortunes of this abortive instrument (C. J., VII, 868).
8 C. J., III, 565; Gweithiau Llwyd, II, Introd., xxvii-xxviii.
9 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, p. 145.
10 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ords., II, 1448.
11 Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 541.

Mansell, made commander of the South Wales forces at the end of July 1659, reported to the President of the Council that some men from that direction had found their way north 'to the enemy in Chester'[1]; and a certain Captain Edward Morgan, a Royalist exile writing from Copenhagen on 21 December to the King's secretary Nicholas at Brussels, felt confident in saying that if he had but 900 men he would be answerable for putting the whole of South Wales in His Majesty's hands.[2] Another sign of the times was that James Howell, the Abernant Welshman once clerk to Charles I's Council and afterwards Fleet prisoner for eight years, in 1655 only took 'occasion . . . to speak of Parlement *in former times*,'[3] but in 1658 brought out another edition with 'a Supplement of divers signall passages which the other had not',[4] and in 1660 the 'Parley of Beasts,' an account of men who had been transmuted into animals refusing to be disenchanted 'in regard of the crying sins and rebellious humors of the Times.'[5] Later in the year Howell emerges from the world of parables to petition the restored King for readmission to his old office[6] and also for the place of assistant secretary to the Committee of Trade.[7]

The unmistakable bent of the new orientation, the ominous admission of the 'sovereign' power made in the writings of undoubted Parliamentarians, and the inability of the new Cromwell to prolong with success the dictatorship of the old, had some time before forced the warring sects of the Puritan fold to seek some accommodation, if only tentatively, one with another; Dr. Shaw's dictum, 'it may be that the shadow of coming danger lay already across their path,' could be asseverated with much greater emphasis.[8] Baxter was sanguine enough to attempt an agreement with the Episcopalians themselves, but was doomed to speedy disappointment. Then he approached the Trier and Independent Philip Nye, and went the length of drawing up the draft of an agreement on the three chief points which divided the two leading Puritan camps, viz., the ordination of the pastor,

1 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn., p. 99.
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, p. 286.
3 N.L.W., Civil War Tracts, Cat., pp. 66-67, No. 1366.
4 Ibid. pp. 69-70, No. 1370.
5 Ibid. pp. 72-73, No. 1373.
6 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 12.
7 Ibid. p. 288.
8 II, p. 166.

the exercise of exterior authority over the single congregation, and the forming or 'gathering' of congregations from one source or quarter; but these negotiations were as futile as the correspondence with the Anglican Dr. Hammond. The two parties in Manchester were more successful, with the result that 'we do also agree to preach in each other's congregations and to meet together for advice as occasion requires,' cases of offence also to be heard by delegates equally chosen from both sides.[1] It was in the year 1659, too, on 24 April, at a time 'when moderation was grown in fashion,' that a pamphlet was published (and preserved in the Thomason Collection[2]) called 'Irenicum, or an Essay towards a Brotherly Peace and Union between those of the Congregational and Presbyterian Way.' Such a movement could only touch Wales in the North-East, where alone was Presbyterianism a living force, and where also the old Baxterian project of voluntary associations had already made some headway; Philip Henry observed in 1659 'a great change in the temper of God's people and a mighty tendency towards peace and unity as if they were by consent weary of their long clashings.'[3] John Dury, a prominent member of the Assembly of Divines[4] and a member of the committee appointed by the Rump to consider the more efficacious propagation of the Gospel,[5] carried this temper so far as not only to aim at embracing within one bond the more numerous English separatists, but to help assimilate the Lutherans and Calvinists on the Continent as well. Even the Baptists moved a little in the direction of a 'via media'; William Allen, one of the General Baptists—the more likely branch to fall in with a modified scheme of comprehension—writing to Baxter about certain political developments arising out of the first restoration of the Rump in May 1659, thinks that whatever the part played by Baptists in this last experiment 'it will amount to no just ground of scruple to others to afford them in general their *com*union'; 'nor,' he goes on, 'doe I think it will take those Anab. off their prosecution of christian agreemt. among differing brethren, whose hearts

1 These developments are discussed by Shaw, II, pp. 170-171.
2 E. 978. 1. Seaton has given excellent reasons for believing that the much more famous 'Irenicum' of Dr. Edward Stillingfleet was not published before 1661 (Theory of Toleration under the Later Stuarts, App. IV, 341-345).
3 An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry (1698), p. 60.
4 Shaw, I, 286.
5 C. J., VII, 259.

were inclined to it before.'[1] At the end of that summer, however, Baxter has reluctantly to admit that the problem was complicated by the supremacy of the extra-Presbyterian sectaries in Parliament and Army ; for should Independents and Baptists come to terms with Presbyterians over a set of propositions ' the turne set them up, and they were too high for accommodation.'[2] Baxter was probably aware that, far from spending time in fruitless aspirations after union, the more prominent of the Baptists (even before Booth's August rising) were entering the Army in large and ever larger numbers—such men as William Kyffin, the merchant-minister who wielded the greatest influence in Particular Baptist circles, and Jeremiah Ives, far more potent with the Arminian group than Allen, accepting commissions with the London militia.[3] And nine days after Baxter's sarcasm about the ' turne,' the Council of State decided to grant a commission to that seasoned soldier Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ Church—the man who had erected new Independent frontiers against Presbyterianism by drafting the Savoy Declaration of 1658—to raise a troop of well-affected volunteer horse for the defence of the University and parts adjacent[4] to combat any ramifications there of Sir George Booth's semi-Presbyterian movement, a rising that still more effectually stifled any further hopes of accommodation with that body. No response to these inchoate attempts at union was anywhere detected in Wales (always excepting the restricted efforts of Henry and his friends). Powell implicitly believed, and was to re-affirm his belief in the petition of September,[5] that salvation was to be sought not in artificial and earthly concordats but in the personal advent of the Lord. Miles stood on his guard, dour and sphinx-like, recreating a new solidarity among his divided remnants in South Wales and perfecting in practice the new Ilston arrangements of 1657.[6] The only two men whose imposing personalities and previous record would warrant success to a new crusade of reunion were either dying or dead : Llwyd passed away from the scene in June,

1 L. F. Brown : Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 180 (and n. 20).
2 A compressed version of the Allen-Baxter rapprochement is given in Calamy's Abridgment of the latter's Life, I, 135-136.
3 L. F. Brown : Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men. p. 185 (and n. 32).
4 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, p. 110—15 August.
5 Supra, pp. 235-236.
6 Joshua Thomas : Hanes y Bedyddwyr (Pontypridd Ed.), pp. 92-94.

Cradock in December. And if these two acute Independents had survived to see the new 'turne' to affairs given by the restoration of the Long Parliament in February 1660, it is more than likely that they would present a 'tu quoque' argument to Baxter among the most apposite and effective in our annals. The Presbyterians being now in an overwhelmingly majority in Parliament abjured all talk of compromise and resolved to complete the establishment evolved in 1645-1646. The Confession of Faith drawn up in the latter year by the Assembly of Divines was confirmed and ordered to be published. The Solemn League and Covenant was also enjoined to be set up in the churches and to be read there publicly once a year, while a new act for the appointment and admission of ministers involved the division of the whole of Southern Britain into classical presbyteries, besides weighing the scales against the Independents (in London and Lancashire more especially) where a long civil war had waged between the claims of classis and congregation.[1] These enactments perfected they dissolved on 16 March, and at noonday of the same date the inscription 'Exit tyrannus Regum ultimus' set up by the Commonwealth in the Exchange where the late King's statue had once stood was publicly blotted out.[2] This was a dramatic avowal that a Presbyterian Parliament was directly responsible for the recall of the King; soon after the Presbyterian ministers decided to send a deputation of eight or ten of their number to visit Charles in Holland to get his sanction, if at all possible, to the high Presbyterianism of the expired Long Parliament and to its continuance as the official form of church government in this country.[3] Not unconnected with the new angle of vision was the giving anew to the world of 'The Tragedy of Christopher Love at Tower-Hill,'[4] being the story of a very worthy Welshman who was found guilty in 1651 of plotting against the republic in the interests of a Scottish invasion of England which bade fair to destroy the army and toleration together. How a certain type of minister could keep pace

1 Shaw, II, pp. 126-136.

2 The authority for these activities of the Long Parliament in March 1660 is Professor Firth's art.—'Anarchy and the Restoration'—(Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 553-554).

3 Dr. John Stoughton: The Church of the Restoration, I, 68-71; Frank Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, p. 6.

4 N.L.W., Civil War and Commonwealth Tracts, Cat., p. 71, No. 241.

with these revolutions of fortune is well illustrated by John Price, a Cambridge Fellow of King's, who in 1652 was signing the same report bearing on the propagation of the Gospel as John Dury[1]; in 1660 he was chaplain to Monck (afterwards writing his biography), and on 10 May preached a sermon before the newly-elected Convention Parliament at St. Margaret's Westminster fully befitting a day of solemn thanksgiving 'for the mercies God had bestowed on the Nation through the successfull conduct of the Lord Generall Monck.'[2] Whatever he called himself in 1652, in 1660 Price would have no difficulty in dubbing himself a Presbyterian. Into a similar category falls Jenkin Lloyd of Llangoedmor. He had put his hand to the same advanced report of 1652 as Dury and the aforesaid Price,[3] was a Propagation Approver, secular M.P. for Carmarthen for some period of the Protectorate,[4] and had been enthusiastic in carrying out the provisions of the Ejection ordinance of August 1654[5] and the proclamations of the Protector for 'securing the peace of the Commonwealth' in 1655-1656.[6] Yet, if the declaration of the Llandyssul petty constable in 1662 is to be accepted, Lloyd allowed the ejected incumbent of that living to make a claim to it, 'hold the title,' and receive a moiety of the profits until the Restoration, a bargain consummated without the cognisance of either Triers or Trustees.[7] The upshot was that the sometime Approver was not only confirmed in his old living of Llangoedmor on 25 June, 1660,[8] but also 'among royalists and several presbyterians' was created D.D. at Oxford on 12 September, 1661.[9] Lloyd had no desire to be on the wrong side.

The best interests of Presbyterianism could not benefit much from the eleventh-hour support of such time-servers as these or from the fluid convictions of a worldly king; but its eventual failure to rank as the established church-system was due to the diplomatic craft of Clarendon and to the wonderful tenacity of the Anglican order in the days of the 'usurped

1 C. J., VII, 259.
2 N.L.W., Civil War Tracts, Cat., p. 71, No. 239.
3 C. J., VII, 259.
4 H.P.M., pp. 216-217.
5 Cal. St. Pap., 1655, p. 292.
6 Rawl. MS. A. 36, 225 here Lloyd appears as one of the signatories of a letter from Carmarthen to Thurloe, dated 6 March, 1655-1656.
7 Lamb. 1027, Entry 35.
8 Patent Rolls, 12 Charles II, Part 1, No. 431.
9 Fasti Oxonienses, Vol. II. (ed. Bliss), pp. 257-258; Tanner MS. 338, f. 103.

powers.' It is capable of proof that some despondent clergy, during the stress of the militant triumph of the Puritan arms, varied from the strictest use of the rubric in their more or less secret use of the liturgy; that others compiled prayers of their own based on those of the banned Prayer Book; and that some moderate Episcopalians began in 1656 to talk of 'fraternall accord' with the sects and 'an abatement of former rigors and distances,' talk that did not take the form of action when the more responsible of them were approached by Baxter in 1658-1659.[1] There is more abundant evidence that baptism, confirmation, and the full use of the liturgy 'without the least fayling either of service, sermons, or communions in their solemnity . . . in ritus et leges ecclesiæ Anglicanæ' were observed (sometimes clandestinely, often publicly) notwithstanding all penal clauses and minatory proclamations,[2] which justified the Bishops at the Savoy Conference of 1661 in their boast that 'though divers have been of late baptized without godfathers, yet many have been baptized with them.'[3] *E.g.*, David Williams, the vicar of Llanfihangel Cwmdu ejected in 1650 for the double cause of simony and illegal induction, explicitly stated after the Restoration that that did not prevent him baptizing an infant (during the interregnum) in the parish of Glasbury.[4] The Walker MSS. at the Bodleian assert of a John Waltham, incumbent of Dodbrooke in the Devon deanery of Woodleigh that 'notwithstanding frequent complaints made against him he still read a considerable part of y^e^ comon prayer as the Rubrick directed and never omitted in a short premeditated prayer before sermon to conclude with y^e^ Lords praier.'[5] In Wales the public, if unauthorised, ministrations of William Langford at Welshpool are pronounced by the Quaker Richard Davies to be guiltless of these evasions[6]; but can the same be predicated of the services held by the twelve unejected clergy in that county, by the ejected who

1 G. B. Tatham: The Puritans in Power, pp. 224-226.
2 Ibid., ibid., pp. 236-237.
3 Docts. Act Uniformity, ed. Gould, p. 168 [The Answer of the Bishops to the Exceptions of the (Presbyterian) Ministers (to the Prayer Book)]. Sheldon could point to a baptism which he had himself celebrated at Newington in 1656 (Vernon Staley: Life, p. 28).
4 Exch. Depos., Mixed Counties (Brecon and Radnor), No. 8, Hilary, 15 and 16 Chas. II. This baptism was celebrated at some date *before* the death of the Puritan minister of Glasbury in 1658.
5 C. 2, f. 354; for the curiously parallel case of Sandford, incumbent of Marianslcigh in the same county, see e. 12, f. 2 et seq.
6 An Account of the Convincement . . . p. 31.

found favour under the Protectorate, and especially by Richard Jones of Llanfair sheltered as he was by the interested patronage of the Vaughans of Llwydiarth ? It was deposed by a John Thomas Prosser of Llanelly in Brecon that Matthew Herbert, the rector of Llangattock ejected long before the Propagation Act, managed to preach in that parish until about 1655 when he was at last hindered to officiate 'by some persons which usurped Authoritie from the then Parliament.'[1] Of John Cragge, the vicar ejected from Llantilio Pertholy in Monmouth, a tract in the National Library of Wales records that he preached there on 5 June, 1653, although there is no valid evidence that he was reinstated.[2] Nor is it definitely said that he preached it in the parish church. The people who listened to this learned but unexceptionable sermon may indeed have corresponded to those Episcopalians in the neighbourhood of Coychurch and St. Mary Hill reported by Henry Nicholls to have 'flocked to houses to hear private Expositions and teachings . . . once a weeke.' Such regrettable conduct induced that worthy to ask if they could not join the gathered churches instead of suffering their ministry to lie dormant and their talents buried, 'perdere substantiam propter accidentia'[3]; and although he buttressed his appeal by a marginal reference to p. 385 of Hobbes' 'Leviathan' with its lukewarm reference to 'the Independency of the primitive Christians,' his advice has a very hollow ring seeing that he himself was episcopally ordained before the wars[4] and was to receive re-institution by the Bishop of Llandaff to the rectory of Neath on 20 October, 1667.[5] Vavasor's defenders in the 'Examen' positively affirm that men of such Anglican antecedents did enrol themselves among the separatist congregations of Radnor, Denbigh, and Montgomery,[6] which (if true) simply meant that they followed the line of least resistance in the direction of self-preservation, from which uncongenial environment they would seek prompt egress when rumours of a Restoration were bruited abroad.

1 Exch. Depos., Mixed Counties, No. 8, Hilary, 15 and 16 Charles II.
2 Cat., p. 64, No. 188 (Civil War Tracts).
3 The Shield Single against the Sword Doubled, pp. 26-27 (published in 1653).
4 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 66. This rests on the unsupported word of Mansell.
5 Exch. First Fruits, Bishops' Certifs., File 10 (Llandaff)—Schedule 20 April, 1667—20 April, 1668.
6 p. 39.

But even if such enrolments be interpreted as real apostacy the ostracised powers of the English Church, closely preserving the truly sacerdotal view of what Nicholls was pleased to call 'accidentia,' were taking due care to ensure their own continuity by the conferment of orders, both secretly in this country and among the exiles in France and Holland. Tatham, quoting from the Clarendon State Papers, has given definite instances of ordinations by Bishops Skinner of Oxford and King of Chichester[1]; no example from Wales can be adduced,[2] the nearest ordinand being the unfortunate murderer Robert Foulkes of Stanton Lacy in the southern hundred of Salop who distinctly states in his confession that he was ordained 'a minister of the Holy Gospel by the imposition of Episcopal hands in anti-Episcopal times.'[3] However, unless the writer altogether misconstrues the sense of the Latin passage in which Bishop Roberts of Bangor in January 1662 reports the 'second admission' of William Lewis, the Trier nominee to Llanfaethlu, the latter must have secretly consulted the wishes of the Bishop, if he did not actually receive actual ordination at his hands, before taking up his duties as quasi-Puritan minister in that un-Puritan county.[4] The great mass of the ejected clergy in no way abjured their ancient instruments of institution: John Cragge of Llantilio was still 'Dispenser of the Gospell' on the title-page of his printed sermon; John Davies of Garthbeibio and Matthew Evans of Penegoes each styled himself 'Evangelii Minister' during their enforced silence[5]; Richard Jones of Llanfair calls himself in the dedicatory epistle of the 'Testûn' 'eich ffyddlongar weinidog,'[6] 'Gweinidog Gair Duw' in the title, 'gwas'nacthydd yng *w*einidogaeth yr Efengyl' on p. 10 of the 'Gemma' of 1655. Matthew Herbert of Llangattock punctiliously preserved the official parchment record of his title to his lost

1 The Puritans in Power, p. 246.

2 Of Thomas Jones, rector of Castell Caereinion, it is said that 'about 1654 he is supposed to have received episcopal ordination' (Morrice: Wales, p. 207). But is not this a misapprehension of the Triers' certificate granted him 4 September, 1654 (Lamb. 997, lib. ii, f. 168)?

3 An Alarm for Sinners . . . p. 4. (N.L.W., Post-Restoration Tracts). Foulkes was executed at the Old Bailey, 31 January, 1678-9, for murdering an infant born in adultery. There is a reference to this morbid case in a letter written (31 January, 1682-3) by Bishop Wm. Lloyd of St. Asaph to Sancroft (Tanner MS. XXXV, 171), and in Wood's Life and Times, II, 435-436.

4 'rogatis prius *nec non* impetratis assensu et consensu nostris quando authoritae (*sic*) episcopalis (quemadmodum et regia) conculcaretur.' (Exch. First Fruits, Certificates of Second Admissions, Part I, No. 1).

5 Testûn Testament Newydd, p. [7]—Davies: p. [8]—Evans.

6 Ibid. p. [3].

livings of Llangattock in Brecon and Cefnllys in Radnor—together with four several orders of various Puritan commissioners in 'avoidance' of the same, but which he interpreted as cogent negative proofs of his real claims—all of which were 'left in his trunk at the time of his decease' in February, 1659-1660.[1] The crucial problem, however, was the consecration of new bishops 'to preserve a church among us.' The ordinarily phlegmatic Clarendon in correspondence of July—Sept., 1659, was driven to express very real anxiety lest the Presbyterians[2] would spin out the time till all the Bishops were dead: 'both the Papist and the Presbyterian value themselves very much upon computing in how few years the Church of England must expire.'[3] The main difficulty was to collect a sufficient number of the surviving bishops (Roberts of Bangor being the only one left in Wales) to perform the ceremony of consecration according to the established ritual without incurring the suspicion of the Puritan authorities; another was that the assistance of a continental church could not be invoked except at the price of sacrificing the distinctive English polity so carefully safeguarded by Parker, Bancroft and Laud; a third expedient, to appoint the selected persons to sees in Ireland, with the intention that some day they should exercise their functions in England, was ruled out of order as it would conform too nearly with the procedure of the Church of Rome. There remained two analogous schemes of solution, either for the King to send a mandate to three or four of the bishops to elect by way of collation or that he should grant a commission to the bishops to consecrate fit persons to definite sees.[4] The second seems to be been adopted, but the advent of the Restoration saw quite a sufficient number of the old Bishops alive to prevent the bitterest dissenter, whether Papist or Nonconformist, to invent a fable similar to Parker's consecration at the Nag's Head after the Marian interregnum.[5] It may be added that the Puritan obsession against the hierarchy remained unmitigated to the end; *e.g.*, on 4 March, 1658-9,

1 Evidence of Lewis Gunter of Crickhowell in the Llangattock case (Exch. Depos., Brecon and Radnor, No. 8, Hilary, 15 and 16 Charles II), who asserted he was well acquainted with Herbert.

2 As a matter of fact it was not the Presbyterians, but the other sects, that were in the ascendant about this time.

3 G. B. Tatham: The Puritans in Power, pp. 248-249.

4 Ibid. ibid. pp. 247, 249-250.

5 W M. Kennedy: Archbishop Parker, pp. 290-291.

the Trustees allowed a lease of the rectorial premises of Llangyfelach to stand, 'saving the question of its validity as being made by Dr. *Man*waring by y^e^ name of Roger Bishop of St. David's.'[1] But how came it that the same body in presenting their accounts to the Barons of the Exchequer on 28 April, 1659, refer to certain payments as falling due not on 25 December but 'at Christmas,' and that not in one item only but in two—the salaries of the Carew and Wrexham schoolmasters respectively ?[2]

The Restoration itself was brilliantly stage-managed by Monck.[3] By March 1660 the Army had been carefully 'garbled' of its dangerous republican elements; on the 16th the Long Parliament retired; two or three days later the new Lord General abandoned his reserve to receive a letter forwarded to him by the King; on April 4 the declaration of Breda was issued; and by the 24th of the same month Lambert's rising had been effectually suppressed, including whatever danger foreboded by irresponsible 'fanatic' activity at Cardiff, which was reported by equally irresponsible broadsides in the pay of the Government.[4] 'Their whole design is broken and things now very open and plain, and every man begins to be merry and full of hopes' (Pepys). On 28 April Vavasor Powell, suffering for his old activities as Propagator and his new attitude as a 'dangerous person,' found himself in prison at Welshpool,[5] consigned there by the High Sheriff of 1659-1660, the same Sir Matthew Price (or Pryce) who in 1658 had made the Montgomeryshire returns of first-fruits to the Puritan Exchequer.[6] It was very natural that the 'abrogator of the gospel' (to use the words of his greatest critic) should lie in safe custody, and whatever doubts there might be over the legality of the process was covered by express provisions in the early Militia Acts of Charles II by which all persons who made arrests of 'Fanaticks, Sectaries and Disturbers of the Peace' between 2 February, 1659-60, and the following 24 June were fully indemnified

1 Lamb. 989, f. 9.

2 Commonwealth Exch. Pap., roll 290—which contains also one very evident scribal error, '1559' for '1659.'

3 The main outline of the events described in this paragraph depends on Professor Firth's article already referred to (Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, more esp. pp. 548-559).

4 L. F. Brown: Bapt. and Fifth Mon. Men, p. 199 (and n. 68).

5 J. Spinther James: Hanes Bed., II, p. 394.

6 This conclusion is derived from a collation of the signature at the foot of the Mont. Ret., 1658 (April), 119; W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn., p. 149; and W. V. Lloyd: Sheriffs of Mont. (1540-1639), sub Edward Price (H. S. in 1615), p. 328.

for 'any the Matter aforesaid.'[1] The day before Powell's arrest in Montgomery a King's messenger waited in London on Monck with important statements from Charles relating to 'tender consciences' and the supremacy of Parliament; on 8 May the King was publicly proclaimed. Three days later a stout pillar of Commonwealth and Protectorate provision for Puritan ministers came toppling down in the Lambeth record of the last sitting of the Trustees: 'ordered y^t^ y^r^ advice of councell be desired whether these Trustees may warrantably proceede to grant Augmentacons & Leases and execute the other powers given to them . . . w^th^out the further directions of the supreme authority.'[2] The only direction that ever came was a peremptory order of the Lords of the Convention Parliament (issued on 16 May) that the clerk John Phelps should bring along all the Trustees' books and writings; by 9 June the Trustees had drawn up for the same Lords an exhaustive account of all moneys that had passed through their hands from 1649 as far down as 1658.[3] On May 25 Charles was met at Dover by Monck; four days later he made his triumphal entry into London. The Royalists had 'laughed in their sleeves' without that laugh being turned, as Llwyd had predicted, 'into lamentation and woe'[4]; and Milton lived to see the fulfilment in May of the passionate and poignant fear he had expressed in February—'That a nation should be so valorous and courageous to win their liberty in the field, and when they have won it should not know how to use it or value it, but basely and besottedly to run their necks again into the yoke which they have broken and prostrate all the fruits of their victory at the feet of the vanquished, will be such an example as kings and tyrants never yet had the like to boast of.'[5] All hopes of recovering the Miltonian liberty vanished when the 'garbling' of Monck was complemented by payment of the soldiers' arrears and their virtual disarming and disbanding by the Convention Parliament; at the beginning of October 1660 Philip Henry writing from London to his young wife says that he had met

1 Clause III in 13 Chas. II, st. 1, cap. VI [Statutes at Large (1734), II, p. 539], supplemented by Cl. XV in 15 Chas. II, cap. IV (ibid., p. 624).

2 Lamb. 989, f. 196.

3 House of Lords MSS. Comm. Rpt., Appendix I, p. 84.

4 For this curious phrase see Gweithiau, II, 237—Goodman Past's remark in 'Honest Discourse.'

5 'A Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth'—quoted by G. P. Gooch: Eng. Democ. Ideas, p. 315.

on his journey thither the last remnants of the mighty army that had humbled Charles Stuart at Naseby and the Spanish infantry at the Dunes 'going homewards upon their disbanding towards their several countries.' 'I was sometimes afraid of them,' he adds.[1] Henry's feelings were not those of Clarendon. To that statesman's far-seeing eye this going homewards of Cromwell's legions was the most effective march in a campaign which was to end in the bloodless victory of 'Black Bartholomew.'

1 Diaries and Letters, p. 71—sub 9 October, 1660.

II.

MARKING TIME.

On 25 April, 1660, the new parliament, commonly known as the first Convention Parliament, met in the capital and the names of the representatives sent up from Wales prove that the trimmers need trim no more, that full-blooded Royalists had survived the days of delinquency and compounding, and that the enormous majority of the competent freeholders had been nauseated with measures for 'securing the peace of the commonwealth.' Lord (Robert) Bulkeley, member of a family which had once seen well to send confidential letters about Irish priests to the Puritan Earl of Warwick[1] and which very soon afterwards were implicated in the Anglesey revolt of 1648,[2] came in for the county,[3] leaving the place-hunter Bodwrda in charge of the borough of Beaumaris,[4] a gentleman for whom anti-Propagation agitators had found a special place in the committee of inquiry set up in February 1658-1659[5]; Sir Thomas Myddelton, of whose changed attitude a good deal has been said already and who had an official pardon for past delinquencies made out at Breda on 14 April by Charles II,[6] was chosen for Denbighshire[7]; the 'godly gentlewoman'[8] who was wife to Kenrick Eyton of Eyton does not seem to have exercised any effective influence to prevent her husband becoming M.P. for the county of Flint,[9] and no doubt rejoiced at his accession to lucrative legal posts in Chester and North Wales during the same eventful year[10]; Roger Whitley, who some years before had the mortification to surrender

1 Tanner MS. LIX, 642, 643.
2 Cal. Comm. Adv. of Money, II, 1163-1164.
3 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn., p. 5.
4 Ibid. p. 10.
5 C. J., VII, 600. While other members for Wales are referred to in general as one group, he is named apart as 'Mr. Bodurda.' Dr. Stoughton makes him M.P. for Beaumaris in the *Cavalier* Parliament and seems to have expected him to speak up for civil and religious liberty (Church of the Restn., I, 154). Williams has not found anything among his authoritative sources to justify this.
6 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 5.
7 W. R. Williams, p. 73.
8 Supra, p. 151.
9 W. R. Williams, p. 87.
10 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 126, 208.

Aberystwyth Castle to the Parliament and after the Restoration the delight of becoming Knight Harbinger to the king, became member for the boroughs of the same county[1]—a joint letter of thanks to the electors, dated 17 November, 1660, and signed by both Whitley and Eyton, has been preserved in the work of the county historian.[2] What became of the former's application for employment as receiver and surveyor of the estates of 'excepted traitors' with a grant of some small portion thereof, history does not relate; he derived confidence from the belief that Charles II's chief joy in the Restoration was the rewarding of those who had been faithful to him.[3] Meyrick of Ucheldre, connected by marriage with the loyal (if undemonstrative) house of Hengwrt and himself so deeply suspected as to be lodged in prison at Shrewsbury for some time in 1655-1656,[4] spoke for Merioneth,[5] while for Montgomeryshire appeared two somewhat colourless persons, the younger Myddelton for the burgesses[6] and Purcell of Nantycribba for the county electors.[7] The remaining members for North Wales were not men of such Puritan sturdiness as to weather the storm and stress of the coming tests: John Carter (county of Denbigh) was a mere soldier of fortune who had 'secured the best piece of Holland in the county'[8] (a reference to his marriage with the heiress of Kinmel) and was to secure the full favour of Charles II as well, becoming steward of the manor of Denbigh and appointed governor of the fort and garrison of Holyhead[9]; William Glynne of Hawarden for the burgesses of Carnarvon[10]; and his more distinguished father John for his native county. He had been M.P. in the first Protectorate Parliament, was made one of Cromwell's new peers in 1657, and Lord Chief Justice of the 'Upper' Bench from 1655 to 1659; though 'Hudibras' represents him as 'shamming hard' to make good subjects of the King traitors in Puritan courts of justice,[11] Glynne

1 W. R. Williams, p. 91.
2 Taylor: Hist. Notices, p. 144.
3 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 92. Disgruntled Cavaliers could inform Whitley that these words did not describe very accurately the King's preoccupations.
4 Rawl. MS. A. 34. 901 (fourth column of prisoners).
5 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn., p. 117.
6 Ibid. p. 149.
7 Ibid. p. 144.
8 Ibid. p. 81.
9 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 138, 367; Rawl. MS. A. 119, pp. 11, 55.
10 W. R. Williams, p. 67.
11 'Did not the learned Glynne and Maynard
To make good subjects traitors sham hard?'
Quoted by Dr. Stoughton: Church of the Restn., I, 153, n. 1.

was knighted by Charles in November 1660 and also made prime Sergeant at Law. He was no doubt an object of some humorous reflections (if not indeed held up as an example of Divine intervention) by stern Puritans when he had the misfortune to fall from his horse during the King's coronation procession in 1661.[1] The returns from South Wales point the same moral. The expert opportunist knights, Hugh Owen of Orielton[2] and Trevor Williams of Llangibby,[3] represented the Pembroke and Monmouth boroughs respectively; the former's brother Arthur came up for the county[4]; William Morgan of Machen and one of the Somersets of Raglan were chosen for Monmouthshire,[5] the latter one day as Duke of Beaufort to make a semi-royal progress through the principality[6]: at Haverfordwest the choice fell upon William Phillips, a zealous Royalist, prominent in Poyer's rising of 1648, and excepted from the 1651 Act of Oblivion.[7] The new M.P. for Radnorshire was Gwynne of Llanelwedd, Protectorate legislator from 1654 to 1658, one of the four commissioners who were willing to pass the accounts of the South Wales Propagation officials at Neath on 10 August, 1655,[8] and also willing to be made a Knight of the Royal Oak in 1660[9]; for the boroughs of Brecknock Sir Henry Williams of Gwernyfed, who must have been exceptionally popular and an exceptionally devoted Royalist to defeat Sir Herbert Price of the Priory who later found a grave in Westminster Abbey[10]; for those of Carmarthen Sir Arthur Annesley, created in 1661 Earl of Anglesey, one of the most sober and responsible statesmen of the Restoration.[11] The Cardiganshire county member was a somewhat different type, the Sir Richard Pryse of Gogerddan who reported the Llanbadarn assembly of 1656 to his father-in-law Whitelocke, and who is described in a MS. of 1661 as 'a young gentleman not of full age in the tyme that the discovery of principles was most dangerous; and it is

1 W. R. Williams, pp. 60-61. What a churchman and royalist like Anthony à Wood thought of Glynne's sergeantry (and of Clarendon's supposed connivance) may be seen on p. 269 of Vol. II of the 'Athenae' (1692) and especially on p. 385 of his 'Life' published in 1848 (Appendix vii).
2 W. R. Williams, p. 161.
3 Ibid. p. 136.
4 Ibid. pp. 155-156.
5 Ibid. p. 126.
6 Cymmrodor, October 1883, pp. 136-154.
7 W. R. Williams, p. 168.
8 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 69b (last folio).
9 W. R. Williams, pp. 173-174.
10 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn., p. 24.
11 Ibid. p. 53.

conceived he hath not as yet any that he is too much obliged to.'[1] The boroughs were represented by James Phillips of Cardigan Priory, active in 1655-56 in the comparatively innocuous work of amalgamating parishes in the southern angle of the county,[2] the depth of whose republican convictions is exposed by his attitude in the next election of 1661 : when his own return was declared void, he exhorted his friends to give their suffrages to his great friend, none other than the hidebound Cavalier Sir Charles Cotterell.[3] The three Conventioners still remaining—Sir William Lewis of Llangorse (county of Brecon),[4] John Lloyd of Forest (county of Carmarthen)[5] and Robert Harley, uncle of the more famous Earl of Oxford (borough of Radnor)[6] had all been secluded by Pride's Purge in 1648 ; and though looseness of expression has sometimes allowed these gentlemen to be called Presbyterians when they in reality never fulfilled the accepted meaning of that term, it is certain that on account of their long ostracism from public affairs they would be more interested in the coming session with forfeiting the lands of Pride and other deceased regicides by Clause xxxviii of the Act of Indemnity[7] and exacting vengeance upon the bodies of some of them at Tyburn than with safeguarding the interests of Presbyterians or any other Puritans. It is just possible that one or two of the Welsh Convention members, if the opportunity were given them, might object to some provisions of the 1662 Act of Uniformity ; the overwhelming majority, on the other hand, *would undoubtedly welcome its operation on St. Bartholomew's in 1660*, and that without qualification or amendment. Even Sir Thomas Myddelton appears with others of the nobility and gentry of North Wales signing a petition to the King as early as June 1660 casting odium upon all Puritan propagations of the Gospel and asking him to put all those 'good and wholesome Laws for uniformity in Religion, [for] the government of the Church, and [for] the

1 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn., p. 31 ; he also is the authority for the MS. quotation.
2 Supra, p. 118.
3 W. R. Williams, p. 38. At first, and naturally, Phillips was not a 'persona grata' with the Cavaliers of the county, one of their gravamina against the High Sheriff of the year being that he had returned a 'friend' to Parliament (Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 59-60).
4 W. R. Williams, p. 17.
5 Ibid. p. 46.
6 Ibid. pp. 179-180.
7 Stat. at Large (1734), II, 499—12 Chas. II, cap. xi.

maintenance of the Clergy ' into operation ; he is not afraid to mention by name the un-Puritan enactments of Elizabeth, James, and of ' your father of ever happy memory.'[1] On 18 July the same old Parliamentary general is signing a certificate detailing the sufferings in the King's cause of Humphrey Lloyd of Ruabon,[2] who was not merely an Anglican cleric ejected by the C.P.G.W., but had excellent claims to be accounted the most voracious prelate who profited by the sudden impetus given to ecclesiastical mammonism at the Restoration.[3] As ought to be expected, four of the Convention M.P.'s for Wales were re-elected to the Cavalier Parliament of 1661, father was followed by son in Denbighshire, and one brother by another in the boroughs of Radnor. It is not very clear why the proportion should not be higher, especially as a student of the period has calculated that fully one-half of the Convention members (taking England and Wales together) were returned in 1661.[4] In this they were following Clarendon's polite and politic suggestion at the close of their last sitting, convincing proof that that excellent judge of events was on the whole well pleased with their work.

The Presbyterian bias of the executive government between the dissolution of the Long Parliament in the middle of March and the Convention contests prevented England following the example of Wales ; the efforts of ' black coats and white caps ' were exerted in the same direction,[5] supported by the activities of all men who stood to lose by the re-establishment of Episcopacy. The result was that the Convention began its work with an undoubted Presbyterian majority. This was indeed necessary, as otherwise that party would not be able to secure the act of Parliament which Charles, according to his Declaration from Breda, was willing to consent to ' as upon mature Deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting that Indulgence to [Presbyterian]

1 This is referred to in outline in Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 4 ; given in full in Mercurius Publicus (June 28—July 5, 1660), pp. 417-418, of which there is a copy, No. 27, at the N.L.W. (Cat., Civil War Tracts et seq., p. 75, No. 227).

2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 225.

3 Inter alia, [illegible] 334 (e. g., 338). That the writer may not seem prejudiced against this prelate, it is prudent to refer to the letter addressed to Lloyd (as Bishop of Bangor) on 7 April, 1684, by Archbp. Sancroft—an excellent example of pungent sarcasm gracefully expressed (Tanner MS. cxlvi, 99 and 99 verso). Lloyd had by this time added shameless nepotism to his natural vice of greed.

4 W. C. Abbott in Eng. Hist. Rev., xxi, p. 23—article on ' The Long Parlt. of Charles II.'

5 L. F. Brown in Eng. Hist. Rev., xxii, p. 53 (and n. 11), quoting from the Clarendon Papers describing the incidents of the Essex election of two M.P.'s—article on ' Religious Factors in the Convention Parliament.'

tender consciences,' the only qualification being the apparently harmless one that the peace of the kingdom be not disturbed thereby.[1] Unfortunately, and here the members for Wales were an effective factor, the Anglicans had assured a very powerful minority in the Convention, whose speeches and votes in the House found a corresponding exuberance of spirit among their adherents in the country, who forgot for the nonce the promises of Charles at Breda and made (in some cases) ' forcible entries upon the possessions of divers persons, ecclesiastical and temporal.'[2] Whenever the religious issue came to be discussed, the debates and divisions showed how evenly balanced the two forces were ; it was a battle-royal between what Erbery described seven years before as the cunning designs of the Presbyters and the pride of the Prelates[3] (with a good admixture of craft) ; the one party endeavoured to pass the King's declaration into law while they still had the majority, the other wished to ' mark time ' until fresh elections would bring their numbers even or beyond the other—better still, to force a dissolution and secure that particular type of parliament which the subtle Clarendon had in view when he stood by the King's elbow at Breda. On 26 May the mutilated Prynne, quite one of the most prominent members of the Convention, reported a clumsily-worded order ' touching quieting Possessions of Ministers, Schoolmasters and other Ecclesiastical Persons in sequestered livings until they are legally Evicted ' ; two days later it was decided that no person should presume, indirectly or forcibly, to enter upon or disturb ecclesiastical possessions till the parliament take official cognisance of the whole question ; and on 29 May, the day on which Charles entered London, this order (from which the word ' indirectly ' had been deleted) was published by the King in the form of a declaration.[4] Three days later the King issued another ' letter and declaration ' which with its delicately balanced sentences was evidently designed to appeal to both parties. Being addressed definitively to the bishops, deans and prebends throughout the country, it tacitly assumed that their ancient status was revived notwithstanding Puritan acts for their abolition and ordinances

1 Frank Bate : Decl. of Indulgence, pp. 5-6.
2 Dr. John Stoughton : Church of the Restoration, I, 89 (n. 2).
3 Ministers for Tythes (1653), p. 6.
4 For these proceedings see Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 34 ; Bate : Declaration of Indulgence, pp. 9-10 ; Eng. Hist. Rev., xxii, p. 58.

for sale of their lands; its provisoes, however, postulating that all vicars or curates who performed ministerial duty in cures appropriated to bishops and chapters should have a maintenance of £80 or £100 per annum were a very close approximation to the ideal set before the Trustees by the Protector and Council of State in the ordinance of September 1654, besides being an implicit recognition of the usurped powers' contention that a selfish capitular system of impropriations was not to impoverish the spiritual welfare of country parishes. No leases were to be granted of any of these rectories, etc., until this provision was observed; should the livings be of small value, one half of the profits were to be set apart for the subsidiary minister. Such higher clergy as proved recalcitrant were to be deemed unworthy of any future favour. Finally, a full account of the transactions made in obedience to this letter of June were to be in the hands of the archbishop before 1 October every year.[1] This double-edged declaration of the king was echoed in the triple-tongued voices of the Commons over the best way out of the religious difficulty, described by Dr. Stoughton in a comprehensive passage[2]; twice within one week they agreed to ask the King to summon a synod of divines, only to find refuge later in adjourning the project for three months.[3] Wales contributed its share to the general chaos. During these critical months proofs were given in that land of the strong strategic position secured by the Presbyterians, notwithstanding the virtual decay of their church-system, as the predominant Puritan partner[4]; of the unmistakable oscillation of feeling in favour of the old order; and of the latter's impatience with the slowness of the London powers in accepting the clergymen's conviction of realities. John Davies, the unordained tailor and adherent of Vavasor Powell lately approved Puritan minister of Llangattock in Brecon, a man who had been 'in actual armes' against the King and had fought at Worcester, thought he could not

1 Edward Cardwell: Docty. Annals of the Reformed Church of England, II Doct. cxlvii, pp. 222-224. Though Cardwell distinctly places this declaration under 1 *June*, the King does not seem to have brought its contents officially to the notice of the Commons till 7 August (Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 182-183).

2 Church of the Restoration, I, 88-89.

3 Frank Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, pp. 10-11—'in order that the King should take the matter in hand.'

4 As far as *Wales* alone is concerned, this statement is open to criticism. No Presbyterian landslide must be inferred; it can only be substantiated in the *one* case of Davies of Llangattock.

do better than repair to Hereford on 15 May to be ordained by the Presbyterian divines there (who themselves were only a group of ministers and not an organised classis),[1] a desire that was frustrated by a concurrent journey of parishioners to represent that he was not a fit and proper person to receive that benediction.[2] John Sayer, the deprived vicar of Old Radnor, not disposed to await the dispensations of a Royalist providence, decided to appeal to the ordinary courts of law for restitution[3]; two ejected clergymen of Carmarthenshire, months before an Act of the Convention made possible their restoration, were solemnly calling themselves 'vicars' of their respective parishes[4]; and one of them had even sent a petition to the King, supported by Dr. Jeremy Taylor among others, to be appointed archdeacon of Carmarthen.[5]

It was in *another* kind of petition, too, that the two vicars again insisted on their old status, which directly leads to the significant step taken by the Convention Lords in the last weeks of June—a step which would have as one result the frustrating of the intentions of the Commons as embodied in the proclamation of May. These Lords were a much more Anglican assembly than the Lower House, and comprised eight 'young lords' created by the late king or by his son when in exile who were allowed by Monck to take their seats on 27 April. This was in direct opposition to the aim of the Presbyterians that about 17 Puritan peers should control the discussions in that House instead of the 42 who met there on the first of May.[6] That this new step was taken independently of the wrangling Commons can only be explained but as a reversal to the methods of their Puritan predecessors (from 1642 to 1648) of nominating Puritan ministers to livings void for any reason whatsoever, and that often irrespective of the

1 Dr. Benjamin Nightingale holds that there was no necessity to have an organised body to ordain, but that the ministers of a neighbourhood were quite competent for such important work [The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmoreland (1911) pp. 23-24]. Davies' journey to Hereford implies that N. is correct in the matter of fact; but there is very grave doubt whether this was not an excrescence upon strict Presbyterian principles (cp. Shaw, II, App. III c., p. 452). See also Calamy's Acct., (1713), II, 352.

2 Exch. Depos., Mixed Counties (Brecon & Radnor), No. 8, Hilary, 15 and 16 Chas. II. These facts about Davies depend on the evidence of Thomas Williams, William Edwards and Morgan Williams—all three parishioners of Llangattock.

3 House of Lords MSS., Petition marked S—where this statement is made.

4 Ibid. Petition for restitution sent up by Edward Collyer of Lampeter Velvrey; the two vicars vouched for its truth, in company with a third, who held an 'elected' living.

5 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 83. It might be added here that Bishop Roberts of Bangor, long dispossessed, had no hesitation in describing himself as 'Will^m Bangor' at the foot of his June petition to the Lords (intra, 330).

6 Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 557-558.

rights of the lawful patrons.[1] The present Lords emulated their assumption of authority, but with the opposite intention of encouraging un-Puritan ministers to recover the rights they had lost. On 22 June an order was issued for securing the tithes and other profits of sequestered livings in the hands of the churchwardens or overseers of the poor for the several parishes until these conflicting interests of the evicted clergy and of the present Puritan possessors should be determined by the two Houses; on the following day came a complementary order giving the clerk of the Upper House power to include in the foregoing general order the names of those who should bring in petitions to have the benefit thereof[2]; and it is probably not without some significance that the day after that (24 June) was the determining period of those acts whose legality (or illegality) was afterwards covered by the Act of Oblivion. Close upon 50 petitions came from Wales, all summarised in the report of the Historical MSS. Commission and preserved in the archives of the House of Lords, each petition endowed with a distinctive letter of classification corresponding in most cases, though not in all, to the initial letter in the surname of the petitioner himself.[3] Each clergyman without exception describes himself as having been expelled 'for many years last past . . . only for Loyalty and Affection to his late Majesty of Blessed Memory'; many of them are rounded off by the autograph subscription of responsible men bearing out the truth of the depositions made by the clergyman. It may be noted as a curiosity that nine varied the exact terms of the Lords' order and wanted the tithes and profits secured in the hands of 'responsible men'; one (Humphrey Lloyd) in the custody of 'reasonable' persons; Dr. Henry Bridgeman only wanted them 'secured'; four were content to leave them in the hands of 'such persons as your Lordships shall thinke fitt.' This politic confidence of the latter petitioners in the Lords lends support to a conclusion suggested by the very early date endorsed on the great majority of the documents—that the order of June was no sudden and whimsical turn of procedure, but a course of action of which the ejected clergymen were well aware;

1 For an account of these settlements of the Puritan Lords, see H.P.M., pp. 57-62.
2 Both orders are given in full in House of Lords MSS. Comm. Rpt. App. I, p. 104.
3 As the folios of these petitions are unpaginated it is not possible to give more detailed references to them than those contained in the lists on pp. 331-332.

otherwise how could Dr. Bridgeman, who happened to be full brother to Sir Orlando Bridgeman—the latter excellently posted as now Lord Chief Baron in the latest political developments—date his appeal on 22 *June*, one day before the Lords had given their official licence to the execution of the order? It is possible to go even further and affirm, in the absence of any contemporary record to prove an alibi, that many of these appellants were in London to take instant advantage of the order, if not to agitate and intrigue for its issue—which in turn would be a practice analogous in principle, but varying in circumstantials, to the vigorous 'lobbying' of the Rump indulged in by Vavasor Powell, Jenkin Lloyd and other Propagation Approvers 'to beg the renewing of the Act' at the end of March 1653.[1] If Richard Evans of Llanasa was not in the neighbourhood of the capital at the end of July, how came it that a servant of a Chief Justice of the Common Pleas had already subscribed his petition on the 27th, while the petitioner's own signature was only affixed on the 28th?[2] Two of the petitioners do not trouble to enter any date, and it is now difficult to trace who wrote 'June 23, 1660' in pencil at the back of Dr. George Griffith's statement, whose preferment to the Bishopric of St. Asaph being then in expectation[3] no doubt accounted for its stiff and formal brevity. That of 'Will^m^ Bangor' was shorter still. Five others, evidently harbouring a very intelligent anticipation of future decisions of the Convention, desired that the fifth part of their old revenues and all arrears of the same should be safeguarded to them. The subjoined list gives the names of the Welsh petitioners, the ecclesiastical interests they were deprived of (plus a mere reference to the depriving authority), and a citation of the printed and MS. authorities.

1 H.P.M. p. 271 (and nn. 2, 3).

2 On re-consideration the writer does not consider this argument a very strong one: the end of *July* is not so pertinent as the end of *June* and the 'servant' might have subscribed in the country as easily as in London. The sentence stands subject to these disqualifications.

3 His election was signified by the Dean and Chapter on 6 October (Cal. St. Pap. 1660-1661, p. 314).

NAME OF PETITIONER.		ECCLESIASTICAL INTEREST.	ORIGINAL EJECTING AUTHORITY.	REF. PAGE IN HOUSE OF LORDS MSS., COMM. RPT., APP. I.	OFFICIAL LETTER ENDORSED ON PET. IN LORDS' MSS.
Bayly ..	William ..	Penstrowed	C.P.G.W.	105	O.
Bridgeman ..	Dr. Henry	Bangor Monachorum [Barrow (Cheshire)] ..	Pre-Propagation ..	105	W.
Collyer ..	Edward ..	Lampeter Velvrey .. .	C.P.G.W. .. .	105	Y.
Dashfield[1] ..	John	Prendergast	Pre-Propagation .	105	W.
Davies ..	Francis	Llantrithyd	Pre-Propagation .	105	W.
Evans	Richard.. ..	Llanasa	Pre-Propagation ..	105	O.
Gamage ..	Edward ..	Rhossilly	C.P.G.W.	106	W.
Gethin ..	John	Criccieth	C.P.G.W. .. .	106	W.
Griffith ..	Dr. George ..	Llandrinio	C.P.G.W. .. .	106	W.
Griffiths ..	Sylvanus ..	Llanwyddelan .. .	Protectorate .	106	O.
Howell[2] ..	Edward	Llansantffraid in Elvel Cascobb	Pre-Propagation ..	106	W.
James ..	David	Briddell	C.P.G.W.	106	J.
Langford ..	William ..	Welshpool	C.P.G.W.	106	W.
Lewis ..	William ..	St. Fagans	Pre-Propagation ..	107	L.
Lloyd[3] .	Dr. David	Llanfair D.C. Llansannan comportion	Pre-Propagation ..	107	L.
Lloyd ..	Evan	Holywell	C.P.G.W.	107	L.
Lloyd ..	Foulke	Efenechtyd	C.P.G.W.	107	L.
Lloyd	Dr Hugh ..	St. Andrews (Glam.)	Pre-Propagation ..	107	L
Lloyd	Hugh	Denbigh	Pre-Propagation ..	107	L
Lloyd	Humphrey ..	Ruabon	C.P.G.W.	107	L.
Lloyd[4] ..	Richard..	Manordeifi .. .. .. Troedyraur	C.P.G.W. .. Pre-Propagation	107	L.
Lloyd	Robert	Llanfachreth (Angl.)	C.P.G.W.	107	L.

1 'Dashfield' in MS.

2 'Howells' in actual Petition; 'Howlle' in Comm. Rpt.; 'Houle' in Lib. Inst., Men., f. 62; 'Howle' in MS. J. Walker, c. 7, f. 214b and c. 13, f. 68 (allowance of fifths).

3 He is entered in the Hist. MSS. Comm. Rpt. twice as if there were two separate David Lloyds, one as D.D. and the other as D.C.L. The petitions undoubtedly refer *to the same individual*, the latter being the correct degree—'Doctor of the Lawes.'

4 As in the case of Dr. David Lloyd, the Report gives the impression that there were two of this name; Lamb. 639, f. 333 (plurality return for 1665) puts it distinctly otherwise.

NAME OF PETITIONER.		ECCLESIASTICAL INTEREST.	ORIGINAL EJECTING AUTHORITY.	REF. PAGE IN HOUSE OF LORDS MSS., COMM. RPT., APP. I.	OFFICIAL LETTER ENDORSED ON PET. IN LORDS' MSS.
Lloyd	Samuel ..	Cilcen .. .. / Gresford	Pre-Propagation ..	107	L.
Lloyd ..	William ..	Llaneilian	C.P.G.W.	107	L.
Mellin[1] ..	Henry ..	Aberedw .. .. .. / Prebend of Clyro[2]	C.P.G.W. .. / Pre-Propagation	107	M.
Morgan ..	Griffith	Bangor and Henllan (Card.) ..	C.P.G.W.	104	M.
Owen	Dr. Evan ..	Narberth	Pre-Propagation ..	107	O.
Owen	John	Mathry	Pre-Propagation ..	107	O.
Owen	William ..	Kidwelly	C.P.G.W.	107	O.
Parry	Dr. Gabriel[3]	Abergele .. .. / Llansantffraid ym Mechain	Pre-Propagation ..	107	P.
Price	John	Llanwnda (Pemb.)	C.P.G.W.	107	P.
Puleston ..	William ..	Llandawke[4]	C.P.G.W.	107	P.
Pye	Moor	Llanvapley	C.P.G.W.	121	P.
Roberts ..	Dr. William ..	Archdeaconry of Anglesey / Llandyrnog	Pre-Propagation ..	104	W.
Sayer	John	Old Radnor	Pre-Propagation ..	108	S.
Sudbury ..	Dr. John ..	Coychurch[5]	Pre-Propagation ..	106	S.
Thomas ..	Oliver	Lawrenny	C.P.G.W.	108	T.
Thomas ..	Dr. William ..	Penbryn	Pre-Propagation ..	108	T.
Williams ..	Dr. Griffith ..	Gyffin	Pre-Propagation ..	108	W.
Williams[6] ..	Jenkin	Llancarfan	Pre-Propagation ..	107	W.
Williams ..	William ..	Llansantffraid in Cwmdeuddwr	C.P.G.W.	108	W.
Wynne ..	Rice	Castell Caereinion	C.P.G.W.	108	W.
Young ..	William ..	Pwllycrochan	Protectorate ..	108	Y.

1 'Mellon' in MS. J. Walker, c. 7, f. 214 (cause of ejection); 'Melin' in Walker c. 13, f. 68 (allowance of fifths); 'Melling' in Lib. Inst., Menev., f. 59; 'Mellinge' in Stat. Pap. Dom. Interreg., F1, f. 273.

2 This interest of Mellin's has been inadvertently omitted altogether from the summary of the Hist. MSS. Comm. Rpt.

3 'William Parry' in Rpt.; see infra, p. 335.

4 'Llandawslee' in MSS. Rpt.

5 MSS. Rpt. adds 'alias Llangrals', *i.e.*, *Llangrallo*.

6 MSS. Rpt. calendarist puts him down as 'Jenkin *Lewis*'; but the case for 'Williams' is overwhelming—so given in the actual petition, in Lib. Inst., Llandaff, f. 12, in Walker, c. 7, f. 208b, and c. 4, f. 68 (Mansell's letter). Of course, the signature on the petition is sufficient in itself to determine the point. It is to be noted also that this Jenkin Williams, William Lewis and Dr. Hugh Lloyd sent in a joint petition,

The petitions are for the most part formal and tantalisingly short of personal information. Dashfield does say he was ejected ' 15 yeares last past,' and Dr. Henry Bridgeman casts some illuminating sidelights on the confiscatory operations of county committees and parliamentary generals before the advent of the Propagators: he was deprived of his Cheshire rectory by Sir William Brereton and ' other pretending powers.' of his Flintshire promotion by ' pretended powers in that county '—both, he avers, without due course of law. By a curious coincidence, nearly one quarter of the petitioners happen to be *Lloyds*, and like all other lists in this age of picturesque transformations, this list contains other anomalies that are more than curious. Naturally the great majority were orthodox Anglican clergy who had suffered deprivation for what one side called delinquency and the other loyalty; but among those taking advantage of the Lords' order was Sylvanus Griffiths of Llanwyddelan, who assures them that he was ' lawfully seized of the Rectory ' (without a word of the Triers who originally appointed him), illegally ejected for many years (the Sheriff of Montgomery declares he was ' parson there ' as late as the early months of 1658),[1] out of loyalty to His Majesty of blessed memory (which loyalty was effectually disguised for some years).[2] Such is also the plea put forward by Young of Pwllycrochan, originally placed there by the C.P.M., sanctioned by the C.P.G.W., and for a time by the Protectorate powers. Oliver Thomas petitions for the profits of Lawrenny without the slightest allusion to his Trier approval for Nevern, and which was in his possession at that moment. Did any conscientious misgivings about the issue cause Griffiths and Young to be so late in putting in their appeals, 30 July and 20 August respectively? It will be convenient at this point to state that neither of these three did actually secure their old livings, as the sitting Puritan minister conformed in each case. Sylvanus after some lapse of time moved south to the living of Llanbister in the deanery of Elfael Uwchymynydd,[3] Oliver Thomas had to be satisfied with confirmation of his new Trier living,[4] and Young disappears entirely from the records. Nor did the more

1 Mont. Ret., 7 February, 1657-8, 115.
2 Supra, pp. 37-38.
3 Pat. Rolls, 14 Charles II, Pt. I, No. 224.
4 Ibid. 13 Charles II, Pt. 47, No. 44—4 October, 1661.

consistent Anglicans Dr. George Griffith and Evan Lloyd of Holywell see well to speak of the Puritan tolerance which had allowed them to keep Llanymynech and Ysceifiog respectively from 1650 to 1660 on condition that they surrendered the livings referred to in these petitions. Further, any sanguine Puritan who fondly hoped that the hard lot of the ejected would have scourged them from the pursuit of an aggrandising pluralism would be sadly disillusioned by the content of these documents. The calendarist of the House of Lords' MSS., besides overlooking the important Clyro prebend which Mellin wanted restored to him[1] and oblivious of the background interests of the Propagation 'electors,' did not find it in his province to state that the Denbigh Hugh Lloyd was also in process of recovering the vicarage of Fordham in Cambridge (where he lived),[2] that Dr. David Lloyd was to be dean of St. Asaph (to which was annexed the rectory of Henllan) as well before the end of July,[3] and that Dr. Griffith Williams was ambitious of recovering, and did recover, not only the vicarage of Gyffin but also the deanery of Bangor[4] and the bishopric of Ossory in Ireland. William Thomas, who was now interested in Penbryn, had been allowed during Puritan times to hold the vicarage of Laugharne to which he had been instituted in 1638.[5] Of the eight candidates for old pluralities among the above appellants, four ask for the securing of the several profits on separate petitions, the other four undisguisedly and unblushingly bracket them under cover of the same document. In defence of the resurrection of these vested interests it is well to remember that all the ambitious beneficiaries were members of the old order, that Dr. Gabriel Parry (close relative of the Bible translator of 1620) had been instituted to Abergele since the beginning of 1614,[6] Howells to his living in the deanery of Elfael in 1618,[7] while two or three of the others must have

1 Supra, p. 332 (n. 2).
2 Lamb. 639, f. 303 (return of St. Asaph pluralities).
3 Pat. Rolls, 12 Charles II, Pt. 2, No. 110; Pt. 19, No. 75—dated 'Westminster, 30 July.'
4 A desperate effort was made by the voracious Dr. Humphrey Lloyd to secure the deanery, and Sheldon supported his appeal (Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 111, sub July 4, 1660). However, when Dr. George Griffith sent in his report on pluralities in 1665, Lloyd was down for one vicarage, one rectory, and one deanery (inlying), besides one prebend and one deanery (outlying) [Lamb. 639, f. 303]; but the deanery of Bangor was not one of them. See also D.N.B., lxi, p. 401 (sub Dr. Griffith Williams).
5 Lib. Inst., Meneven., f. 65.
6 Ibid. St. Asaph, f. 148.
7 Ibid. Meneven., f. 62.

been well advanced in age ; and that some of them had been ' great sufferers in the late unhappy times,' as his certifier says of the Abergele divine. It is difficult to explain the double petition made out in the name of the latter (to which there is no reference in the MSS. Report) and signed by a ' William Parry ' except on the assumption that the old master of Ruthin School and sometime Precentor of Bangor[1] was too decrepit to do so himself. And it is of Dr. Griffith Williams, the author of the ' Vindiciæ Regum ' and the ' Discovery of Mysteries,' that Walker recounts how since the downfall of the hierarchical system he lived ' worse than a poor Curate, with Oaten-Bread, Barley Bread, Butter-Milk and sometimes Water ; being not able to keep one drop of Ale during Ten Years together.'[2] Dr. David Lloyd could say that he had been sequestered, imprisoned and often plundered, but had also done all in his power for the interests of the King and Church, besides often entertaining Princes Rupert and Maurice and one one occasion Charles I in person.[3] Except in very rare cases, the certifiers who foot the documents do not find it necessary to refer to these sufferings ; they are even more formal than the petitioners ; nevertheless, their names have quite an interest of their own. Old and prospective bishops with a goodly number of the other appellants did not call upon such adventitious aids, nothing in the Lords' order suggesting that they were necessary. Collyer of Lampeter Velvrey, on the other hand, saw well to secure four—the three Carmarthenshire vicars already mentioned[4] and one Walter Mansell dwelling at ' the signe of the Sugar-loafe ' in King Street whom, like some other witnesses of the petitions (either Welsh students of the law living in London or others on place-hunting visits there), it is somewhat difficult to unravel from the tangled skeins of genealogical tables. Griffith Bodwrda, the M.P. for Beaumaris, supported the Lloyds of Llaneilian and Efenechtyd, good evidence that he wished for further favours under the Anglican dispensation ; two other members, John Purcell of Montgomery and William Phillips of Haverfordwest, did likewise for William Bayly and William Young respectively ; for some obscure reason,

1 Archdeacon Thomas : Hist. Dioc. St. Asaph, (1874 Ed.), p. 354.
2 Walker : Suffs., Part II, p. 2, col. 2.
3 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 219.
4 Supra, p. 328 (and n. 4).

Lloyd of Troedyraur and Manordeifi found a willing witness in Sir Edward Lloyd of Berthlwyd in Montgomery, farmer of the Llandinam tithes in the days when Vavasor Powell and Ambrose Mostyn drew their maintenance from them.[1] A William Jones who then lived at the ' flowre Deluce & Crowne over against St. Clement Danes in the Strand ' came to the rescue (somewhat unnecessarily, one would think) of Dr. David Lloyd ; Bartholomew Young of Lincoln's Inn[2] subscribed the petition of James of Briddell, and in conjunction with George Owen of the Heralds' Office did the same office for the two Owens of Mathry and Kidwelly, both attested on the same date and in precisely the same terms. The ' servant ' to Sir Thomas Tyrrell, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, on whom Richard Evans of Llanasa and Dr. Gabriel Parry had to depend, was named Edward Pierce,[3] who was prone to a peculiar uncertainty in describing the regnal year of Charles—on the 17th July (Parry's petition) it was the 12th year, ten days later (Llanasa attestation) it was only the ' Eleventh.'[4] Two ' responsible men or parishioners ' of Criccieth, Owen Jones and Richard ap Elisha, would be glad to see John Gethin coming back to that rectory ; John Hughes of Denbigh had no compunction about aiding and abetting Hugh Lloyd to repossess himself of that sinecure. One of the Wogans of Pembrokeshire, a member of Gray's Inn and probably disgusted at the fate and fortune of his relative the regicide,[5] gave a good word to Price of Llanwnda, while it was natural that a future Bishop of Llandaff,[6] but now desirous of securing the tithes of Llantrithyd, should appeal to the ' dextrous ' influence of the local squire Sir John Aubrey,[7] ' 70 years of age and a constant friend of y[e] [new] Government in church and state.'[8] A certain Hugh Boteler

1 Cal. Comm. Compounding, III, 1726.

2 A Brecknock ' gent. ' of this name was commissioned (with others) by the Court of Exchequer to receive the answer of the defendant in the Llandygwydd prebend case—plaint stated Mich. Term, 20 Chas. II (Exch. Bills and Answers, Brecon, No. 22).

3 ' Peirce ' in MS. There was a Sir Edmond Peirce, D.C.L., who vainly sought for the post of Master of Requests in 1660 and became Advocate General of the Army in 1661 (Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 11-12, 106, 495). He surely was not the servant and miscalculator.

4 ' 12 Charles II ' extended from 30 January, 1660, to 29 January, 1661. [Dict. Eng. Hist. (Low and Pulling) p. 652, quoting from Sir H. Nicholas' ' Chronology of History '] ; see also Wallis : English Regnal Years and Titles, p. 41.

5 Infra, pp. 290-291.

6 He must be put down as an exception to the remark about prospective bishops on the previous page. He was made archdeacon of Llandaff on 6 August, 1660 (Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Pt. 3, No. 194; Pt. 19, No. 53), but had to wait some years for promotion to the bishopric.

7 ' Awbery ' in MS.

8 S. P. Dom., Charles II, Vol. 396, No. 140.

(or Butler) testified to the [comparative] truth of the sometime rector of Lawrenny, and a more shadowy person still, a Richard Colson hailing from Somerset,[1] a member of Clement's Inn and to be found at another inn called the 'Lambe,' put his name at the foot of Puleston's petition for the revenues of Llandawke. The mendacious Sylvanus Griffiths secured the attestation of two men with a more Celtic flavour and much more easily recognisable in the records of the time: Edward Maurice of Penybont in Denbighshire, whose son David developed into one of the bitterest persecutors of Nonconformists under the Clarendon Code[2]; and Humphrey Jones of Welshpool, a gentleman who had supplied Alexander Griffith with some of the most telling evidence for his 'Hue and Cry' after Vavasor Powell in Propagation days.[3] It is not to be forgotten that the Lords' moving order and the consequent petitions did not ensure actual possession of the livings, but only that the tithes and profits should be safe in the hands of temporary trustees until the title should be 'determined by due course of Law'; in fact, as will appear in the next chapter, the greater number did eventually, and that very soon, enjoy their old emoluments. Two of the petitioners, although unexceptionable Anglicans, do not come into view again in roll or schedule: on 19 March, 1660-1661, Dr. William Thomas, future Bishop of St. David's, is granted Collyer's old preferment at Lampeter Velvrey by the presentation of the King[4]; and whether William Williams, the old vicar of Llansantffraid in Cwmdeuddwr, died suddenly after filling up his appeal or no, the King on 23 August presented John Powell, 'Bachelor of Arts,' to succeed there,[5] while the Bishop of St. David's was collating a new *rector* on 20 March, 1660-1661.[6] Conversely, it is not probable that either Sudbury or Dashfield troubled very much about the outcome of the June petitions for Coychurch and Prendergast. The former, penning another petition to the King in which he dwelt on the losses he had undergone—how he had been chaplain to the Earl of Leicester when ambassador to France

1 A 'Richard Colston,' 22 years of age, son of a prominent citizen of Bristol, was appointed English consul at Marseilles in 1661 (Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 489).
2 Philip Henry: Diaries, p. 274.
3 Walker: Suffs., Part I, pp. 148-149.
4 Bishops' Certifs., File 13 (St. David's) Sched. 20 October, 1660 20 April, 1661.
5 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 260.
6 Bishops' Certifs., File 13 (St. David's) Sched. 20 October, 1660 20 April, 1661.

from 1639 to 1641,[1] and how he had been commended to the late King for a promotion that never fructified—and intimated his desire to have a prebend at Westminster ; it was granted him, the installation taking place on 14 July.[2] Dashfield also had great sufferings to enumerate, which moved the King on 14 September to appoint him to a prebend, ' with house and profits,' at Bristol Cathedral[3] ; as he had to explain later to Secretary Nicholas, he found that the supposed house allocated to him had been pulled down by ' the late usurpers ' (tons of large shot besides being discovered in the stable),[4] and that a second house granted him by the Dean was occupied by a lady who was ' a great incendiary against kingly government '[5]—all together proving very conclusively that he meant to live in Bristol and that the people of Prendergast would only see him when the Dean's jurisdiction was found too feeble to turn out Mrs. Jane Barry. Nor is it likely that Humphrey Lloyd, by securing the archdeaconry of Nottingham[6] and the prebend of Ampleforth in York Cathedral,[7] etc., would bestow much attention upon the parishioners of Ruabon, notwithstanding his petition that those tithes and profits be secured to him.

While these Anglican documents—petitions to the Lords and individual appeals to the King—were being drawn up and presented, the leading Presbyterian ministers were convinced no less than their lay colleagues in the Convention that in order to retain the supremacy which fell to their lot through the reassembling of the Long Parliament survivors and the management of the late elections, no time was to be lost to arrive at an advantageous accommodation with the Episcopalians before the results of disputed polls and fresh contests increased the number of the latter's adherents to a dangerous point. Late in June[8] or very early in July a meeting was arranged at the ' lodgings ' of the Presbyterian

1 cp. Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 298.
2 Ibid. p. 86.
3 Ibid. p. 222.
4 Ibid. p. 311.
5 Ibid. p. 473.
6 Ibid. p. 111.
7 Ibid. p. 225. In a petition to the King he says he had been presented to this prebend on 9 April, 1644, but that the advance of the Scots army prevented his installation.

8 ' In June ' according to Bate (Decl. of Indulgence, p. 9). But it must have been at the very end ; Baxter was made chaplain on the 26th, and according to the account given in his ' Reliquiæ ' (pp. 229-232), some discussions and negotiations followed *after* that and *before* the Conference itself.

Earl of Manchester between about ten of these ministers and the King, accompanied by Clarendon and other important Lords, to discuss a working agreement on disputed points of worship and church government. It was then that Baxter spoke out boldly in the royal presence how the late usurpers had found doing good the most effectual means of promoting their own interests and how they had placed many thousand faithful ministers in the Church, 'even such as detested their usurpation.'[1] He hoped the King would 'outgo' them in doing similar good and never suffer his subjects to cherish favourable thoughts of their late rulers by his discouraging and discountenacing of such godly men.[2] Union, Baxter and his friends reiterated, could easily be secured by not allowing men serious and diligent about the matters of their religion to be reproachfully handled; by having learned, orthodox and saintly ministers resident in each parish; by the strict exercise of discipline regarding admission to the Lord's Supper; and by the greater sanctification of the Lord's day.[3] At the conclusion of this first meeting the King expressed his desire 'to meet in the mid-way'; he thought also it would be expedient that the Presbyterian standpoint should be formulated in writing and presented to him; he moreover gave utterance to some general phrases about calling divines of *both* parties together to arrive at a final decision on the controverted issues.[4] In order to agree on the irreducible essentials and eliminate merely factious argument, the London ministers held numerous meetings at Sion College, in which deliberations 'those who agreed as to matter had much ado in agreeing as to words.'[5] Eventually they included the four indispensable premises laid down in Manchester's lodgings, and outlined such an ambitious remould of the old Anglican polity as would make it Presbyterian in essence while merely keeping its old name. Baxter and his friends found apposite precedents for this work and still more apposite suggestions for reform in the proposals submitted nineteen years before by Archbishop Ussher of Armagh to a committee appointed in March 1641 by the Lords of the early Long Parliament. The

1 Docts. Act Unif., ed. Gould, p. 8—'Discussion of the Ministers with King Charles II in London.'
2 Ibid. p. 9.
3 Ibid. p. 10.
4 Stoughton: Church of the Restoration, I, pp. 100-102.
5 Ibid., ibid., p. 103.

Archbishop would assimilate the two systems by turning rectors, churchwardens and sidesmen into a parochial presbytery, adapting rural deaneries to form monthly synods, and the dioceses to form half-yearly synods, and making the two provinces the basis of a triennial national assembly. As the official title of the Archbishop's paper ran it was 'a reduction of Episcopacy into the form of a synodical government'; and it was undoubtedly as an effective piece of tactical skirmishing that these proposals were resurrected and published in London on 25 June, 1660. Further materials of this nature were supplied by an outline scheme presented before the aforesaid committee of 1641 by its chairman, Archbishop John Williams: he thought that the bishop's jurisdiction should be limited by the appointment of twelve assistants working in conjunction with the ordinarily constituted chapter; all episcopal vacancies to be filled not by the dual action of king and chapter alone, but by the added advice of these new coadjutors presenting to the King three of the ablest divines in the diocese, one of whom was to be chosen bishop.[1] The Presbyterians were now too wary to adopt in their entirety the schemes either of Ussher or of Williams, but contented themselves with creating a congenial atmosphere for more concrete suggestions later by assailing with irrefragable arguments the particular aspects in which Episcopacy had been condemned by Puritan standards before the Civil War—the absurd extent of some of the dioceses, the absorption by the prelates of the functions of ordination and government, the exercise of arbitrary power in spiritual rule. These, their 'First Addresses and Proposals,'[2] were submitted to the King in a further personal interview, when the ministers were disappointed not to find the bishops present to signify what concessions were likely to be made. The latter before long produced their considered answer which contained not the slightest desire of a rapprochement on the vital differences between the two sides, massing their forces in defence of the Prayer Book[3] and alleging the inconsistency of Ussher's 'Reduction' with other discourses of

1 These schemes are carefully treated by Dr. Shaw (I, 69-71; 71-73). n. 1 on p. 70 distinguishes the various printed editions of Ussher's 'Reduction,' and what is even more important, the genuine tracts from the apocryphal.

2 Docts. Act Unif., ed. Gould, IV, pp. 12-21.

3 The large question of the Liturgy will be discussed at greater length later.

the same learned prelate.[1] To this the ministers rejoined with an elaborate expatiation on their former theses,[2] which was not, however, presented to the King, 'in the interests of concord.' Meanwhile their friends in the Convention had on June 27 introduced a bill for the suppression of popery, superstition, the practices of extreme sectaries and innovations in worship and ceremonies; on July 21, after it had been formally decided by 125 to 106 to receive a petition presented by some 'unfortunate Puritans,' the matter was referred to a committee[3]; and about a fortnight later it was resolved that the archbishops, bishops, and other clergy should be restrained in their natural desire to recover their old liberty of making leases or new grants of ecclesiastical lands (which, though reported, was never actually passed).[4]

But the chief excitement of the month of August did not arise from these incidents and obsessions of the religious settlement; they were all dwarfed by the terms of the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion which emerged from the House of Lords on August 29 (it had left the House of Commons on 11 June)—one of the most convincing examples of partisan rancour ever placed on the Statute Books of this country. Comparatively little importance attached to Clause xxiv which fined any person calling any other within the next three years opprobrious names 'any way tending to revive the memory of the late differences or their occasions,' notwithstanding the peculiar social discrimination in assessing its amount—£10 'if of the degree of a gentleman or above,' 40/- if under.[5] It was otherwise with Clause xv which excepted all accounts of church revenues in Wales since 1648 from the retrospective sanction assured to judgments of discharge or 'quietus est' given upon public exchequer accounts during the interregnum.[6] This meant in practice that the 'passing' of the South Wales Propagation balance-sheets at Neath in August 1655 by the Protectorate commissioners[7] was

1 Docts. Act Unif., VII, pp. 27-39—'The Bps.' Ans. to the First Proposals of the London Ministers.'

2 Docts. Act Unif., VIII, pp. 39-63—'A Defence of our Proposals to His Majesty for Agreement in Matters of Religion.'

3 Eng. Hist. Rev., xxii, p. 58 (nn. 35, 36).

4 Ibid. p. 59 (nn. 39, 40).

5 12 Charles II, cap. xi [Stat. at Large (1734) II, p. 497; cp. Preamble, p. 493].

6 12 Charles II, cap. xi (Stat. at Large, II, 496). This point did not escape William Hurd, restored rector of Portskewet, in combating at the Exchequer the pleas of Puritan defendants who had sequestered his tithes and destroyed the timber (Bills and Ans., Mon., No. 9, Trinity, 14 Chas. II).

7 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 69b.

null and void, and incidentally proved that the cause so stubbornly maintained by the Petitioners of 1652, by the Bledry Morgan who made Col. Philip Jones to stand up in the Commons (May 1659) to defend himself against old aspersions,[1] and by the Brecon clique who engineered the inquisitorial act of March 1660,[2] was well represented among the members of the Convention. On the other hand, the fixing of the backward limit at 1648 signified that the present selfish Presbyterian majority in the same body had secured immunity to the activities of county committees and parliamentary sequestrators up to the Presbyterian 'seclusion' in December of that year. This explains the peremptory order sent from Whitehall on the next day after the passing of the Act asking Robert Evans of Lleyn to pay up the £100 'now in his hands for tithes of vacant livings'[3]; this was more fully explained by another dated 7 September, addressed to Evans and Edward Davies of Eglwyseg in Denbighshire, saying that between them they were liable for £300 remaining in their hands as old officials of the Propagation from 1650 to 1653.[4] Nor would it conduce to the happiness of the surviving sequestrators of those days in South Wales that Edward Freeman, the lawyer-colonel who first broached the petition of 1652 before the Rump, was reappointed in September 1660 to the old post of 'Attorney-General' for that part of the country of which he had been deprived in 1653.[5] The combined force of the 'foreprizing' provisoes in Clauses x,[6] xv and xlv, especially when viewed in the light of the explanatory Act of the Cavalier Parliament,[7] subjected all the forfeitures of the local Welsh sequestrators who worked at the will of the London Commissioners for Sequestrations to the revising judgment of Anglicans and Presbyterians. There exists among the State Papers for the later months of 1660 a blank warrant authorising an agent to receive moneys due from collectors and receivers

1 H.P.M., 272 (and n. 6). One wonders how Bledry himself in the Michaelmas term of 1660 enjoyed being accused by the Earl of Northumberland of being co-farmer of the Percy rectories in South Carmarthen and of withholding the arrears of rent at the same time that he (Bledry) was accusing Jones of a long catalogue of 'transcendent crimes.' (Exch. Bills and Ans. Carm., No. 1, Mich., 12 Chas. II).
2 Supra, p. 308.
3 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 206.
4 Ibid. p. 260.
5 Ibid. p. 281; Rawl. MS. A. 119, p. 43.
6 Ninth 'exception' from indemnity (Stat. at Large, II, 496).
7 13 Chas. II, cap. III (especially Clause II)—Stat. at Large, II, 538.

'of the late pretended Committees for Sequestrations' and to prosecute them in case of refusing payment[1]; their books were also wanted 'as a help and a testimony' by the Clerk of the records at the Tower in order to arrive at the whereabouts of £20,000 which he said were still due to the King as arrears.[2] A new proclamation was issued early in 1661 commanding all such collectors, etc., to bring in the accounts excepted under the Act.[3] It is in this same context, too, that a paper preserved in the Lords' archives is endowed with more than ordinary interest, illustrating as it does the anxious background of aggrieved clergymen who had survived and widows of those who had not, the subterranean agencies at work to affect the judgment of Lords and Commons, and the fear of many that the Convention would lay more stress on oblivion than on indemnity. It is a petition, presented at a date when the bill had come up from the Commons and under discussion by the Lords, lodged by Joan Herbert, relict of Matthew Herbert of Llangattock in Brecon, asking that all her arrears of fifths should be secured to her and that her children should not be stopped by the Act for their remedy at law or equity for the recovery of so much of the profits of the living and those of the annexed chapels as had not been paid in to the public treasury.[4] Clause xv set at rest all her anxieties on the latter score; as to fifths, the Lords' officials could have told her that another Act was then nearing fruition which would give her full satisfaction on that appeal as well.[5] Llangattock, being an impropriation of the Somersets of Raglan, never came within the purview of the *Trustees*, but their allocations for maintenance in *Wales* derived from episcopal and capitular revenues must be taken to have been included in the 'all Accounts' of the same condemning clause. Clause xlv was almost exclusively devoted to them, and though not unreasonable in its main content, the animus of both parties in the Convention was only too evident against a body created by the anti-Presbyterian Rump and sanctioned by the anti-Stuart Oliver: the Trustees themselves were called to account very

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 370—sub 'November.'
2 Ibid. Ibid.
3 Ibid. p. 544—20 March, 1660-1661.
4 House of Lords MSS. Comm. Rpt., Appendix I, p. 96.
5 12 Chas. II, cap. xvii—discussed in the next chapter.

particularly for all rents and profits accruing to them under the Acts of 1649 and 1654 which were left undisbursed by them or by their order; certain 'farmers' who had taken church premises and profits into their hands *without* agreement to pay rent therefor were to be summoned to give satisfaction[1]; thirdly, those who held their tithe-tenancies attested by valid instruments from these 'pretended authorities' but had not paid all or some part of the rent agreed upon 'shall respectively account for so much of the Premises, and Profits of the Premises, as are unsatisfied or unaccounted for.'[2] Relevant to these provisions in Clause xlv (especially those in the last sub-section) and proving also that the demises of local sequestrators were brought within the orbit of the clause,[3] is the Caldicot inquiry of October 1660, a reference to which has been discovered in an Exchequer case entered in Michaelmas 1661.[4] There Nicholas Hollister makes it clear that special county panels of Commissioners were appointed under the Act of Indemnity to look into the financial bargains of the Puritan period and the looseness with which some of them were ensued. He says that on 23 April, 1655, a grant was made to him of the vicarage house and glebe lands of Caldicot for one year for the sum of £8,[5] that he had a rate made for the raising thereof from the tithable parishioners, 'but because he failed to collect it as it became due he deferred to pay the £8 to the agents.' However, on *29 October, 1660*, Commissioners of a very different brand arrived (as it seems) in Caldicot, ferreted out the details of the Caldicot agreements, called in Hollister's bond for the £8, demanded a payment of that sum in hard cash, and left behind under the hand of Edward Dicet, one of their number, a formal acquittance for the same. The impression left in the wake of these Convention emissaries is that they did not stand on ceremony and allowed preciously few loopholes of escape. This is the one allusion to these particular inquisitors the writer has come across in the documents he has examined; the truth must be that there were similar panels all over the

1 It is rather difficult to imagine any such cases remembering what a circumspect body the Trustees were.

2 Stat. at Large, II, pp. 499-500.

3 The living of Caldicot had never, strictly speaking, been within the jurisdiction of the Trustees.

4 Bills and Ans., Mon., No. 2, 13 Chas. II.

5 By Ellis Brown of Shirenewton and George Edwards of Llanwern, two Protectorate agents in the hundred.

country, whose doings await the divining rod of a discoverer. It is well to know that the beneficiary ministers (many of them, of course, Presbyterians) escaped this 'lex talionis': 'nevertheless it is not hereby intended that any Minister, Schoolmaster, or other Person . . . shall be accountable or liable to make Satisfaction for any Profits taken by them respectively by Virtue or Colour of any Order or Appointment of the said Trustees.'[1] Nevertheless, the Bassaleg case proves how keenly the operation of this addendum was watched: as George Watkins—instituted rector there on the last of May 1624[2], and left untouched by all the Puritan dispensations—had indiscreetly become 'receiver' of tithes for the hamlet of Grange in that parish (apart from merely 'enjoying' them), he found himself the object of unwelcome attention on the part of the Attorney General Palmer at the Court of Exchequer in 1661-1662.[3] It is doubtful whether Watkins would much appreciate another aspect of the case, namely, that he was bracketed in the same plaint with a host of lay Puritan officials of the interregnum—all 'excepted' from the indulgence allowed by the Oblivion instrument. The Act, again, by a clause which was most probably inserted on account of the strident representations of the Episcopalian minority, refused to indemnify any 'persons or powers' whatsoever who had entered upon 'fabrick lands,' or who had possessed themselves of any rents or revenues formerly given for the repair of any Cathedral or other church, or who had sacrilegiously enriched themselves by converting to their own private use and advantage any of 'the Plate or Utensils and Materials' belonging to any such churches.[4] Such restrictions would apply to the men who sold off the three bells of Merthyr Tydvil and those of Gelligaer and Mynyddislwyn churches[5], and to those Puritan authorities who broke in pieces the organ of Llandaff Cathedral and made a bargain for the leads with a merchant of Bristol, 'although it pleas'd God y' he did not carry off above one half thereof.'[6] Condign punishment would also fall on the Rees Davies who removed the fine font of stone out of the

1 Clause XLV, sub-sec. 5.
2 Lib. Inst., Llandaff, f. 115.
3 Bills and Ans., Mon., No. 14, Hilary, 13-14 Chas. II.
4 Clause LI—St. at Large, II, 500-501.
5 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 65.
6 Ibid. f. 66.

church at Bedwas, failed to split it up, and then placed the same under a yew tree to water his horses and cattle in[1]; and no doubt the Thomas Couzens who demolished the parsonage house of Robeston West (as 'farmer' of that parish with Nolton in 1651-1652[2]) had to set his carts and waggons going to reinforce the '7 or 8 stones at most' he left standing as a forlorn nucleus.[3] The numerous petitions that came pouring into the House of Lords describing Puritan vandalism and asking for reparation, coupled with the decisions of referees appointed by the Upper House to find out the true facts, supply abundant evidence that this clause was meant to deal very faithfully with Parliamentary iconoclasts.[4] On 10 June, 1661, Philip Henry saw at Chester the ruins of the bishop's house and the dean's close; he was glad they were restored to the Church, though he entered the reflection in his diary that they could be put to better use.[5] Pursuing the same subject, it is unfortunate that there exist no more detailed depositions of the £69 which certain gentlemen (including the old C.P.G.W. William Barber who farmed the glebe from 1650 to 1652,[6] and the old Parliamentary general Rowland Dawkins who was sending ammunition there in the spring of 1655[7]) had to pay in 1663 'de quibusdam feloniis et sacrilegiis' committed to the church of Tenby.[8] Overshadowing all these provisions in tragic interest were the regicide clauses. Fifty-one of them were excepted by name from the general pardon (Clause xxxiv),[9] of whom three connected with Wales suffered the extreme penalty in October: Thomas Harrison, the organising spirit of the Welsh Propagation Act in its earliest stages, and a man who at his trial uttered the Dantonesque sentiment that the death of Charles was 'not a thing done in a corner, [but] the sound of it hath been in most nations'[10]; John Jones of Maesygarnedd, conqueror of Anglesey and commissioner

1 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 66.
2 Ibid. c. 13, ff. 9, 10.
3 Lamb. 1027, Entry 49—statement made on 16 September, 1662, to the petty constables by the restored rector Philip Williams.
4 G. B. Tatham: The Puritans in Power, pp. 260-263, esp. 262 (n. 1). At the Exchequer, also, charges were brought from several Monmouthshire parishes—notably Caldicot, Llanwern, and Portskewet—that church buildings had been wilfully 'pulled or let fall down' (Bills and Ans., Mon., 13-15 Chas. II).
5 Diaries, p. 98.
6 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, ff. 5b, 8b.
7 Supra, p. 152.
8 Controlment Roll, No. 313, m. 3 (dorse), Hilary, 14-15 Charles II.
9 Stat. at Large, II, p. 498.
10 C. H. Simpkinson: Life of Harrison, p. 232.

in Ireland, who from his cell on 19 September told a relative to concentrate his thoughts on the first and last verses in Psalm xxvii[1]; and Hugh Peters, general propagator of extreme Puritanism and particular purveyor of preaching ministers to English Pembroke from 1650 to 1653. Another was Thomas Wogan, the Pembrokeshire Parliamentarian who stood firm during the vacillations of Poyer's rising, farmer of the profits of Fishguard and Mathry under the C.P.G.W. in 1651,[2] and busy at the crisis of 1659 securing Hull against the Royalists.[3] His name also appeared among a group of 19 in Clause xxxv, regicides who personally surrendered themselves to justice in obedience to the King's proclamation of the 6 June and 'who therefore pretend thereby to . . . Favour upon some conceived doubtful words in the said Proclamation'[4]; these were legally attainted, but their execution was suspended unless ordered by a special act of Parliament. Wogan eventually fled to the Continent, and a tradition is recorded that he died of grief under an assumed name near Walwyn Castle in his native county.[5] Among the deceased regicides whose lands were not free from forfeiture (under Clause xxxviii)[6] was Thomas Horton, victor of St. Fagans, and whose services to the Parliament in South Wales saw him and his brigade reaping for some time the profits of three livings in Pembrokeshire.[7] Clause xliii contained the names of a number of men (including soldiers, lawyers, and ministers) some of whom, like Fleetwood, had actually signed the King's death-warrant, and others who for their past prominence in the cause of Puritanism and the Parliament were to be excluded from all public employment from 1 September, 1660: should they accept or execute any such duty they were to stand as if they had been totally excepted by name from the indulgence given by the Act.[8] Among them were the old Speaker William Lenthall, who once had the pleasure of reading in the Long Parliament the tale of 'bloudy' victories won in North Wales by Myddelton and in

1 D. Davies: Ardudwy a'i Gwron, pp. 151-152.
2 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 96.
3 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Repn., p. 38. Wogan had been M.P. for Cardigan boroughs from 1646 to 1653.
4 Stat. at Large, II, 498-499.
5 W. R. Williams, p. 38.
6 Stat. at Large, II, 499.
7 H.P.M., p. 2 (and n. 4).
8 Stat. at Large, II, 499.

South Wales by Horton; John Desborough, whose many acts in opposition to the King's interest did *not* include writing the mythical letter from Llanwddyn in the previous April[1]; John Goodwin, in the days of unfettered freedom a warm opponent of Vavasor's high Calvinism; and Philip Nye, by this clause established in the too dangerous eminence he won through his activity as a Trier, and who as a result was in January 1662 describing himself as infirm, having a wife and three children, unprovided for, his maintenance depending upon voluntary contributions.[2] Wales was directly represented in this clause by Major Richard Creed; and in view of his manifold activities touching the fortunes of the Puritan movement both in its military and politico-religious aspects, it is difficult to conceive of a more apposite choice. He was married to Lois, one of Cradock's two daughters[3]; during the troubles of the summer of 1648 he was deputed to hold the bridge at Glasbury, amidst the most turbulent and treacherous Royalists in all Wales[4]; in 1652 he was comparing the 'bookes and receipts' of Harrison,[5] and as the latter's factotum and London agent to the C.P.G.W. loading the dice with great success against the Petitioners of the same year against the working of the Propagation Act[6]; his relative John Creed was clerk to the C.P.G.W. in Brecon (1651-1652)[7] and received a salary for attending 'generall meetings' of the same commissioners in Glamorgan and Carmarthen as well[8]; during the Penruddock rising Richard was busy in Gloucester and South Wales 'when the late Col. Saunders' regiment was a year without a colonel,' for which service he received £200 from the Army contingencies[9]; we have spoken already of his collusive bargain with the Trustees over the lease of the Llangwm tithes[10]; and it is probable that the immediate occasion of his presence in Clause xliii was some unascertained disaffection, and that an

1 Supra, pp. 237-238.
2 Dr. John Stoughton: Church of the Restoration, I, 194 (n. 1).
3 Dr. Thomas Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon., pp. 50-51.
4 A letter from Col. Horton to His Excellency The Lord General . . . from St. Fagons, May 6, 1648 (= two days before the battle) . . . p. 8 (N.L.W., C.W. Tracts, Cat., p. 37, No. 196).
5 C. H. Simpkinson: Life of Harrison, Appendix, p. 294.
6 A True and Perfect Relation . . . pp. 9-11.
7 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 63.
8 Ibid. f. 23.
9 Cal. St. Pap., 1655-56, p. 56—order made 13 Dec., 1655.
10 Supra, p. 101.

active one, to the new government of the Restoration.[1] It is known for certain that he was committed to the Tower on 24 April, and that his petition for freedom presented in July was endorsed by Secretary Nicholas—'Not to be released.'[2] Notwithstanding this variegated record, there were many Welshmen more distinguished than Creed who had reaped greater advantages from the downfall of Monarchy and Church, but whom clandestine influences shielded from proscription. Names also surprisingly absent from this clause were John Milton, great poet but virulent pamphleteer, and John Thurloe, the astute and all-knowing Secretary of State to the two Protectors.

That the tragic interest engendered by the Oblivion Act and the lively conferences between Lords and Commons over the names and number of excepted persons had not altogether interfered with the attempts at a religious solution is clear from the fact that on September 4 (less than a week after the final passing of the bill) Clarendon sent the leading Presbyterians the draft of a declaration of indulgence drawn up by the King[3] (sometimes called the declaration 'for' indulgence to distinguish it from that 'of' indulgence presented to the world in 1672). It would be rather much to expect the concessions outlined in this draft to satisfy the high claims of the Presbyterian spokesmen; indeed, the latter's next step was to compose a new petition to the King 'upon the first draft of his declaration,' in the main travelling over the same ground as the 'First Address and Proposals' and occupying eighteen pages of the documents edited by the Rev. George Gould.[4] As a result of this a still further conference met on 22 October at Clarendon's London domicile at Worcester House, where was present the King, the Chancellor, five other Lords, six bishops, and six Presbyterian divines. Clarendon slowly read through a revised draft of the declaration, the two sides approving or disapproving each clause as he proceeded (no disputing being allowed). Notwithstanding the force of the last parenthesis, the conference before its close saw the

1 Professor Firth has brought proof of this very close by quoting a letter written on 22 *April* to Monck from a Major Browne, describing the part played by a 'Major Creed' in Lambert's insurrection (Art. on 'The Later History of the Ironsides' in Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., New Series, Vol. XV, p. 21).

2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 171.

3 Dr. John Stoughton: Church of the Restoration, I, 107.

4 Docts. Act Uniformity, pp. 79-97.

thorny problem of indulgence to *other* sectaries rearing its head and heard the King giving a clear hint that the laws against Papist recusants were stringent enough without further reinforcement—which difficulties, together with the reaction which had set in by the heroic death of the regicides only a few days before, bade fair to wreck the fabric slowly and very insecurely built up by proposal and rejoinder, drafts, revised drafts, and two conferences.[1] It was therefore with some surprise that Baxter three days later heard the London newsboys crying in the streets the official copies of the King's new declaration; he at once bought one of them and took it to a neighbouring shop for perusal, finding not only that many of the actual forms and phrases of the original 'First Proposals' were inserted in the document, but that a very generous application of their Presbyterian ideas as regards circumstantials of worship and the practical working of government in the Church had been allowed.[2] Suffragan bishops were to be appointed in large dioceses[3]; 'no bishop shall ordain or exercise any part of jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the church without the advice and assistance of the presbyters'[4]; the archdeacon was to have the help of six ministers, and the most learned presbyters of the diocese were to find a place among the members of the chapter.[5] The rules for admission to the Lord's table[6] were made to conform very considerably to the Presbyterian practice, only that there was an echo of Selden's arguments in the Westminster Assembly and of the Erastian strictures of the old Long Parliament in the provision that 'there be due appeals to superior [lay] powers' from persons aggrieved at their exclusion therefrom.[7] Complaints also from the individual ministers of the parishes were to be sent up to the rural dean acting in concert with three or four ministers of the deanery chosen by the major part of the ministers within the same; such matters as these again were unable 'to compose and reform' had to be submitted to the bishop of the diocese; and to him in turn ministers might be summoned to give

1 Dr. John Stoughton: Church of the Restn., I, 114-116.
2 The declaration is printed in full by Edward Cardwell in his Docty. Annals of the Reformed Church of England, II, pp. 235-250 (CXLIX).
3 Ibid. p. 243.
4 Ibid. ibid.
5 Ibid. ibid.
6 Ibid. p. 244.
7 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, II, p. 245.

assistance.[1] As to the Prayer Book, there was a distinct promise of a further conference to discuss possible alteration and readjustment.[2] Particular ceremonies were dealt with next: kneeling at communion, bowing at the name of Jesus, and the use of the cross at baptism were all made permissive and not compulsory[3]; so with the wearing of the surplice, with the exception that this latter indulgence was not to extend to the King's own chapel, nor to cathedral and collegiate churches, nor to the colleges of the two universities.[4] The oaths of allegiance and supremacy had to be taken by all, but not the oath of canonical obedience: students in the universities were not to be hindered of their degrees for want of subscription to it; ministers also could exercise their functions and enjoy the fruits of their livings although they scrupled the same; none were to forfeit presentation or benefice as long as they read and declared assent to all the articles of religion 'which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments confirmed in the book of articles in the said statute' (13 Elizabeth, cap. xii).[5]

Notwithstanding these concessions, the joyful tears of the revered Presbyterian Simeon Ash when he heard the King in June stating his desire to bring about a settlement, the appointment as King's chaplains of six leading Presbyterians in the some month, and the proffer of bishoprics to much the same men later in the year, never was Pyrrhic victory more Pyrrhic than the declaration of October[6]. It was merely a *declaration*; it was only meant to be an interim settlement 'to give some determination ourself to the matters in difference' until the national synod promised in June should be called together, a synod impossible 'at present on account of the passion and appetite and interest of particular persons.[7]' That synod was never called.[8] At the end of November a valiant attempt was made by the Presbyterians of the Convention to transform the declaration into law, but

1 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, II, p. 245.
2 Ibid. p. 246.
3 Ibid. pp. 247-248.
4 Ibid. p. 248.
5 Ibid. p. 249.
6 It will be convenient to refer henceforth in the work to this proclamation of the King on 25 October, 1660, as the 'Declaration of October.'
7 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, II, p. 239.
8 Such a synod is to be very carefully distinguished from the two panels of divines summoned to discuss the Prayer Book at the Savoy in 1661.

it was finally defeated by 183 to 157, on account of the opposition of the courtiers, says one authority,[1] 'quashed by the violence of its promoters and happily thrown out,' said Secretary Nicholas on December 7 in a letter to Sir Henry de Vic.[2] As we shall see later, it will be nearer the truth to say that it was negatived by a coalition of continually growing Anglicans supported by a small band of Convention sectaries whose interests had been completely disregarded by the Presbyterians.[3] In any case, the cunning and hypocritical King was very glad, 'gracious' though he might still be called by Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd.[4] The declaration nevertheless had some effect. The wholesale dissemination of its terms throughout the country did allay the fears of many Puritan ministers and moderate the ferocity of over-sanguine Episcopalians in London and the provinces, Wales not excepted. The Presbyterian ministers of the capital presented a qualified address of thanks to the King on 23 December[5]; and 59 Lancashire ministers thought that 'this your royal act . . . is a very apt and excellent expedient for union and settlement.'[6] Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd writing to Baxter called it 'a blessed respite . . . though against the hearts of those among whom we live'; 'many a mouth it has kept open powerfully and (as it were) valedictorily . . . to preach the blessed gospel . . . who otherwise would have been stopped to the joy and rejoicings of many profane ones.' His final hope was that though the ark of the church should be tossed from one extreme to another, '[yet] when God himself is both master of the storm and anchor to it, it shall at length rest upon Ararat.'[7] The terms of the declaration warded off from Steele, Fogg,[8] and Philip Henry pleas presented against them in the Assizes of Flint for not reading the Common Prayer Book.[9] But Henry was some time later to chronicle the unguarded remark of a

1 See Stoughton: Church of the Restoration I, 121-124; Bate: Decl. of Ind., p. 14.
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 406.
3 It is rather curious that Stoughton and Bate have both quite overlooked this aspect of the division.
4 Frank Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, p. 15 (n. 69).
5 Stoughton, I, 120-121.
6 Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, Appendix I, p. iii; also Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 422 (where the no. is given as 60).
7 This very interesting letter can be seen in Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon., pp. 121-122, and in Bate, p. 15 (n. 69).
8 Robert Fogg.
9 Diaries, pp. 72, 81.

Royalist squire of Denbighshire that private orders were issued from the highest quarters contrary to the spirit of the Declaration; when it was objected that in such a case the King had unworthily mocked the nation, this squire took refuge in the mysterious dictum that God himself had his 'voluntas signi' and his 'voluntas beneplaciti.'[1]

Of the growing power and confidence of the Anglicans in the Convention the division on the Declaration issue is sufficient proof. Nor had the King and Clarendon seen well, in answer to the undoubted signs of disapproval from the Presbyterian divines at Worcester House, to exclude from that Declaration itself words and phrases and whole passages savouring only too strongly of the Anglican bias of the Chancellor: the defence of episcopal authority and a set liturgy[2]; the involved passage about aristocratical government in the Church[3]; the frequent allusions to rubrics and canons; the oblique preference for the Anglican use in important ceremonies, even when sanctioning evasions of their strict performance; the definition of Puritan scruples to kneeling at communion as based 'upon reasons best, if not only, known to themselves'[4]; the collegiate exceptions in the use of the surplice; and the derogatory references in the closing adjuration to separatists of all schools (very evidently not excluding the Presbyterians) as men who cherished 'obscure notions of faith and fancy,' connived at 'licence in opinions and manners,' and 'heaped calumnious reproaches upon the Church in these late ill times.'[5] Again, in an act passed very soon after the Bill of Indemnity for 'a perpetual Anniversary Thanksgiving' on 29 May for His Majesty's wonderful 'restauration,'[6] it was decreed that all and singular the ministers of God's word were to give praises for the auspicious event in every church, chapel, 'and other usual Place' of divine service[7]; but by the time the Act of Attainder became law close to the end of this Parliament,[8] the Presbyterians had evidently failed to get the 'other usual Place'

1 Diaries, p. 103, sub 3 February, 1661-1662.
2 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, II, p. 240.
3 Ibid. pp. 241-242, more especially the long sentence—
And upon this ground . . . cheerfully conform themselves thereunto.'
4 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, II, p. 248.
5 Ibid. p. 250.
6 12 Charles II, cap. XIV.
7 Ibid. Clause I Stat. at Large, II, 504).
8 12 Charles II, cap. XXX.

inserted in the clause which set apart 30 January of every year as a day of fasting and humiliation.[1] It was the same Anglican bias that was insistent enough to include in the Act passed on 13 September, 1660, such a significant term as the 'competent Ordinary' in Clause ii[2] and to make the 'proper Incumbent' in Clause xiii synonymous with the cleric 'ejected and sequestered.'[3] But that Act is intrinsically so important and has hitherto received such cursory attention from ecclesiastical historians that it merits consideration in a separate chapter.

NOTE: TWO BORDER CASES.

Among the petitioners of 1660 are found two clergymen who were evidently Welshmen and certainly ejected from English parishes situate in the diocese of St. Asaph: Humphrey Wynne, instituted to the vicarage of Oswestry on 11 May, 1639 (Lib. Inst., St. Asaph, f. 159), and Edward Tanat, instituted on 17 April, 1629, to the vicarage of Llanyblodwel (ibid., f. 161). The former's petition is of the shortest (classified W), simply describing himself as having been sequestered for 'divers yeares'; it is known that the Puritan Rowland Nevett was 'of Oswestrey' as early as 1647 (Shaw, II, App. IIIb, p. 408). Tanat is much more informing (classifying letter T), but correspondingly inexact: he is four years out in recollecting his date of institution (1633, not 1629); and it is not easy to understand how he was sequestered in 1643, banished from Salop in 1645, and only 'silenced' in 1646. It is perhaps not a matter for surprise that he attaches no endorsement from 'responsible persons,' especially since an Edward Tanat, 'minister of y^e^ word,' subscribed the Puritan 'Engagement' on 7 March, 1649-1650 (Rawlinson MS. D. 711, f. 4), whose name, however, is spelt 'Tenant' in the collateral MS. J. Walker, c. 6, ff. 39-43. Tanat is quite correct that a David Kyffin was 'intruded' into Llanyblodwel, a fact attested by the Sheriff of Salop in his First Fruits return to the Exchequer, describing the latter as 'Pastor of Blodwell' (Exch. Miscellanea, dated 3 February, 1651-1652, parchment pencilled 14). Wynne's restoration meant the removal of Nevett, who thus appears in Calamy's 'Account' of the Puritan 'ejected' (1713 Ed., II, 561). Tanat was also restored. He did not remain long in his old living, as he was promoted vicar of Llansilin on 14 August, 1661 (Bishops' Certificates, File 14 (St. Asaph), Sched. 20 Ap.—20 Oct., 1661), and his successor was no other than the David Kyffin whom he had dispossessed and who had now conformed.

1 12 Charles II, cap. XXX, Clause I (Stat. at Large, II, 527). This argument is not worth pressing very closely, as there is but scanty evidence that there were any 'other places' than the parish churches as yet for the convenience of Nonconformists.
2 Stat. at Large, II, 505.
3 Ibid. 507.

III.

12 CHARLES II, CAP. XVII.[1]

As was mentioned at the end of the last chapter, this became law on 13 September, 1660.[2] Its full title is 'An Act for the Confirming and Restoring of Ministers,' and embodied the solution proposed at that juncture of time by a Parliament of divided purposes for the problem of a wonderfully diverse and divided ministry; it strove to find a 'via media' between angry Anglicans made angrier by a delayed restoration, and anxious Puritans who were doubtful about the stability of the arrangements which had subsisted up to the reappearance of the King. At the outset some analysis is necessary of its 32 clauses.[3]

CLAUSE.	PROVISIONS.	REF. PAGE IN STAT. AT LARGE (1734), II.
I.	*Ministers Confirmed in Livings:* must be 24 years of age on 25 Dec., 1659; ordained by '*any* Ecclesiastical Persons' before that date; not renounced ordination; on above date must be in actual possession of the living and receiving the profits; living held must have become void since 1 January, 1642-1643, and before 25 December, 1659, either by death, voluntary resignation, or other avoidance 'to the Patron or any other Person pretending to have title to accept of resignations'; livings referred to include those in gift of the king, bishops and chapters; on next avoidance (by any of these settled ministers) the presentation to fall into the hands of the lawful patron.	504—505.

1 Often referred to in these pages as the 'Act of September.'

2 It is passing strange that the third Edmund Calamy, writing in 1713, places the date of this Act between 22 May, 1661, and the passing of the Corporation Act in the same year (Account, I, 160, margin; II, Preface, xvii). These lapses appear more inexplicable when one finds on II, 553, that he quotes an argument of Francis Tallents of Shrewsbury which distinctly and correctly refers to it as an Act of '12 Car.' Even in his 'Continuation' of 1727 he refers in one context to the Act as having been passed in 1661 (I, 575-576).

3 As somewhat detailed references will be made to the Act in this chapter, the clauses have been summarised seriatim (notwithstanding occasional repetitions due to the very slovenly drafting of the original instrument).

Clause.	Provisions	Ref. Page in Stat. at Large (1734), II.
II.	Voluntary resignations made to the patron or to 'any late pretended Powers' since 1 January, 1642-1643, confirmed.	505.
III.	No confirmation by this Act to amount to any usurpation in law of patronal rights of presentation.	505.
IV.	*Ministers Restored to Livings:* all sequestered and ejected ministers to be restored to their benefices on or before 25 December, 1660, who did not subscribe any petition to bring the late King to trial, or endeavoured to justify his death, or declared against infant baptism; ministers perforce *removed* (to make way for those *restored*) to enjoy the profits of the living up to aforesaid 25 December; there must be peaceable abdication; must enter into a penal bond to pay to restored minister the full clear moiety of the profits accruing from Michaelmas 1659 to Michaelmas 1660; with this qualification removed minister to enjoy profits up to 25 Dec., 1660.	505.
V.	Restoration to one living only; clergyman to 'elect' if a sometime pluralist; no right to any living if previously surrendered to lawful patron (see Cl. II).	505.
VI.	Ministers confirmed subject to same proviso over plurality.	505.
VII.	Minister qualified to be restored may confirm present possessor's right; party *removed* in all cases to pay tenths 'not pardoned' and make good all dilapidations, 'wilful or negligent,' committed since 25 Sept., 1659; to be responsible for all arrears of fifths up to the same date (cp. Clauses VIII & IX); to enter into a penal bond to pay the same before 25 Dec., 1660; on refusal an action of debt by restored minister to lie against him at Common Law.	505–506.
VIII.	*Confirmed* ministers to pay all arrears of fifths 'due or payable by him by any order Order or Orders' (explained by next Clause).	506.
IX.	All unpaid fifths due to deceased sequestered ministers to be paid to the latter's executors.	506.
X.	All arrears of tithes due up to Michaelmas 1660 payable to ministers whether confirmed or removed; enabled to sue for the same in any court of Common Law or Equity.	506.

Clause.	Provisions.	Ref. Page in Stat. at Large (1734), II.
XI.	All ministers confirmed to submit to the same conditions precedent as those restored (Clause IV); otherwise, the living to be void . . . 'as if the said Minister or Ecclesiastical Person were dead.'	506.
XII.	Justices of the Peace in the vicinity and in commission on 1 Sept., 1660, to act as Commissioners under the Act to see to all restorations and removals; the same not to be patrons or in any way concerned with the tithes of the particular livings; all differences arising from the premises or the execution of the Act to be determined by 25 December, 1660.	506.
XIII.	Leases granted by confirmed ministers before 25 Dec., 1659, to stand.	507.
XIV.	Refusal to approve 'without lawful Cause' on part of *Triers* to any nominee presented by the rightful patron to be null and void, unless the aforesaid patron had since presented *another* clerk to the same benefice or unless the clerk first presented had been settled in some *other* living.	507
XV.	Cession of a living (or its desertion) since 25 December, 1659, to be irrevocable.	507.
XVI.	Any agreement made by the sequestered minister to surrender his claim for fifths sufficient to invalidate any new claim.	507.
XVII.	Payment of tithes to the present possessor a good discharge to the payer.	507.
XVIII.	Special provisions regarding rectories of	
XIX.	Ewelme (Oxon.) and Somersham (Hunts.)	507.
XX.	All ministers, confirmed or restored, to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.	507.
XXI.	All persons presented to livings by the King under the Great Seal between 1 May and 9 September, 1660, not to have their titles prejudiced; these presentees to enjoy their promotions from and after 29 Sept., 1660, 'as if this Act had not been made.'	507.
XXII.	Previous possessors 'upon the aforesaid livings' (Clause XXI) on 25 Dec., 1659, to enjoy the profits up to 29 Sept., 1660.	507.
XXIII to XXVI.	Special provisions *re* vicarage of Kidlington (Oxon.); rectory of Garsington (Oxon.); rectory of Castor (Northants.); and vicarage of Cuddesdon (Oxon.).	507—508.

Clause.	Provisions.	Ref. Page in Stat. at Large (1734), II.
XXVII.	No person to be confirmed in any living if the author of any anti-monarchical treatise ; the authorship must be proved by the oaths of two credible witnesses before the J.P. Commissioners before 25 December, 1660.	508.
XXVIII.	The Sheriff of the county to be called in to ' remove ' refractory ministers.	508.
XXIX[1].	No person to be confirmed ' that did appear in Arms and march in a Troop in opposition to the intended restoring of the King and a free Parliament ' since 1 August, 1659 ; such action to be proved by a similar procedure to that in Clause XXVII.	508.
XXX.	Special provision *re* Acton Rectory (Middlesex).	508.
XXXI.	Peers of the realm may within six calendar months from 1 Sept., 1660, present their respective ' Clerks ' to any ecclesiastical benefices falling within their patronages, to which they had a right to present since 1 January, 1642-1643 ; ' these presentees shall be full and perfect Incumbents of the same as fully and amply as if they had been presented within six months after the first avoidance.'	508.
XXXII.	The last Clause not to disenable presentees of the King under Clause XXI.	508.

Dr. Stoughton's summary of the confirming clauses as ' allowing present incumbents with undisputed titles to retain their livings ' is much too short and misleading[2] ; Gould's footnote in his ' Documents ' suffers almost equally from the same disabilities[3] ; and a serious misconception of Mr. Shankland's in an article of 20 years ago must be removed before the precise sense of Clause I is understood and the general treatment of the Act can be moderately fruitful. He interprets the former ordination ' by any Ecclesiastical Persons ' to be of necessity episcopal ; and there follows the

1 The italicised summary of this clause given in the margin by the Editor of 1734 reads : ' None to be *restored* who with Arms opposed a Free Parliament.' The clause is exclusively devoted to *confirmed* ministers. It is not likely that Anglicans waiting to be restored would commit such indiscretions.

2 The Church of the Restoration, I, p. 89.

3 p. 26 (n. 1). More exact (as far as they go) are the cursory references of Miss L. F. Brown (Eng. Hist. Rev., xxii, pp. 59-60) and Professor Firth in Camb. Mod. Hist., V, p. 96.

corollary that the only ministers whose livings were guaranteed safe from intrusion should consist of those who had not renounced their Anglican vows.[1] This is in direct opposition to the words of the Puritan diarist who had every reason for knowing the exact force of the all-important word 'any'; he describes the Act as one which 'setled some by whomsoever ordayn'd without institution & Induction &c.'[2] Such a reading also contravenes the whole spirit of this piece of legislation and means that an assembly where in September the Presbyterians and other sectaries had a small but undoubted majority sanctioned an arrangement that made for their own ostracisation[3]; it ill consorts with the *defeat* of an amendment (127 votes to 148) which proposed that ministers who had constantly refused to administer the sacraments to persons neither scandalous nor ignorant should not be confirmed in their livings even when the former Anglican incumbent was dead[4]—a Cavalier proposition directly aimed at people other than Episcopalians; and surely Clarendon's remark at the passing of the Act that His Majesty had by this gratified many persons who had contributed much to his restoration must refer principally to the Presbyterians.[5] In fact, the title itself and the well-poised balancing of interests in the various clauses speak eloquently of its being a working compromise between conflicting interests, testifying much to the same principle as had made the Presbyterian majority in the last sitting of the Long Parliament declare that ejected Anglicans were to be capable of holding livings, if blameless and of sound doctrine,[6] and had caused the Convention Parliament a few months previous to September to confirm the judicial proceedings (including those of the Court of Great Sessions in Wales) of the 'late pretended powers' notwithstanding defects of title.[7] In this present

1 Seren Gomer, July 1901, p. 194.

2 Philip Henry: Diaries, p. 102 sub 13 December, 1661.

3 A. A. Seaton's words ['The Theory of Toleration under the Later Stuarts' (1910) (p. 93 and n. 2)], that the Episcopalians in the Convention were always stronger than Presbyterians and Independents are quite unwarranted, especially if he bases them (as he does) on Miss Brown's article in the Eng. Hist. Review (xxii, 51-63). Her argument is that the Presbyterian *majority* was gradually and surely being whittled down and that there were occasions (esp. on the Declaration issue in November) when the Independents went into the same 'lobby' as the Cavaliers. In the main divisions over the Act of September, such would assuredly *not* be the case.

4 L. F. Brown: Eng. Hist. Rev., xxii, p. 59 (n. 41).

5 Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, p. 11.

6 Firth and Rait: Acts and Ordinances, II, 1469 et seq.

7 12 Charles II, cap. xii, Clauses i-iv, xii (Stat. at Large, II, 501, 502)—the original authorities whose proceedings are confirmed are described in one place as 'rebellious wicked traterous and abominable Usurpations.'

Act even the restoration of the rectory of Ewelme to support the Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford who happened to be a learned *Episcopalian* and a later Bishop of Lincoln had to be balanced in the same clause by the restoration of the rectory of Somersham to Dr. Anthony Tuckney, an equally learned *Presbyterian* who was Regius Professor of Divinity in Cambridge.[1] The '24 years of age' in Clause I reverts to the qualifying years for ordination laid down in the Anglican canons of 1604,[2] but the necessity in Clause VI of even confirmed ministers having to relinquish pluralist livings witnesses the Presbyterians of the Convention sitting in judgment on Puritan practices connived at by their own representatives among the Triers. The 'election' provisoes imposed upon both parties are vividly reminiscent of similar clauses in the Welsh Propagation Act, while the phrase about defaulting ministers being looked upon as 'dead' though still living was to find a very early and sinister resurrection in the Act of Uniformity. A similar contrast can be made between the tacit sanction of fifths, a financial expedient of the old sequestration ordinances, and the 'penal bonds' which breathe the spirit of the Clarendon Code. The references to ministers 'marching in a Troop' and out of the possession of their livings make us remember the Anglican clergy of the early Civil War who were caught lighting beacons or helping to defend Royalist castles,[3] while the bar on those who opposed 'a free Parliament' point the way to the persecuting laws already simmering in the Chancellor's mind (besides, this bar not only directly traversed the spirit of Clause xxiv in the Act of Oblivion[4] passed a fortnight before but also placed ministers under a veto from which laymen were free). Both Presbyterians and Anglicans, however, would agree on the 'troop' clause (XXIX), worded as it was to disenfranchise those who, like the Independent Dr. John Owen, had been active in opposing the Royalist-Presbyterian movement associated with the Booth rising of August 1659.[5] Baptists were also doctrinally obnoxious to both parties:

1 Clause xviii. Tuckney is described wrongly in the Act as Regius Prof. in 'Univ. Oxon.,' as he was a Cambridge man and always associated with Cambridge as Master of Emmanuel, afterwards of St. John's, and Regius Professor of Divinity (Tatham: Puritans in Power, 125, 132, 144; Shaw, II, App. IX, p. 576).

2 Wilkins: Concilia, IV, p. 386 (Canon xxxiv).

3 It is equally reminiscent of militant Puritans like Cradock and Powell.

4 Stat. at Large, II, 497.

5 Cal. St. Pap., 1659-1660, p. 110.

the result of Clause IV, with its singling out of the opponents of infant baptism as not worthy of continuance under the new hybrid church-system, was that all such—whether devotees of the 'open' school of John Tombes (like John Abbot of Abergavenny and Walter Prosser of Tredunnock) or of the stricter school of Knollys and John Miles—were automatically turned out.[1] This was the fate of David Davies at Neath, Thomas Proud at Cheriton, Howell Thomas at Glyncorrwg, Thomas Joseph at Llangeinor, and Morgan Jones at Llanmadock; the latter's Anglican successor was presented to the living by the King on the very next day after the passing of the Act[2] and the same Anglican was nominated to take Proud's place at Cheriton two months after on November 13.[3] Nye and one of the Goodwins, both Independents, had been already disqualified under the Act of Indemnity[4]; many sentences in Jessey's 'Loud Call' published early in August would place him within the pale of Clause XXVII[5]; the same clause would seal the fate of Llwyd had he lived to see these troublous days, and Vavasor Powell also were he a settled minister under the Protectorate. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, having restored the King and working strenuously for a 'modus vivendi' with the Anglicans, could not but agree to the two oaths of allegiance and supremacy (clause XX); and no doubt they hoped to reap some benefit from the large powers of patronage given to the peers, as they had powerful supporters among them in the Manchester-Warwick-Northumberland clique in the new House of Lords.[6] The majority of the peers and practically all the sheriffs would work Clauses XXVIII and XXXI to the immense satisfaction of the Cavaliers. Undoubtedly the inclusion of the terms 'not ignorant, scandalous, or insufficient' as applied to restored clergymen as necessary qualifications (Clause V) was immediately due to the arguments of the London Presbyterian ministers impressed upon the King at their first conference with him[7] and re-emphasised in the

1 It will be seen from the lists on p. 370 that at least four Baptists—John Miles, Jenkin Jones, Morgan Jones and Thomas Evans—were turned out *before* the Act through the agency of the Great Seal.
2 Pat. Rolls, 12 Charles II, Part 1, No. 163.
3 Ibid. No. 77.
4 Supra, p. 348.
5 MS. J. Walker, c. 8, f. 20 (1663) describes Jessey as 'ejected,' but does not give the exact date of his removal.
6 C. H. Firth in Camb. Mod. Hist., IV, 557-558.
7 Act Unif. Docts., p. 10.

'First Address and Proposals.'[1] But the insistence at the end of the same Clause on the aforesaid Anglicans acceding to only one of their old livings, a proviso which if observed would impose upon the Church of the Restoration one of the most salutary lessons advocated by the 'usurped powers,' had already for some months been significantly undermined by the acts of Charles II himself in presenting old Anglicans and new conformists to ecclesiastical promotions under the Great Seal, presentations that took but little heed of the Puritan ideal; by Clause XXI the Convention members proceeded to give him full pardon for these peccadilloes and to secure his nominees safe from interference by the operation of either Clauses I, IV, or Clause XXXI, which so revived the patronal privileges of peers. Three cases will be taken from Wales, merely to act as illustrations of the King's practice. On 16 July he had presented Robert Bidwell to the rectory of New Radnor,[2] and on 27 August made him 'canon or prebendary' of Llandegley in the collegiate church of Brecon[3]; on 8 September Dr. Robert Morgan was promoted to one of the Llandinam comportions[4] in addition to the rich rectory of Llanddyfnan he had never lost during Puritan times (in addition, too, to the archdeaconry of Merioneth granted him by the Bishop of Bangor on 14 July[5]); George Parry was the name of the fortunate clergyman who was to hold in conjunction the rectories of Cheriton and Llanmadock.[6] And such cases were to be powerfully reinforced when the September Act allowed the re-entry of Anglicans into their old livings, and when it was found that no single proviso in that Act was designed to prevent the King persisting in his practice of making them further grants under the Great Seal. It would only be stating a truism that these sporadic activities of the King, sanctioned as they were by the retrospective force of Clause XXI, bade fair in practice to destroy considerably whatever advantage the Presbyterians (and to a lesser degree, the Independents) hoped to derive from the confirming concessions of Clause I.

Examination of the Patent Roll presentations reveals the

1 Act Unif. Docts., p. 14.
2 Pat. Rolls, 12 Charles II, Part 1, No. 397.
3 Ibid. Part 4, Nos. 166, 167.
4 Ibid. Part 1, No. 61.
5 Bishops' Certifs., File 1 (Bangor)—Schedule 20 Ap., 1660—20 Ap., 1661.
6 Supra, p. 361.

further melancholy fact that Wales was once more to become the convenient dumping-ground for alien clergy, more often than not Anglicans formerly ousted from Fellowships in the Universities or from prebends in the English Cathedrals. The Calendar of State Papers for the first year after the King's return, more especially during the first three or four months, contains such numerous petitions for preferment as must have almost dumbfounded the ears of Secretary Nicholas, Clarendon, the Council, and the King. Usually these petitioners were given rectories of old regarded as sinecures, whose previous Anglican holders were dead, and for which interests the Puritan committees had made no provision. Thomas Clutterbuck had been ejected from a Fellowship at Magdalen College, Oxford[1]; in 1660, stating that 'he had lost all he had by his loyalty and conformity,' he wants the Treasurership of York Cathedral and got the Chancellorship instead (the former office being extinct, the authorities informed him, since 1547)[2]; there was no overwhelming reason, therefore, why he should have been made rector of Llandrillo in Edeyrnion.[3] Dr. William Creed had also lost a Fellowship at St. John's, but had managed to retain his living of Codford in Wilts. throughout the days of usurpation[4]; the King and his advisers thought that a grant of the Llanfynydd prebend (with the 'corrody' of Llangadog) would be an excellent expedient to requite his sufferings,[5] all the more indefensible as in 1661 Creed was made Reader of Divinity in the University, a post that carried with it a prebend in Christ Church and the rectory of Ewelme in Oxfordshire.[6] A chaplain of the late King, Thomas Buttolph, was not so successful. On 22 June he petitioned the sovereign directly for the rectory of Northop in Flint[7]; on 1 August his name appears on the Patent Rolls as the new rector[8]; in October he is sending in a new appeal for a rectory in Bucks., 'a former grant of Northop in Flint being unavailing because of a previous grant to Mr.

1 Walker: Sufferings, II, 123 (col. 1).
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 84.
3 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 4, No. 122.
4 Walker: Sufferings, II, 118.
5 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 19, Nos. 131a, 132. At the date of his presentation to the prebend (20 July, 1660), he is down as 'S.T.*B*.' only. For later complications arising out of a lease of the prebend profits granted by Dr. Creed on 22 May, 1663, followed by his death in the same year, see Exchcq. Bills and Ans., Carm., No. 14, Mich., 19 Chas. II; also No. 3, Mich., 20 Chas. II.
6 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 598.
7 Ibid. p. 61.
8 Pat. Rolls, 12 Charles II, Part 2, No. 114.

Williams '[1]—the John Williams instituted there on 26 December, 1624,[2] who claimed restoration under Clause IV in the Act of September. A Master of Arts, by name Thomas Weston, claiming that his relatives had suffered much during the war (his father-in-law having been executed at Exeter),[3] succeeded in wringing from the King the rectory of Llangwm Dinmel in Denbigh.[4] Dr. Edward Wolley (or Wolle), of whom otherwise little is known, was so little satisfied with the rectory of Llandrillo yn Rhos to which he had been presented on 3 August[5] that in the next month he is giving in the names of four bishoprics to neither of which would he have the slightest objection to be consecrated.[6] Another alien named Dr. Joseph Rhodes, who also happened to be numbered among the numerous chaplains of the late King, whose brother also had lost nearly £4,000 in the royal cause, wants in October 1660 the free grant of a farm near Winchester (parcel of the attainted regicides' lands)[7] which would serve to reinforce the fruits of the rectory of Old Radnor given him on 21 July.[8] Robert Mossom, who writes from St. Peter's Paul's Wharf,[9] seems to have been promised the rectory of Llandyrnog, but on finding that it was usually held 'in commendam' by the Bishops of Bangor,[10] was eventually presented on 10 July to the living of Llanynys in the same county,[11] and consoled still further in September with the prebend of Knaresborough belonging to York Cathedral.[12] The pleasure-loving King very naturally did not adjudicate on these petitionary claims in person, but delegated them to a committee of the three strongest prelates of the Anglican Church to examine and report. These were at the time simply called Drs. Gilbert Sheldon, John Earle and George Morley, very soon to be full-fledged Bishops,[13] and in that capacity were to guide the deliberations of the revived

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 436-437.
2 Lib. Inst., Asaph, f. 141.
3 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 179.
4 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 427.
5 Ibid. Part 2, No. 106.
6 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 303. Later, being disappointed of all four, he appeals for the humbler promotion of the deanery of Lichfield and Coventry (ibid., p. 436).
7 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 343.
8 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 3, No. 8.
9 There is a reference to the same person under this locality in MS. J. Walker, c. 5, f. 96.
10 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 225.
11 Pat. Rolls, Chas. II, Part 3, No. 114.
12 See n. 10.
13 Sheldon of London, Earl of Salisbury, Morley of Worcester.

Convocation and parry the arguments of Baxter and Calamy at the Savoy Conference of 1661. That such responsible men should almost invariably report in favour of diverting the revenues of Welsh rectories to the support of absent Doctors of Divinity did not lessen the acute seriousness of the new developments. It may be said here, in anticipation of the contents of the next paragraph, that Mossom, Rhodes, and Clutterbuck were presented by the King to livings where a Puritan minister was already in possession, a situation more disconcerting still to those who were labouring to confirm rather than to restore. The Act declared that all these presentees were to retain their places undisturbed, the Patent Rolls in each case testifying that the original appointment was made *between* 1 *May and September* 9.[1]

All things considered, Clause XXI was an immense asset to the Anglican party. Not only had the King—influenced in the general issue by the Royalists in his immediate circle and in particular cases by the importunities of interested Cavaliers from the country and by the favourable reports of the Anglican triumvirate—appointed directly to livings legally within the gift of the Crown, but had also unsparingly used the Great Seal to fill other livings void by the death of the old Anglican incumbent or by the death of the minister appointed by the Puritan authorities of the interregnum; moreover, he outshone even the interfering Oliver in the heyday of his activities and took advantage of the deaths of the old bishops (three, as we have seen, in Wales) to present his own nominees (worded variably) 'pro hac vice,' 'through lapse,' or 'through the vacancy of the see.' It must be said that a discussion of Clause XXI in a State Paper bearing date three days before the bill became law contained the qualifying condition 'if the King had a right to present,'[2] a condition that is not even remotely suggested in the official text of the Act. Altogether, including old incumbents who were glad thus early to repossess their old livings under the protection of the Great Seal and new Anglican blood clamouring for preferment

1 With the exception of Clutterbuck, who was presented to the Edeyrnion rectory on 11 *September*. As will be seen later, two days on the wrong side of the sanctioned date made not the slightest difference; Clutterbuck was as safe in Llandrillo as any of the other presentees in their respective livings. In 1665 the Bishop of St. Asaph reports him an 'outlyer pluralist' boasting promotions in Hampshire and Surrey as well (Lamb. 639, f. 303).

2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 262.

and even erstwhile Puritan ministers who divined the coming storm and stress, the King made about 170 grants (counting England with Wales) between the dates specifically mentioned in the Act. As long as these grants were confined to the supplying of livings vacant for any reason whatsoever, the bias of the King and his advisers was not open to very justifiable objection on the part of those who had been prominent in his restoration ; but when the arrival of the royal nominee led to the dispossession of the sitting Puritan incumbent, the position took a turn so inauspicious as to be a source of misgiving to the Presbyterians themselves, intensified as it was by the lapse of the Trustees' powers, the automatic fall of all the Puritan free schools, and the foreclosing of hierarchical revenues for the support of insufficiently paid ministers. One might imagine from the pages of Calamy that only three or four schoolmasters lost their places at all—Richard Jones of Denbigh,[1] John Evans of Oswestry,[2] and George Seele of Cardiff[3] ; the truth is the whole body, being Trustee-paid, had no option but to discontinue, unless they were willing to depend on voluntary contributions up to the day when the combined force of Clauses VIII and XI in the Act of Uniformity placed an effective bar even on that expedient.[4] As to ministers, one illustration must suffice, and that taken from the ranks of the Presbyterians. Richard Steele of Hanmer soon lost the £50 which came to him from the tithes of Bettisfield and Tybroughton by virtue of the arrangement made in 1647 between Sir Thomas Hanmer and the old Committee for Compounding on the final settlement of his fine as delinquent ; in 1660 the heir of Sir Thomas is formally acknowledging the receipt and revocation of the legal deed[5] once kept by Edward Rich and afterwards by the clerk of the Trustees. Undoubtedly this was the fate of all that group of ministers whose maintenance depended upon forced subscriptions from Cavalier laymen. This is supported by the gravamina of the fifty-nine Lancashire ministers who presented an address to the King on 23 December, bewailing

1 Account (1713 Ed.), II, 844.
2 Ibid. 842.
3 Ibid. 732.
4 Docts. Act Unif., ed. Gould, pp. 391, 393.
5 Commonwealth Exch. Papers, Bundle 331, No. 96—sectional nos. 80 and 81. The receipt is signed in a large hand by 'John Hanmer' and the revocation witnessed by the equally prominent script of Sir Thomas Fanshawe, the newly-appointed Royalist remembrancer of the Exchequer (Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 208).

with some rhetorical extravagance that 'many hundreds of distressed godly ministers are at this present destitute of place and maintenance,'[1] and by the London Presbyterian spokesmen, acting as the repositories of disconcerting news from all parts of the country, who complain (by implication and with greater extravagance still) that 'many hundreds *or thousands*' had been cast out by the summer of 1660.[2] And it is very probable that such dislodging of good Puritans was included in the 'sad instances' of Anglican disfavour vaguely referred to by Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd in his letter to Baxter.[3] Upon what grounds these Puritan ministers were superseded (*before* the Act of September, be it remembered) is difficult to account for at this distance of time in each individual case. *E.g.*, there survives no evidence whatsoever to explain why Hugh Rogers had to leave the rectory of Newtown as early as July; it is certain, however, that of the two very contradictory sidelights on his career supplied by the Petitioners of 1652, the King's confidants preferred to remember that he was accused of attempting to 'disengage' John Gunter from pursuing that petition than to believe the story (always very improbable) that he had once been a zealous soldier in the cause of the Stuarts.[4] The grounds upon which Dr. Gilbert Sheldon and his coadjutors saw well somewhat later in the year to pass over the Puritan minister of Newton Ferrers in Devon afford a good deal of insight into possible and probable reasons for dispossession—among the articles exhibited by the parishioners against the John Hill who officiated there up to 1660 were justifying the murder of the late king, denying the present King's right of succession, praying for Cromwell, refusing to administer the sacrament or 'read the Lord's Prayer,' 'taking whole sermons from other books,' and favouring Anabaptists. Some of these parishioners were solemnly interrogated as to the truth of the accusations; the minister was extruded.[5] And when the inner circle of the King's counsellors were putting into close contrast the rights of the royal presentees and those

1 Bate: Decl. of Ind., App. I, p. iii.
2 'A Defence of our Proposals to His Majesty for Agreement in Matters of Religion' (Docts., ed. Gould, p. 44).
3 Bate, p. 15 (n. 69).
4 H.P.M., 259 (and n. 9).
5 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 507—parishioners examined 23 October, 1660.

'whose only title is possession'[1] it showed in what parlous uncertainty this latter title stood; and the phrase 'previous possessors' in Clause XXII of the Act abundantly testifies how in many instances this uncertainty developed into an equally unwelcome certainty.[2] The authority for these royal activities are the presentations entered on the Patent Rolls, all dated from 'Westminster.' The subjoined list supplies the names of such nominees as far as Wales is concerned, strictly keeping within the limits of time referred to in Clause XXI of the Act of September. Although outside the official province of the Patent Roll entries, room is also made for two other assertions of authority which led to the dispossession of Puritan ministers: Ellis Rowlands of Clynnog, who thus early (August 1660) was superseded in his living by the arrogated assumption of his old powers of institution by the one surviving Welsh bishop,[3] who found a ready instrument in the patron of the living, the time-serving Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery who had succeeded to the hard-swearing Puritan 'godfather' of Philip Henry[4]; and James Quarrell of Forden who, by inference from a letter found on the person of Vavasor Powell when he was arrested in June 1660, must have been in Welshpool prison at that date, and unlikely ever to be allowed to pursue his ministrations in that quarter.[5] As the evidence underlying the names appearing in the first column is of a negative character, *i.e.*, depending rather on the nomination of a new man to the living than on direct testimony to the exclusion of the old incumbent, some effort in each case has been made to ascertain the fact that the Puritan minister was alive (as in the Clynnog and Forden instances) to undergo this turn of fortune; it must at once be openly admitted that this list is shorter by some names on account of the insufficiency of such-like links. For a more complete view of these cases, the Puritan body by whom the removed minister was formerly appointed is specified; appeal is also made to Calamy's catalogue of sufferers (including the very few additions supplied by Palmer in the 'Nonconformist Memorial'), with the result that authentic contemporary records serve to expose

1 Cal. St. Pap. 1660-1661, p. 262.
2 Supra, p. 357.
3 Bishops' Certificates, File 1 (Bangor)—Sched. 20 April, 1660—20 April, 1661.
4 N.L.W., Civil War Tracts, Cat., p. 51, No. 312.
5 Letter quoted in Spinther James: Hanes Bed., II, pp. 395-396.

two serious deficiencies in the 'Account,' viz., Calamy's own failure to distinguish between those ejected in 1660, 1661 and 1662, and the imperfect recollections of 40 years before supplied to his Welsh coadjutor James Owen. In only two cases, Powell of St. Lythans and Weaver of Old Radnor, does the latter categorically agree that they were ejected in 1660.

Puritan Minister Dispossessed.	Ecclesiastical Interest.	Original Appointing Authority.	Clergyman Presented by King.	Date of Presentation.	Reference on Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II.	Allusion in Calamy's 'Account.'
Davies, Roderick	Llanllwchaiarn (Card.)	Triers	David Lloyd	16 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 389	II, 717.
Evans, Owen	Llanddeiniolen	Triers	Thomas Meredith	13 Aug., 1660	Part 1, No. 285	—
Evans, Thomas.	Maesmynus	Triers	David Jones	6 Aug., 1660	Part 1, No. 311	III,495 (Palmer)
Jones, Gabriel	Bettws (Mont.)	Triers	Henry Parry	17 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 390	II, 712.
Jones, Jenkin	Llanthetty	Triers	John Bowen	7 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 410	II, 732.
Jones, Morgan	Newcastle	Triers	Nath. Gamage	20 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 369	III, 527(Palmer)
Lloyd, Jenkin[1]	Llanrhystyd	Triers	James Morris	27 Aug., 1660	Part 1, No. 248	—
Lloyd, John	Newborough	Triers	John Davies	17 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 386	—
Lloyd, Maurice	Aberhafesb	Triers	Rice Price	17 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 392	II, 713.
Lloyd, Simon	Llanynys	Triers	Robt. Mossom	16 July, 1660	Part 3, No. 114	—
Lucas, Richd.	Presteign	C.P.G.W.	Philip Lewis	24 July, 1660	Part 2, No. 100	—
Miles, John	Ilston	Triers	Wm. Houghton	23 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 366	II, 731.
Morgan, Reg.	Vaynor	Triers	Owen Griffith	23 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 336	—
Morgan, Richd.	Bleddfa	Triers	Charles Lloyd	13 Aug., 1660	Part 1, No. 284	—
Powell, John	St. Lythans	Pre-Propag.	Athanasius Davies	4 Sept., 1660	Part 1, No. 201	II, 731.
Prichard, Benj.	Llandegla	Triers	Samuel Jones	30 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 299	—
Quarrell, James[2]	Forden	Triers	[No record]	[No record]	[No record]	III,150(Palmer)
Roberts, Theod.	Manavon	Triers	Lewis Gwyn	3 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 422	—
Rogers, Hugh	Newtown	Triers	Nath. Barnett	16 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 398	II, 712.
Rowlands, Ellis	Clynnog	Triers	Cadwaladr Jones	22 Aug., 1660	(Bps.' Certifs., File 1).	II, 713.
Symes, Francis	Trelech (Mon.)	Triers	Richd. Meredith	21 June, 1660	Part 1, No. 438	II, 473.
Weaver, John	Old Radnor	Triers	Joseph Rhodes	21 July, 1660	Part 3, No. 8	II, 733-34.
Jones, Wm.	Cilmaenllwyd	Triers	John Collins	11 Aug., 1660	Part 1, No. 292	III, 497(Palmer)
Powell, John	New Radnor	Triers	Robt. Bidwell	16 July, 1660	Part 1, No. 397	—
Unspecified Puritan Comportioner	Llandinam	Triers	Dr. Robt Morgan	8 Sept., 1660	Part 1, No. 61	—

1 The Roll says Morris was presented 'vice *David* Lloyd,' but the Lambeth records of the Triers and Trustees invariably refer to a *Jenkin* Lloyd—esp. 994, f. 199, which brings his presence at Llanrhystyd up to 1659.

2 Palmer seems to confuse this Quarrell with Thomas Quarrell, who was quite a different person (H.P.M., 227, 233, 244). This Quarrell must also be kept very distinctly apart from another James Quarrell, an exhibitioner of Jesus who refused to submit to the Puritan Visitors at Oxford (Burrows: Register, pp. 100, 104, 107, 503).

This list supplies cogent testimony that the early months of the Restoration was of a piece with the picturesque (had it not been tragic) chaos which had characterised the religious history of this country for the preceding seventeen years. To begin with, two men were ousted by the King's action who were once themselves ejected Anglican clergy only to receive the later blessing of the Triers—Roberts of Manavon[1] and Lloyd of Llanynys.[2] In time, but not very soon, they found their way back to the re-established order—the former to the rectory of Llanerfyl on 28 August, 1663,[3] and the latter to his old interest at Llanynys on 5 August, 1665,[4] to be further promoted on 13 October, 1670, to the Treasurership of the Cathedral of Bangor and the annexed livings of Llandecwyn and Llantihangel-y-traethau.[5] Conversely, the Rice Price who now succeeds to Aberhafesb is the 'Bachelor in Arts,' once episcopally instituted vicar of Llanllwchaiarn (Mont.) who would have been confirmed there by the Puritan Lords in 1647 if he had been willing to take the Covenant.[6] It is seen that four Baptists had been ejected before the September Act, including the unordained Catabaptist Jenkin Jones and John Miles, who had to make way for William Houghton, the old rector of Penmain in Gower,[7] who in 1660 recovered that living and received Iiston in addition. So also was the rector of Cilmaenllwyd, before long to be the fruitful propagator of Baptist principles on the banks of the Cleddau and the lower Teify. Two of the Radnorshire Puritans proved to be tenacious men: Weaver continued to preach, not at Old Radnor but at the neighbouring Herefordshire parish of Knill, until he was finally silenced in 1662[8]; and Lucas at Presteign must have offered such opposition based on the first clause of the Act (no Anglican alive to be restored) that a collation of two entries on the Patent Rolls[9] can only mean that he clung there until 1662 before being finally and effectually turned out. In face of these two cases and the twenty-three others included in the foregoing list we find

1 Supra, p. 269.
2 Supra, p. 271.
3 Bishops' Certifs., File 14 (St. Asaph)—Sched. 20 April—20 October, 1663.
4 Ibid. File 2 (Bangor)—Sched. 20 April, 1665—20 April, 1666.
5 Ibid. File 3 (Bangor)—Sched. 20 April—20 October, 1670.
6 L. J., IX, 183.
7 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 72 (cp. Lib. Inst., Men., deanery of Gower, f. 82—instituted 25 February, 1638-1639).
8 Calamy: Account, II, 733.
9 12 Charles II, Part 2, No. 100 and 14 Charles II, Part 26, No. 26.

Charles II, with that complacent effrontery which was so characteristic of this craftiest representative of the Stuart line, could solemnly say in the Declaration of October that 'if any tender consciences had been disturbed since our arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any direction of ours.'[1] Queerer still, that same Declaration was supposed to have been revised by Presbyterian divines and was certainly issued during the lifetime of a so-called Presbyterian Parliament.

Soon after the passing of the September Act 'for restoring the English clergy' as they significantly termed it, the London Presbyterians had an interview with the King to discuss some difficulties arising out of its administration, especially praying that he 'should revoke the broad seal that is granted to all those persons that by it are put into dead places, that is, where others have possession, to which none before could claim a right.'[2] But a general accession to this request, of which there is no proof, would not have saved large numbers of other Puritan ministers being thrown out, men who had to surrender their livings (under Clause IV) to the surviving Anglican clergyman who had been ejected. This was the 'determination by the course of law' presaged by the Lords in their order of 22 June; in the upshot the comparatively small group of petitioners under that order who demanded arrears of fifths were nearer the mark than the larger number who wanted the whole tithes for the year secured, as the Act only granted the restored minister the moiety of the latter from Michaelmas of 1659 to the same date in 1660.[3] The great majority of the Anglicans figuring in the fourth column of this next list have already appeared as petitioners in the previous chapter. It will be found convenient to include among them all former incumbents restored to the particular livings from which they had been ejected *and whose restoration meant the removal of a Puritan minister* (although, if the Lords' MSS. are exhaustive, they had not taken advantage of the June order to send in a formal petition for securing the profits). It is almost unnecessary to add that this list of removals would be much longer if the

1 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, II, Doct. CXLIX, p. 249.
2 Docts. Act Unif., VI, pp. 26-27.
3 See clauses IV, VII, VIII and IX of the Act of September.

Propagators and Triers had been more successful in stocking the countryside with preaching ministers. The evidence in support of the two first columns is derived from the H.P.M. lists[1] combined with those in Part I, cap. II, of this work; contact between both first and second with the fourth depends (in the main) upon the propinquity in point of time of the June petitions and the Act of September.

1 Esp. pp. 63-70, 144-145.

Puritan Minister Removed.	Ecclesiastical Interest.	Puritan Appointing Authority.	Anglican Clergyman Restored.	Allusion in Calamy's 'Account.'
Conant, Dr. John	Abergele	Triers	Dr. Gabriel Parry	
Davies, Rees	Flemingston	Triers	Henry Williams	
Davies, Richard	Penbryn	Triers	Dr. Wm. Thomas	II, 716.
Ellis, Edmond	St. Fagans	Pre-Propag.	William Lewis	II, 731.
Evans, John	Bangor & Henllan	Triers	Griffith Morgan	II, 716.
Evans, John	Penstrowed	Triers	William Bayly	
Fogg, Robert	Bangor-on-Dee	Pre-Propag.	Dr. Henry Bridgeman	II, 708.
Flower, Benjamin	Cardiff	Pre-Propag.	Theodore Price	II, 731.
Henry, Philip	Worthenbury	Triers	Dr. Henry Bridgeman	II, 698.
Griffith, Owen	Glasbury	Triers	Alexander Griffith	
Harries, Richard	Manordeifi	C.P.G.W.	Richard Lloyd	
Higgs, Daniel	Rhossilly	C.P.G.W.	Edward Gamage	II, 729-730.
Hill, Richard	Ruabon	Triers	Humphrey Lloyd	
Hughes, Rees	Troedyraur	Pre-Propag.	Richard Lloyd	
Jackson, Christopher	Lampeter Velvrey	Triers	Edward Collyer[1]	II, 717.
Jenkins, Matthew	Gresford	Triers	Samuel Lloyd	II, 716.
Jones, James	Llangyfelach	Triers	Isaac Griffith	
Jones, Thomas	Castell Caereinion	Triers	Rice Wynne	
Jones, William	Denbigh	Pre-Propag.	Hugh Lloyd	II, 713.
Lloyd, Charles	Llanfyllin	Triers	John Williams[2]	
Matthews, Mordecai	Llancarfan	Triers	Jenkin Williams	
Maurice, Henry	Criccieth	Triers	John Gethin	II, 567.[3]
Miller, Joshua	St. Andrews	C.P.G.W.	Dr. Hugh Lloyd	II, 731.

1 See supra, p. 231.

2 Evidence that John Williams held the rectory of Llanfyllin (with other interests) before the troubles can be found in Lib. Inst., Asaph, ff. 141, 160, 164; that he was alive to be restored in 1660 is proved by the depositions of his son William in an Exchequer case of 1661 (Bills and Ans., Denbigh, No. 1, Mich., 13 Chas. II).

3 Calamy does not record *this* removal of Maurice, but his later ejection from [Church] Stretton.

Puritan Minister Removed.	Ecclesiastical Interest.	Puritan Appointing Authority.	Anglican Clergyman Restored.	Allusion in Calamy's 'Account.'
Mostyn, Ambrose	Wrexham	Triers	Rowland Owen	II, 714.
Nicholls, Henry	Coychurch	Pre-Propag.	Dr. John Sudbury	II, 733.
Prichard, Humphrey	Gyffin	C.P.G.W.	Dr. Griffith Williams	
Prytherch, William	Llanelian	Triers	William Lloyd	
Raven, Nathaniel	Welshpool	Triers	William Langford	II, 712.
Roberts, Jonathan	Llanfair D.C.	Triers	Dr. David Lloyd	II, 716.
Salesbury, William	Henllan[1]	Triers	Dr. David Lloyd	
Smith, William	Llanasa	Pre-Propag.	Richard Evans	
Stephens, Anthony	Northop	Triers	John Williams	
Thomas, Morgan	Mathry	Triers	John Owen	II, 717.
Tonge, Thomas	Llandrinio	Triers	Dr. George Griffith	
Warren, Thomas	Narberth	C.P.G.W.	Dr. Evan Owen	II, 718.
Williams, Philip	Llanvapley	Triers	Moore Pye	II, 473.
Williams William	Llanfachreth (Angl.)	Triers	Robert Lloyd	
Second Puritan Comportioner	Llandanam	Triers	Dr. Hugh Williams	

1 Henllan fell to Dr. Lloyd as a rectory annexed to the deanery of St. Asaph (supra, p. 334).

The same precaution is necessary here to assure oneself that the expropriated Puritan was indeed alive. The fate of the Glamorgan men is well attested in Edward Mansell's letter to Walker in 1709, although his assertion that Moor(e) Pye left *Bishopston* (to which he had been approved by the Triers) in obedience to the *Act of Uniformity*[1] is controverted by four hard facts: the advent to the Gower living in 1660 of its old rector Hopkin Thomas,[2] Pye's own application to the Lords for the recovery of Llanvapley,[3] the absence of any new institution to that living by the Bishop of Llandaff until 19 January, 1670-71,[4] and Calamy's word that Philip Williams suffered ejection therefrom.[5] The ejection of Benjamin Flower can be deduced from the statement of Calamy that it was ' within a little time ' of the Restoration[6]; the return of the old vicar Theodore Price and his survival until 1678-1679—he who followed the volatile Erbery when he was silenced by the Court of High Commission—are vouched for by a letter preserved among the Tanner MSS., a letter written to protest against the appointment of a new vicar who was ' a meer Stranger to the welsh-tongue.'[7] That Alexander Griffith, notwithstanding the absence of his name from the Lords' MSS., succeeded to the living he had lost is proved by the pluralities return of Bishop Wm. Lucy in 1665, in which the old pamphleteer is described as holding the rectory of Llyswen together with the vicarage of Glasbury[8]; there is no reason to doubt that he had recovered the latter at least as early as Christmas 1660. That Rowland Owen re-entered the vicarage of Wrexham about the same time to the exclusion of Ambrose Mostyn is amply testified by the diaries of Philip Henry: early in February 1661 the Puritan was informed of the Anglican's curious discrimination between rich and poor in the administration of the sacrament.[9] And the rigid insistence of the dispossessed Anglican clergy on the recovery of all their ancient interests, a disposition so patent in the

1 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 72b.
2 Ibid.
3 Supra, p. 332.
4 Bishops' Certifs., File 10 (Llandaff)—Sched. 20 October, 1670—20 April, 1671.
5 Acct., II, 473.
6 Ibid. 731.
7 CXLVI, 147; the year is arrived at by collating this letter (which bears no date) with an Exchequer entry of 1683 in which Thomas Andrews, the new vicar and pseudo-Welshman, refers to himself as having been inducted ' four years since ' (Bills & Ans., Glam., No. 57, Michaelmas, 35 Chas. II).
8 Lamb. 639, f. 335.
9 p. 103—sub 3 February.

petitions of June, had certainly not been moderated in the intervening months; it burst triumphantly through the feeble bonds of a disunited Parliament. The restrictions on pluralities provided by Clause V fell into utter desuetude, owing principally to the continued activity of the King (long after the 9 September of Clause XXI) in making large and indiscriminate use of the Great Seal and to the work of the Bishops collating the restored Anglicans to additional livings. The only case of a cleric with Welsh associations exercising a choice between two sometime preferments is Dr. Richard Owen (son of Cadwaladr Owen of Maentwrog),[1] who had before the wars settled down in England as vicar of Eltham in Kent and rector of St. Swithin's in London.[2] His name appears among the petitioners to the Lords consequent upon the June order for the recovery of the St. Swithin profits only[3]: it was that promotion also that he preferred under the Act of September: as it happened, this conscientious clergyman was forced at the end of 1660, because the local J.P.'s 'suspended determination,' to seek the interposition of the King before even that living could be secured.[4] Wales was not London. William Bayly recovered Penstrowed and was also collated to the vicarage of Llanwnog in the same deanery of Arwystli on 26 June, 1661[5]; on 25 April of the same year John Gethin found himself appointed by the same Bishop to the prebend of Penmynydd,[6] to be held in conjunction with the living of Criccieth he had been restored to but a few months previously. Richard Lloyd had been deprived of Manordeifi by one Puritan authority and of Troedyraur by another; the Act said he must make elect one of them; Bishop Lucy in making his plurality return to Archbishop Sheldon has to admit that Lloyd is in possession of both, making the egregious mistakes in doing so of saying that they were 'near adjoining,' both in Cardigan, besides scandalously mis-spelling the two place-names.[7] Dr. Evan Owen was restored to Narberth and received the rectory of Llandyssul

1 Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, Introd., xii.
2 He manifested his Cymric descent by supplying 'som British Proverbs' to James Howell to adorn his 'Lexicon Tetraglotton'—letter to the same dated 20 August, 1657 (J. C. Morrice: Wales in the 17th Century, p. 322). It is somewhat strange that Mr. Morrice only refers to the loyalist vicar as 'one Richard Owen.'
3 House of Lords MSS., Petitions—classifying letter O.
4 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 405.
5 Bishops' Certifs., File 1 (Bangor) -Sched. 20 April - 20 October, 1661.
6 Ibid. ibid.
7 Lamb. 639, f. 335.

through the King's presentation[1]; besides a living in the diocese of Chester, Samuel Lloyd grasped Gresford in Denbigh and Cilcen in Flint[2]; and William Langford recovered both the vicarage of 'Poole' and the sinecure rectory of Llanfor.[3] As to Richard Evans, to his share fell the vicarage of Llanasa, the rectory of Halkin,[4] and the prebend of Meifod in the Cathedral of St. Asaph, the acquisition of the latter (also in this Anglican's possession before the wars) being directly proved by reference to him as the last holder when David Maurice was admitted to the same ecclesiastical interest on 3 August, 1666.[5] A militant prelate like Dr. Hugh Williams was not satisfied with being restored to his old comportion at Llandinam (he was one of those who did not deem it worth while to forward a petition to the Lords) without recovering his Anglesey cures of Llantrisant and Llanrhuddlad as well.[6] Difficulties of another nature cropped up over Clause XII, by which all differences over the premises between 'removed' and 'restored' were to be finally determined by the J.P. Commissioners before 25 December, 1660. It was found impracticable to deal thus summarily with legally dispossessed ministers who took full advantage of the intricate provisoes about moieties and penal bonds,[7] possessed strong vested interests (spiritual as well as material) in their livings, and oftentimes deserved the close affection of many parishioners. Robert Fogg, stubborn as ever, had not as late as June 1661 come to a working arrangement with Dr. Henry Bridgeman over the great rectory of Bangor-on-Dee[8]; and until that Anglican was given complete control over it, he could not take effective action against Philip Henry, entrenched as the latter was in the subsidiary chapel of Worthenbury, his position there fortified also by the leases he held in possession for house and maintenance from the deceased Judge Puleston.[9]

1 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 383.
2 Lamb. 639, f. 303.
3 Ibid.
4 Lamb., 639, f. 303.
5 Bishops' Certifs., File 15 (St. Asaph) —Schedule 20 April—20 October, 1666; cp. also Evans' deposition to petty constables of 1662 (dated 11 June) [Lamb. 1027-Llanasa[ph]].
6 Lamb. 639, f. 303.
7 'Mr Fogg came to advise with mee about Bangor, Dr. Br[idgeman] would gladly be rid of him thence, bec. of the allowance hee is in bonds to give him, but I think it best, hee should stay there as long as hee can.' (Diaries of Henry, p. 79, sub March 5, 1661).
8 P. Henry: Diaries, p. 88.
9 These considerations rebut Mr. Shankland's opinion (expressed in Seren Gomer, July 1901, p. 195) that Henry was removed by the operation of Clause I; he was really put out under Clause IV, sharing the fate of his old opponent Fogg.

His case was also complicated by the long doubts he cherished about the righteousness of conforming to the usages of the Church of England. In any case, he did not preach his farewell sermon from Philemon I. 27, until 27 October, 1661.[1] The diaries throw some very welcome light on the circumstantials of these new ejections. Fogg was removed by June 10, and on that date Henry during one of his frequent visits to Chester saw Dr. Bridgeman, who gave the assurance 'never to remove mee till the law remov'd mee.'[2] Dr. Stoughton surely misinterprets this remark in building up a theory that Bridgeman (brother of a Lord Chief Baron, himself Dean of Chester, and before long to be Bishop of Sodor and Man) was not in sympathy with the ruling powers and in placing Henry's ultimate removal in a context which implies the operation of the Act of Uniformity.[3] Is it likely that the old Anglican rector in June 1661 is referring to a 'law' not finally passed till May 1662 when he has already to his hand an Act passed in Sept., 1660?[4] And why should the Worthenbury minister expect to be 'hindred' on the last Sundays in June?[5] Nothing did happen on those occasions, but on July 1 he was told (in Chester once more) that his removal was certain unless he speedily conformed; a letter of similar purport came from the Dr. on July 8.[6] It was on the Lord's day, September 8, that an official prohibition to preach at Worthenbury came from the Chancellor of the diocese,[7] to be followed on October 24 by the restored rector in person, who read over the Puritan's discharge 'before a Rable there,' stating the circumstances, 'place and manner,' under which it was effected.[8] The same diaries clear up an obscure point in the history of William Jones of Denbigh. From a conversation Henry had with him on 14 August, 1661, it appeared that that Puritan minister was only just before silenced completely,[9] an entry which dissipates in a very effective manner a late and unreliable

1 Diaries, p. 98.
2 Ibid. p. 88.
3 The Church of the Restoration, I, 206-207. It must always be borne in mind that Stoughton was writing 12 years before the Diaries were given to the world.
4 It might savour of pedantry, but it is nevertheless true, to say that the word 'remov'd' used by Bridgeman was the identical euphuism for ejection adopted by the lawyers of the Convention.
5 Diaries, p. 89.
6 Ibid. p. 90.
7 Ibid. p. 95.
8 Ibid. p. 98.
9 Ibid. p. 93.

tradition preserved by Calamy's continuator that Jones was strengthened in his nonconformity by a visit to London to see Baxter and others just before the passing of the Bartholomew Act.[1] It is true that he clung tenaciously to Denbigh under the Act of 1660, but five months before the opening of 1662 his Puritan pastorate of fourteen years had come to an end.

Doubts similar to Henry's, it will be found, seriously increased the ranks of the Puritan conformists and have the secondary result of making the next group to be noticed somewhat small. The first list was a resultant of the more or less arbitrary presentations of the King and their sanction by Clause XXI of the Act of September; the second, restricted to ministers turned out to make room for the legal incumbent, was the unrefreshing fruit of Clause IV; the third list will contain the names of men ejected from 13 September, 1660, to the eve of the dark day of 24 August, 1662. None of this new band suffered under the positive provisions of the Act, but simply and solely because these provisions gradually became dead letters as the Anglican cause became more and more sure of its ground, and were altogether cast aside after the elections to the new [Cavalier] Parliament announced the fact that instruments of compromise were no longer a necessity of the hour. Gradually, too, the importance of the Patent Rolls disappears and tends to give way to institutions drawn up in ancient form by bishops, old and new, acting as legatees of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity and the canons of 1604 and 1640. It is certainly not without significance both as regards date and content that on the day the Act of September passed Secretary Nicholas was writing to Sir Henry Bennet (afterwards Arlington of the Cabal) that several bishops were shortly to be consecrated 'in spite of seditious (*i.e.*, Presbyterian) efforts to the contrary.'[2] On October 11 Lucy took the oath of allegiance and supremacy as Bishop of St. David's,[3] although he postponed his departure for Wales as late at least as the middle of March in the following year.[4] Five days afterwards the dean and chapter of St. Asaph signify the

1 Samuel Palmer: Noncon. Mem. (1803), III, 477.
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 266-267. Sir Henry was at the time ambassador in Spain.
3 Ibid. p. 310.
4 Ibid. p. 535.

election of Dr. George Griffith to the bishopric, and four procurators (not one of whom boasted a Welsh patronymic) are set in motion to receive the King's final confirmation.[1] The King was sending a letter (with no date) to Dr. Hugh Lloyd as Bishop of Llandaff much earlier in the year according to the place allotted to it in the Calendar of State Papers[2]; the editor does well to put a ? opposite July, as the first admission to a living in that diocese was not granted till 15 December, 1660.[3] If one of these bishops approved a clergyman for a living already in the possession of a Puritan minister, what J.P. in Wales would be bold enough to cite Clause I in the 1660 Act? If John Williams of Llanbeblig proved as a matter of fact that the old vicar Morris Robins was dead, what redress had he against William Davies admitted to the vicarage by the Bishop of Bangor on 22 April, 1661.[4] remembering that William Griffith of Lleyn was just elected to the Cavalier Parliament by the Carnarvon burgesses[5] and was also at the same time sheriff for the county, one whose lynx eyes allowed not the most obscure Puritan sign to escape his notice, as testified by Mostyn MS. 237?[6] Although Thomas Evans had held the living of Llanbister since the Puritan surveyors inspected that possession of the Bishop of St. David's in 1649,[7] how could he refuse to give way if the new bishop appointed over his head Sylvanus Griffith,[8] a man first approved by the Triers and ejected from his Montgomeryshire living by another Puritan body?[9] What was the inexorable necessity that made the same Bishop to collate Griffith Hatley (he being already restored to Abereskir) to the rectory of Bryngwyn[10] also and thus oust a Puritan minister who, as the old ejected rector Humphrey Price had passed away,[11] could claim confirmation under Clause I of the Act of September? What defence had the Bishop of

1 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 314.
2 Ibid. p. 146.
3 Bishops' Certifs., File 10 (Llandaff). According to a statement of the Attorney General in an Exchequer action for the recovery of tithes sequestered from the Bishop of Llandaff during 1642-1660, the see was vacant up to *November* 1, 1660 (Bills and Ans., Mon., No. 14, Hilary, 13-14 Chas. II).
4 Bishops' Certifs., File 1 (Bangor)—Sched. 20 April—20 October, 1661.
5 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn. in Wales, p. 67.
6 First 30 folios (passim).
7 Lamb. 905, f. 35—report returned to 'Register' on 8 November, 1649.
8 Bishops' Certifs., File 13 (St. David's)—Sched. 20 April, 1661—20 April, 1662.
9 Supra, p. 333.
10 Bishops' Certifs., File 13 (St. David's)—Sched. 20 Oct., 1660—20 April, 1661.
11 MS. J. Walker, c. 7, f. 214.

Llandaff for dispossessing the Puritan pluralist George Robinson first from Caerleon[1] and then from the Monmouth Llangattock,[2] seeing that the latter could claim one of them under Clauses I and VI and that the new pluralist Wrinch had once been Puritan enough to subscribe Cradock's H.R.A. in 1656 ?[3] Surely Alexander Gordon's attitude of surprise that two English ministers who were ejected (Henry Godman of Rodmell in Sussex[4] and William Trevethick of Petrockstow in Devon[5]) thus suffered although the former Anglican rectors were dead, would be quite unnecessary as far as Wales is concerned, seeing that it was a phenomenon of not uncommon occurrence. For in addition to the hostile atmosphere just described, other factors operated to the disadvantage of the Puritans : the objection of many to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy ; the reappearance of men who had in the past made unsuccessful appeals to the Triers ; the convenient extension of lordly patronage given by Clause XXXI which enabled Lord Abergavenny to suspend Robinson at Llangattock, Lord Herbert to dislodge Elias Harry from Llanbedr Patrisho, and the new Earl of Pembroke to drive Griffith Davies from Gelligaer[6]—proceedings, say the Files and Schedules, aided and abetted most expeditiously by the Bishops. And it is unfortunate that some brighter light than the obscure word ' ceded ' of the Patent Rolls cannot be thrown on the transaction by which the alien pluralist Clutterbuck was able to enjoy the profits of Llandrillo in Edeyrnion instead of the little known John Taylor[7] who was placed there by the Triers in 1656[8]; this was an inversion of Clause VII which enacted that the minister qualified to be restored (as Clutterbuck certainly was *not*) might confirm the present possessor's right ; nor is there any evidence that Taylor came within the terms of Clause XV by voluntarily yielding up the living some time after 25 December, 1659. Then came the dangerous elasticity of the phrase in Clause I that the minister claiming to be confirmed in his living should not have ' renounced his Ordination,' a term which is

1 Bps.' Certifs., File 10 (Llandaff)—Sched. 20 April, 1660—20 April. 1661.
2 Ibid. 20 April—20 October, 1662.
3 p. 8.
4 Freedom after Ejection, p. 272.
5 Ibid. p. 370.
6 The names of these patrons are given quite circumstantially on the Files.
7 ' Vice John Taylor ceded ' (12 Chas. II, Part 4, No. 122).
8 Archbishop of Wales : Landmarks (1912), p. 303.

echoed and partly explained in an Exchequer Deposition in which Alexander Griffith, who was a high authority on the negative qualifications of Puritan ministers, is reviewing the vicissitudes of ecclesiastical appointments in the parish of Llangattock in Brecon.[1] He says that Richard Powell had utterly denied his calling and renounced his ordination by not baptizing infants and by not administering the sacrament indiscriminately to all persons; if Griffith applies these phrases to a minister whom he admits to have been episcopally ordained before the wars and who was afterwards an 'approver' of ministers under the C.P.G.W., he and higher church authorities would assuredly extend it to men like Philip Henry, only ordained by presbyters and in the celebration of the Lord's Supper passing by persons like Jane Dee who had not come to him to render satisfaction concerning their knowledge of things spiritual.[2] They would apply with even more certainty to John Davies, Powell's successor at Llangattock, who suffered from the double disadvantage of having been *refused* ordination by presbyters and of holding the same exclusionist opinions as his predecessor about the proper qualifications of church members. Davies' inevitable ejection in May 1661 sees the apparatus of consistory courts, with their surrogates and commissaries, in full working order just as if the suffragans and synods of the October Declaration had never been promised on the word of a king. The old rector of Llangattock, Matthew Herbert, had died a month or two before the Restoration; this gave Davies a right, other conditions being satisfied; but it is doubtful whether repugnance to his communion views on the part of the Anglican authorities had as much to do with his removal from Llangattock as their desire to bestow this rich living, under the patronage of the ultra-Cavalier house of Raglan, as a sinecure upon Dr. Hugh Lloyd, Bishop of Llandaff, a consummation brought about on the following 19 July.[3] It is, however, open to no doubt that the amendment to the Act of September (which the Presbyterians and others defeated by a majority of 21)[4] proposing to disqualify ministers

1 Mixed Counties (Brecon & Radnor), No. 8, Hilary Term—15 and 16 Charles II. Deposition of Griffith made on 13 January, 1663-1664.
2 Diaries, p. 84.
3 Bishops' Certificates, File 13 (St. David's)—Sched. 20 April, 1661—20 April, 1662.
4 Supra, p. 359.

of the Llangattock school became the substantive motion in the revived church courts. Under such conditions the confirming clauses followed the plurality restrictions into oblivion ; but the clauses that made for restoration, together with the allied provisoes that told most against the Puritan placemen, were executed with the utmost rigour. Philip Henry's case will bear citing once more in illustration. He had undoubted learning ; he detested many aspects of the Cromwellian ascendency ; his early antecedents were intimately bound with the Stuart house ; and his reputation for piety secured him an interview in October 1660 with Sir Orlando Bridgeman himself on the one day when that legal luminary was exceptionally busy at the opening trials of the regicides.[1] All this, however, did not prevent the Anglican bias of Sir Orlando's brother Henry, and his personal ambition, to make the restoring clause of the September Act run its full circle of Cavalier computation. In the latter months of 1661 that Act itself passed away beneath the contempt of the Cavalier Parliament ; among the numerous enactments of the Convention that were confirmed, the compromise of 1660 was ominously and ostentatiously omitted[2] ; nor was it included in a later confirming Act of the same session.[3] There is no direct evidence that it was ever formally repealed, although Philip Henry on a visit to Chester (13 December, 1661) heard news that gave him the impression of the new Parliament having passed this unnecessary vote.[4]

This subjoined list, like the others, contains some anomalous cases. Taylor's cession of Llandrillo fell to be recorded during the days of Carthaginian faith between the upward limit specified in Clause XXI and the day when the bill became law ; four ministers figuring in the list suffered removal in the inauspicious time between the lapse of the Act of September and the coming into effective operation of the Act of Uniformity. The diaries of Philip Henry make clear the exceptional case of Penley in English Flint, from which the Presbyterian Broster was first ejected, and after

1 Cp. Diaries, pp. 71-72, with C. H. Simpkinson : Life of Harrison, p. 226.
2 13 Chas. II, cap. vii (Stat. at Large, II, 540).
3 Ibid. cap. xi (Ibid. 545-546).
4 Diaries, p. 102.

him a John Adams who was placed there in his stead.[1] It must also be kept in mind that where the disappearance of a Puritan is deduced from the Bishops' Schedules the date given is not that of his actual ejection, but of the new incumbent's admission; in some cases it is known that some interval ensued between the two.

1 p. 95—entered under 8 September, 1661.

Puritan Minister Superseded.	Living.	Original Appointing Authority.	New Anglican Incumbent.	Date of Latter's Admission or Presentation.	Reference to Files or Pat. Roll.	Allusion in Calamy's 'Account.'
Adams, John[1] ..	Penley ..	——— ..	———	———	——— ..	
Broster, John[1] ..	Penley ..	Triers ..	———	———	——— ..	
Davies, John ..	Llangattock (Br.) ..	Triers ..	Bishop Hugh Lloyd of Llandaff	19 July, 1661	File 13 ..	II, 709.
Davies, Griffith ..	Gelligaer ..	Triers ..	Robert Thomas[2] ..	23 July, 1662	File 10 ..	
Edwards, John ..	Llangorse ..	Triers ..	Thos. Morgan ..	9 Dec., 1660	P.R., 12 C. II, Pt. 19, No. 76	II, 733.
Evans, Thos. ..	Llanbister ..	Pre-Propag.	Sylv. Griffiths ..	26 March, 1662	File 13 ..	
Grundman, Mart. ..	Llandyssil ..	Triers ..	Mich. Hughes ..	26 Dec., 1660	File 14 ..	II, 712.
Hall, Edm. ..	Llansantffraid (Mont.)	Pre-Propag.	Edw. Roberts ..	7 Jan., 1660-1	File 14 ..	
Harry, Elias ..	Llanbedr Patrisho ..	Triers ..	Thomas Lloyd ..	26 Jan., 1661-2	File 13 ..	II, 733.
Hilliard, Thos. ..	Newton Nottage ..	Triers ..	David Lloyd ..	22 Oct., 1661	File 10 ..	II, 733.
Howell, Francis ..	Llanrhaiadr Mochnant	Triers ..	Bishop Geo. Griffith[3]	26 Oct., 1660	C.S.P., 1660-1661, 322	
Hughes, Stephen ..	Mydrim ..	Triers ..	John Rice ..	11 April, 1661	File 13 ..	II, 718.
Jenkins, David ..	Bryngwyn ..	Triers ..	Griff. Hatley[4] ..	8 April, 1661	File 13 ..	II, 735.
Jones, David ..	Llandisilio ..	Triers ..	Walter Evans ..	4 Oct., 1660	P.R., 12 C. II, Pt. 4, No. 49	II, 720.
Morgan, Owen[5] ..	Llanfetherin ..	Triers ..	Richard Roberts ..	1660-1661	[No record]	II, 473.
Powell, John ..	Llangyndeyrn ..	Triers ..	John Llewellyn ..	Feb., 1661-1662	File 13 ..	II, 720.
Price, Lewis ..	Gladestry ..	Triers ..	Isaac Rushworth ..	29 Sept., 1660	P.R., 12 C. II, Pt. 1, No. 125	
Robinson, George {	Caerleon ..	Triers ..	Edw. Wrinch ..	11 Jan., 1660-1	File 10 }	II, 473.
{	Llangattock ..	Triers ..	Edw. Wrinch ..	3 July, 1662	File 10 }	
Taylor, John ..	Llandrillo (Mer.) ..	Triers ..	Thos. Clutterbuck ..	11 Sept., 1660	P.R., 12 C. II, Pt. 4, No. 122	
Thomas, Wm. ..	St. Mary Hill ..	Triers ..	John Jenkins ..	9 Apr., 1661	File 10 ..	II, 731.
White, Geo. ..	Llanf. Ystern Llewern	Pre-Propag.	Theoph. Thomas ..	11 Jan., 1660-1	File 10 ..	
Williams, John ..	Llanbeblig ..	Triers ..	Wm. Davies ..	22 Apr., 1661	File 1 ..	II, 710.
Young, Stephen ..	Rhoscrowther ..	Triers ..	Wm. Owen ..	19 Sept., 1660	P.R., 12 C. II, Pt. 1, No. 140	II, 718.

1 On account of Henry's intimate acquaintance with affairs in English Flint, the writer has not troubled to examine the Chester Files for confirmation.

2 His admission to the rectory of 'Killigare' is chronicled (in company with three others) on the verso side of the Schedule, 20 April to 20 October, 1662.

3 This rectory had been held 'in commendam' by Bishop Owen of St. Asaph until sequestered from him before 1647 (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 15671, f. 68). Now the living which had witnessed the ministrations of the Puritan preachers Evan Roberts, Oliver Thomas, and Charles Edwards, is vested in the new Bishop by the special dispensation of Archbishop Juxon.

4 '*Richard* Hatley' (Sched. 20 October, 1660—20 April, 1661). His surname was subject to much orthographic refinement, but his Christian name was undoubtedly 'Griffith'—the best evidence of such being the 1665 plurality return for St. David's (Lamb. 639, f. 335).

5 For this anomalous case, see Note at the end of the chapter.

The underlying purport of this chapter, and the defence for including four men in the last group who lost their livings after the Act of 1660 had transpired, *is to arrive at the names of all Puritan ministers in Wales who were ejected before the Act of Uniformity came into full force.* Taking a conspectus of the whole country, writers of authority differ considerably in their estimates of these numbers: Dr. Stoughton, writing in 1870, thinks the number should be 'less than six hundred'[1]; Frank Bate in 1908 puts the total as low as 450[2]; Professor Firth in the Cambridge Modern History (published in the same year) gives the number as 'about 800'[3]; while Alexander Gordon, probably the most competent judge of them all, is not willing to commit himself on this thorny question in his latest work of six years ago.[4] Even when one draws nearer to the days of the Restoration, the information given is either extravagant or lacking in definiteness: *e.g.*, Baxter and the elder Calamy, who were in an incomparably favourable position to give moderately exact figures, vary in 1661 from 'some hundreds'[5] to 'many hundreds,'[6] and both assertions lose a good deal of their force when it is remembered that in the *previous* year they had judged the number to be 'many hundreds or thousands.'[7] William Hooke, once one of Cromwell's chaplains, writing on 2 March, 1662-3, to a friend in Newhaven, New England, in reference to the Bartholomew sufferings gave it as his computation that the number for the whole of England and Wales cast out were 1500 or 1600, 'besides neare as many before in y^e^ point of Title.'[8] It is unlikely that the third Calamy (the author of the 'Account') could be more explicit than his grandfather; the melancholy fact is that except in very rare cases he does not discriminate between those ejected in 1662 and those in 1660-1. More serious still—assuming that the evidence adduced in these pages is admitted to be authoritative and that the conclusions drawn

1 Church of the Restn., Vol. II, App. VI, p. 540.
2 Decl. of Indulgence, App. II, V.
3 Vol. V, cap. v., p. 99 (it was this particular vol. that was pub. in 1908).
4 Freedom after Ejection (1917), pp. 188-190, 220.
5 'Petn. of Peace and Concord' presented to the Bishops at the Savoy Conference (Docts. Act Unif., ed. Gould, p. 177).
6 Answer to Bishop Cosin's Paper . . . (Docts., p. 349). Stoughton is mistaken in finding 'several hundreds' in the 'Rejoinder' (Docts., 201-345).
7 A Defence of our Proposals . . . (Docts., p. 44).
8 Extracts from St. Papers. relating to Friends, p. 169 (included in that work because of a slight reference to the Quakers).

from it are justified—there are 42 clear cases of Puritan ministers ejected of whom there is not the remotest mention in the pages of Calamy (although four of them are included by his continuator in the 'Nonconformist Memorial').[1] To find such sins of omission in a writer hitherto accepted as the most accurate assessor of Nonconformist sufferings in those days is no light matter; however, apart from the circumstantial facts that prove the ejected minister to be still alive[2] and the equally cogent testimony of the Rolls and Schedules that a new man was admitted or presented to his living, it is quite out of proportion in this work to deal at greater length with each case. Some of the cases, nevertheless, are justified by evidence so typical of what was inaccessible to Calamy and his informant as to merit some amplification. A cloud of witnesses depose to the existence and deprivation of John Davies at Llangattock; a Patent Roll unfolds the mysterious 'cession' of Llandrillo by John Taylor: Calamy knows nothing of either of them. The vicar of Llansantffraid ym Mechain according to the Sheriff's returns in 1658,[3] and up to the Restoration, was Edmund Hall; on 18 Sept., 1660, the King presented Edward Roberts to the same interest,[4] who was admitted there by the Bishop of St. Asaph on 7 January following; six weeks later, according to a very rare entry on the 'Controlment Rolls' relating to religious affairs in Wales, Hall (still described as 'clerk') was in trouble over the possession of a certain messuage in the parish of which he was 'long before peacefully seised.'[5] That he had been ejected is painfully obvious from the terms of the King's grant describing Roberts as succeeding 'vice John Hughes deceased,' who was the old vicar turned out by the C.P.G.W.[6] And he had no hopes of the rectory: that was part of the restitution made by the September Act (in despite of the plurality clause) to Dr. Gabriel Parry of Abergele, and passed on his death as a sinecure to Dr. William Nicholson, Bishop of

1 'It is now known that all these calculations [of Calamy, Rastrick, Palmer] are under the mark, every county that has been thoroughly searched yielding fresh names.' (Alex. Gordon: 'Calamy as a Biographer' in Cong. Hist. Soc. Trans., August 1914, pp. 233-247).

2 i.e., those discussed passim in the course of this chapter.

3 115 (February, 1657-8); 119 (April 1658).

4 Pat. Rolls, 12 Charles II, Pt. 1, No. 149.

5 Controlment Roll 310 [marked m. 66], Trinity, 13 Charles II; also Roll 312 [m. 79], 14 Charles II.

6 H.P.M., p. 119.

Gloucester.[1] The accession of Richard Evans to his old interest at Llanasa meant the expropriation of William Smith, described by Evans himself in 1662 as 'now vicar of Wrexam,'[2] and who was alive in 1682 to be referred to by Bishop William Lloyd as 'a Presbyterian in the late times and still halts on that foot.'[3] Clauses VII and VIII of the September Act must have conveyed unpleasant news to the Llanasa Puritan; if the deposition of Richard Evans as preserved in his own hand in Lamb. 1027 is correct in all particulars, he must have been compelled to disgorge considerable arrears of fifths: 'the said Smith kept it [the vicarage] from me without any allowance to me or mine, noe not of a 5th part, for 14 yeares . . . the Vicarage being worth £80 or £100 per annum.'[4] Not a word of him nor of these 'sufferings' does Calamy relate; he is not even included in the Flintshire appendix naming those who afterwards conformed. He is silent also about Thomas Evans of Llanbister, a deficiency supplied by the list of 'inconformists' forwarded by Bishop Lucy of St. David's to Archbishop Sheldon in 1665.[5] A similar return for Llandaff has not been discovered; it would no doubt specify that the George White who received a testimonial from the examining committee of the Assembly of Divines in October 1648,[6] followed by an institution of the Puritan Lords to the living of Llanfihangel Yestern Llewern,[7] had merited supersession in 1661 on the two grounds of being a confirmed Puritan and a convert to the Quaker cause—a later episcopal report describing him as 'George White of Llanvihangle,' and as actively 'teaching' a Quaker society at Panteg in the house of Richard Hanbury.[8] The case of Reginald Morgan ejected from Vaynor in Brecknock is introduced here as an example where the proof of survival is not as close and convincing as it might be. The High Sheriff of the county is definite that he was holding the living well into 1659[9]; Owen Griffith within a year was presented to the same place

1 Bishops' Certifs., File 14 (St. Asaph), Sched. 20 April to 20 October, 1663 (Dr. Nicholson admitted on 6 May).

2 Lamb. 1027—'Llanasa' Smith was one of the Puritan conformists.

3 Tanner MS. CXLVI, 33 verso—dated 24 November to Archbp. Sancroft. There is no other ground for calling Smith a 'Presbyterian' but this 'ipse dixit' of an Anglican bishop 22 years after the Restoration.

4 Llanasa report—dated 11 June, 1662.

5 Lamb. 639, f. 337.

6 House of Lords MSS. Comm. Rept., App. I, p. 55.

7 L. J., X, 531.

8 Lamb. 639, f. 186.

9 Supra, pp. 40-43.

by the King[1]; and although the Sheriff's accusation that Morgan had another ecclesiastical interest in Monmouth conjointly with that in Brecon is not supported by the Puritan records, it is pretty certain that he had associations with that county and that he in fact was the 'Rignald Morgan' who was allowed a licence in 1672 as 'teacher' at Bettws near Newport.[2] Short of actual proof, the associating of Thomas Tonge with the rectory of Llandrinio as late as April 1658,[3] the petition of Dr. George Griffith in June 1660 that the profits of the same should be diverted from the Puritan minister (without giving his name), and the dispensation granted him by the Archbishop in October to hold his old rectory 'in commendam' as Bishop of St. Asaph,[4] build up an incontrovertible argument that Tonge was the minister dispossessed; fortunately, it is not necessary to prove that he was the 'Mr. Tong' who in 1686 promised Philip Henry to call upon his son Matthew in London.[5] And yet Calamy proceeds with his tale in total oblivion of White, Morgan, and Tonge. In light of these considerations, it can be asserted with some confidence that in point of extent it is a serious error to consider the Nonconformist historian as the final authority on Nonconformist sufferings after the Restoration. The entries as they stand in his own 'Account' now deserve some notice. According to him, the total of those who suffered ejection in Wales at any time between 1660 and the end of 1662—*including* those who afterwards conformed and three ministers (Davies of Neath, Taylor of Holt, and Williams of Llanbeblig) incorrectly described by him as unofficial preachers who were merely 'silenced,'[6] but *excluding* Rice Protheroe of Llandovery (who has not been proved to have commenced his activities until after the Restoration) and all those who were certainly unpaid during the later stages of the Puritan Revolution—is 87.[7] Of these 87, 54[4] (specified in the last columns of the preceding lists) have been shown on reasonably

1 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 336.
2 St. Pap., Dom., Charles II, Entry Book 38A, pp. 231, 245.
3 Mont. Ret., April 1658, 119.
4 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 322—26 October.
5 Diaries, p. 349—P.H. to M. H., May 21-22, 1686.
6 This is invariably Calamy's term to describe *these cases* as a substitute for 'ejected.' It has no Restoration significance or authority, as Philip Henry describes Wm. Jones of Denbigh as having been 'silenc't,' a minister fully beneficed for 13 (or 14) years (Diaries, p. 93).
7 In both these totals, four more discovered by his continuator Palmer have been included; the 54 also includes the Baptists who lost their livings through the direct agency of the Act of September.

strong evidence to have been out before August 1662. But it is submitted that the total number who suffered was not 87 ; rather indeed 118, 25 under the Act of Uniformity[1] and the 93[2] accounted for in this chapter. On this proportional aspect of the ejections a document of prime importance, examined and used by Calamy himself, is now lodged in the Bodleian Library among the J. Walker MSS. (c. 8, ff. 19-23 verso). It purports to give an 'Exact Catalogue of the Names of several Ministers lately Ejected out of their Livings in Several Counties of England, Because they would not conform for Conscience sake,' and was printed in London, 1663[-4]. England here, *un*fortunately, does not include Wales, and the 'several counties' only amount to ten, with London and its suburbs treated as a separate entity. The 115 ejected in the capital[3] and the 19 in Surrey[4] are not in any way discriminated as between 1660-1661-1662 ; nor are the 124 of Devon[5] ; Essex has three lists, one of 112 undescribed, another of 21 'out of sequestred livings' and a third of 52 'upon the Act,' some of the names in the second list being repeated, and some few in the last two included among those of the first.[6] The Herts. list only contains the 'Ministery Outed . . . August 24th, 1662'[7] ; Lancashire gives 26 'Outed upon the Act of Uniformity'[8] ; Wiltshire is divided into 16 'upon title' and 17 'ejected,' without any further definition.[9] It is only in the four northernmost counties—a geographical entity which, like Wales, enjoyed the benefit of an autonomous Propagation Act—that the ratio of ministers ejected before and under the Act of Uniformity bears some resemblance to the proportions in Wales—Durham 14 before and 10 'upon,' Northumberland 13—23, Westmoreland 3 to 5, Cumberland 17—2, making the first total 47, the second 40.[10] Thus the large number ejected in Wales during the first two years of the Restoration

1 infra, Chap. VI.
2 93=86 (three lists)+seven Baptists referred to on pp. 360-361.
3 MS. J. Walker, c. 8, ff. 20—20v.
4 Ibid. f. 21v.
5 Ibid. ff. 22—22v.
6 Ibid. ff. 20v—21v. ('upon the Act' *of Uniformity*).
7 Ibid. ff. 21v—22—31 in number.
8 Ibid. f. 23v.
9 Ibid. f. 22. Ejected 'upon title' refers to the operation of Clauses I and IV in the Act of September.
10 Ibid. ff. 22v—23. Nightingale gives the impression that the lists throughout make this distinction (The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmoreland, p. 79). It is only attempted for five counties out of the nine included.

substantiates Mr. Shankland's venturesome guess that the clauses of the September compromise would not allow many thoroughgoing Puritans to escape meshes made conveniently narrow in the interests of Presbyterians and Anglicans. But immediately it must be pointed out that the only persons who could directly attribute their misfortunes to the Act itself were the 38 of the second list plus the seven Baptists; the remaining 48 had to thank the deadly weight of the 'broad seal' or the unchivalrous bias of patrons and bishops who refused to observe the compromise to the disadvantage of their own interests. On the other hand, while that careful writer's far too narrow interpretation of the 'any Ecclesiastical Persons' makes Clause I a severer engine of ejection than its precise meaning in the Statute Book really is or what one party to its enactment ever meant it to be, the rising tide of Anglicanism caused his mistaken theory to conform very nearly to the hard and sharp practice exhibited in its practical working. It may be added in conclusion that while summarised lists are very convenient to clarify the issues of a time of chaos and seeking salvation through statistics is always a tempting exercise, the perils of cross-classification are very great. Especially is this so when a later chapter will reveal several of the ministers ejected in 1660 and 1661 finding their way back to the National Church before the day of Bartholomew.

NOTE: THE CHANGE AT LLANFETHERIN.

In the Easter term of 1673 an action was entered at the Court of Exchequer by Samuel Watkins, then vicar of Llantilio Crossenny, and Mary his wife, for the recovery of tithes from Elizabeth Hughes of Llanfetherin and from other persons in that parish; they did this as executors of the will of Richard Roberts, 'late of Lanvether[ine] . . . clerk, from 1660 until 1669 parson of the rectory of Lanvether[ine]' (Bills & Answers, Mon., No. 48, Easter, 25 Chas. II). Thus a mysterious hiatus in the Llandaff schedules and the Patent Rolls is filled up; it should be added that the former records do furnish indirect support to the Exchequer deposition in the entry opposite 20 May, 1670, that a new rector was admitted in the person of Lewis James (File 12, Sched. 20 Apr.—20 Oct., 1670). This Exchequer exhumation of Richard Roberts brings in its train two corollaries: that the rector turned out by the Propagators (H.P.M., p. 129) did not survive to benefit from the Act of September; and that the Puritan Owen Morgan, established by the Triers at Llanfetherin (Calamy's 'Llanafering') in 1654 [Lamb. 997, ii, f. 142; St. Pap. Dom. Interreg., G 22, f. 1486a] must be deleted from the list of Bartholomew sufferers and entered on the list of those who fell a prey to the joint action of the new Bishop of Llandaff and the old patron of the living, Lord Abergavenny, in the days before the Act of Uniformity. When exactly Roberts came in is not clear—most probably in the latter half of 1660 or in the early months of 1661.

IV.

THE ANGLICAN TIDE.

The growing influence of the Cavaliers in the deliberations of the Convention and the sanguine conviction of the Anglican dignitaries that greater triumphs still were in store for their cause than the negation of the September compromise had long ago found corresponding expression in the overt acts of humbler opponents of Puritanism in town and country. Six faithful friends and followers of Llwyd in Merioneth were cast into prison early in the spring of 1660,[1] to be followed before long by another who scrupled the oath of allegiance and supremacy[2]; in the summer there were forty Quakers in prison at Cardiff and twenty-eight in the gaols of Denbigh and Flint.[3] Vavasor Powell's incarceration at Welshpool one month before the King's actual return has been treated in another context[4]; on the 18 July the Council of State order three persons, of whom he was one, to be again (the first Welshpool sojourn proving of short duration) put into custody[5]; and before the 24th another three[6]—Henry Williams of Ysgafell, Capt. Lewis Price of Llanwnog (an old C.P.G.W.) and Thomas Tudge (one of the signatories of the 'Word for God' in 1655[7])—were safe under lock and key, with a fourth also, 'the honest fellow Sam,' who might be either the 'Samuel Brees' or the 'Samuel Williams' signing the aforesaid petition on the same page as Tudge and in very close proximity to his name. These facts are deduced from an interesting letter written by Vavasor on a Sunday morning about the end of July to be sent to the Henry Williams group in the Welshpool prison[8] (but which was captured in possession

1 Gweithiau, II, Introd., lxxix and n. *.
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 484.
3 Dr. Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon., p. 97.
4 Supra, p. 318.
5 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 123.
6 Ibid. p. 130.
7 p. 10.
8 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 130, 135-136—letters, dated July 24 and 30, from H.S. of Montgomery to Secretary Nicholas (in his second missive he encloses the letter found upon Powell).

by the Sheriff of the county). The letter shows the writer to be the same indefatigable spirit as had worked the Propagation and so seriously menaced the stability of the Protectorate: preaching in many places,[1] attending the funeral of a godly woman in Radnorshire, interviewing on behalf of his distressed friends the Sheriff and his under-officers, meditating a start on the morrow to preach once more in the Radnor highlands, busy until sunset on the previous day, and now sending a gift of 30/- to be shared among his prison friends. Even in Puritan days this tireless energy of Powell's had been somewhat disconcerting to the Puritan cause itself, but in these new times it was merely anathema to the ruling powers; the upshot was that a few days later—one inference from the Sheriff's letters being that for a time he was alternately releasing and securing the preacher—he was once more a prisoner, first at Welshpool and later at Shrewsbury.[2] He was not set free until the King's coronation in 1661; within a month after that he was inmate of the Fleet prison in London in which he wrote his informing 'Bird in the Cage' (1661 and 1662 editions), giving not only a circumstantial account of Puritan sufferings in the most Puritan county in North Wales, but retailing also the little effect the October declaration had upon the ale-drinking soldiers who made an assembly of women 'that were hearing the Word of God' pay for their drink on the next Sabbath after the receipt of the proclamation.[3] The Presbyterian element in the Convention would, in the words of Baxter's discourse with the King in June over religious accommodation, draw a very sharp line of distinction between their own sober selves and the 'turbulent fanatic persons' with Powell's antecedents[4]; as to the Cavaliers, they early utilised their opportunities when they came to full power to pass two Militia Acts, one in 1661 indemnifying all military officers and J.P.'s who 'assaulted, arrested, detained, or imprisoned . . . Fanaticks, Sectaries and Disturbers of the Peace' from 24 June, 1660,

1 This part of the letter rather discounts his later statement in the 'Bird in the Cage' that he only preached publicly two or three days (times ?) since April 1660.

2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 176—*August 2*. Spinther James in his 'Hanes y Bedyddwyr' (II. 394-397) has gone far to vitiate his whole account of Powell's imprisonments at this time by mistaking the 'July' of the calendarist for 'June' and August 2 for August 22.

3 Quoted by Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon., p. 98.

4 Docts. Act Unif., p. 8.

to 20 July, 1661,[1] and another in 1663 extending the terms of the first to cover the period of 2 February, 1659-1660, to 24 June of the same year[2]—thus effectually preventing any redress at law to Vavasor and his friends of the Welshpool and Shrewsbury prisons.[3] Very similar to Powell were the antecedents of Jenkin Jones, 'one that is judged in his faithfulness and pains in going about preaching the Gospel in several counties like to Mr. Vavasour Powel,' and still more similar were his experiences in 1660. Because he and some of his friends, especially a 'converted' Cavalier in the person of Thomas Gwyn of Pant-y-Gored, would not 'forego their Meetings,' they were kept for a month in prison at Carmarthen, and accompanied there by stone-throwing and derisive shouts.[4] After his release Jones, on the Sabbath of 22 July, 1660, preached at his native Llanthetty to a congregation numbering 500 or 600, hailing from Breconshire, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Radnor; he was said to urge the people present to fall upon the soldiers (who to the number of twelve or thirteen with three officers had come to disperse the meeting) and beat them. One of the local magistrates who sent this report to the authorities in London would have it that the design of the preacher and his followers was to upset the new government; indeed, that one of the abettors—no other than an old Propagation itinerant who had signed Vavasor's 'Word for God' in 1655—had been heard to say this new dispensation of men would be changed and that the republicans would be even with the royalists before Michaelmas.[5] Another of the old Approver's henchmen at this meeting must have been John Morgan the tailor of Llanthetty,[6] member of his 'congregation,'[7] sequestrator of church premises in the county,[8] and at one time captain (like Jones himself) in the Parliamentary army; for his part in this riot and under the conviction that

1 13 Chas. II, st. 1, cap. VI, Cl. III (Stat. at Large, p. 539, Vol. II).
2 15 Chas. II, cap. IV, Cl. XV (Ibid., p. 624). This latter Act has already received some notice, supra, p. 319 (n. 1).
3 Henry Jessey's account that Powell was imprisoned in *Shrewsbury 'about the end of the 12th month, February*, 1659'60' (Lord's Loud Call, p. 13) is very evidently a misapprehension.
4 The Lord's Loud Call, . . . pp. 13-14.
5 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 124, 127—letters of Col. Henry Williams of Gwernyfed addressed from the Hay (the day following, 23 July).
6 That the tailor and sequestrator were the same man is made clear from Exch. Bills and Answers, Brecon, No. 1—plea in Michaelmas term, 12 Chas. II, for recovery of the confiscated tithes of Merthyr Cynog.
7 Alarum to Corporations . . . p. 2 (N.L.W., Civil War Tracts, Cat., p. 69, No. 210).
8 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, ff. 59-64.

his old post had not left him penniless, Morgan was fined £200; in October a greedy Cavalier of the Progers family was confidently appealing to the Council at Whitehall for the appropriation of this money.[1] So far, indeed, was the persecution of Puritans carried on in these parts that it often degenerated to outrages and violences from private animosity without warrant. The local M.P.'s had to interfere, and an opportunity was given to persons aggrieved by the soldiers to prove their allegations (with a complementary promise of speedy redress)—an order to that effect was to be published on a Saturday in Brecon market.[2] Further to the south in Monmouth, according to a letter written from Newport on 12 July, 1660, 'rude proceeds' happened at Llanfihangel Llantarnam to H(enry) W(alter), a Puritan of a much more moderate school than Powell or Jones, and two other preaching friends. The latter, in the somewhat vague terms of the letter quoted verbatim by Jessey, 'by their peaceable carriage staid their hands from blows' in return for the assault with naked swords and staves of a company of soldiers who had assembled before the end of the sermon 'to cut off' Walter and his friends; failing in this, they caroused all that day, fought, dangerously wounded one another, 'and made use of that to accuse us at London.'[3] About the same time Ellis Rowlands must have been dragged down from his pulpit[4]; it is written in the Ilston Records that the last baptisms in that church were celebrated on August 12[5]; Powell's statement, however, that 'no preacher that would not conform was permitted to preach'[6] is discounted by the comparatively unfettered liberties of Philip Henry in the north and of Samuel Jones in the south up to the time of their final ejection. Of the general unsettlement there is abundant testimony for affairs in England in the pages of Dr. Stoughton.[7] This state of quasi-toleration, under which well-doing ministers were looked upon as dangerous

1 For this and the amount of the fine, see Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661 p. 320. Jenkin Jones himself is described as 'committed'—no word of a money penalty.

2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 511—15 February, 1660-1661. As the Convention had been dissolved on 29 December, 1660, and the elections to the new Parliament had not been yet held, it would be more correct to describe them as ex-M.P.'s.

3 The Lord's Loud Call . . . p. 26. (Thomason Colln., Birt. Mus., E. 1038. 8). Henry Jessey was the compiler of this catalogue of sufferings.

4 Noncon. Mem., III, 478.

5 Trafodion Cymd. Hanes Bed. Cymru, 1910-1911, p. 16—Art. on 'John Miles' by Mr. Shankland.

6 'Bird in the Cage'—quoted by Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon., p. 98.

7 Church of the Restn., I, esp. pp. 90-91, 138.

fanatics and ' under the pretence of suppressing conventicles and unlawful assemblies the meetings of Christians to serve God [were] hindered '[1], went on until the end of 1660. On January 2, 1660-1661, four days after the dissolution of the Convention, the policy of the supreme authorities assumed a more crystallised form. Orders were issued to be read in every parish church forbidding meetings, under the pretence of teaching religion, to be held anywhere except in recognised parish churches and chapels.[2] Four days afterwards (and during the four days next succeeding) occurred the last exploit of the Thomas Venner who attempted a rising in the early months of 1657 against the Protectorate and the last effort for political supremacy made by those who believed the long-expected monarch to be King Jesus and not King Charles. This futile rising, Venner's ' plot ' or ' insurrection,' is only remotely connected with Wales by the name of Giles Pritchard,[3] whose Welsh associations (if any), like those of the equally unknown John Jones who was a protesting member of Venner's coterie in 1656-1657, have hitherto baffled the ingenuities of research. The deputy sheriff of Middlesex reported on 6 February, 1660-1, that the only goods of Pritchard's seized (as an attainted traitor) were fifteen cows, twelve of which had been sold for £36—and that is all that is known of him.[4] Huw Morus makes no reference to Pritchard, but he fulminates against this last outcrop of the Fifth Monarchy movement in his ' Cerdd i Olfur Cromwell a'i Wyr,' especially in the stanza beginning :—

> " Ffanatics o Lunden amcanodd ail-gynneu
> Drwy falais ry filen, o ryfel flin waith.'[5]

He gives a short summary of their ambitious political programme,[6] alludes to Monck's effective measures for their suppression,[7] and points a pungent moral by saying that

1 Rees, pp. 98-99 (quoting from ' Bird in the Cage ').
2 Bate : Decl. of Ind., p. 16. He argues from an order given by certain Cheshire J.P.'s to Adam Martindale *on January* 2 that the moving order must have issued from London in *December*, and this is confirmed by the tenor of letters sent by two Cheshire Deputy Lieutenants to Secretary Nicholas (Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 515). [Cp. n. 77, p. 16—Bate].
3 Eng. Hist. Rev., xxv, pp. 744-745. Pepys relates how he saw Venner and Pritchard drawn upon a sledge to be hanged on 19 January, 1660-1661.
4 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 487. This makes him look like being a London Restoration milk-vendor ; in that case, Cardiganshire historians ought to secure a pedigree for him.
5 Cymru, Vol. xxi, p. 111, st. [17].
6 Ibid. st. [15].
7 Ibid. st. [16].

their plots will not cease until they have drawn upon themselves the righteous vengeance of the government and that many a fanatic will be a wondrously wise man when the fiery element coursing from London to Wrexham (a probable gibe at the followers of the dead Llwyd) will be thoroughly damped in blood.[1] Philip Henry's fear was that this inauspicious occurrence would 'give occasion to those that seek occasions to restrayn our liberties hitherto indulg'd.'[2] Cavalier and Puritan were both correct: the exact date of the bard's diatribe is not known, but on the day before that which saw Henry entering the foregoing remark in his diary a proclamation was issued prohibiting all unlawful and seditious meetings and conventicles held under pretence of religious worship. Especial reference was made to those of Anabaptists, Quakers and Fifth Monarchy men, the only concession being religious devotions 'in private houses by the person their inhabiting.' Instructions were sent to all authorities responsible for the preservation of the peace to cause diligent search to be made from time to time in all and every the places where any such illegal meetings were suspected; the persons present were to be arrested, brought before the Justices of the Peace, bound over to appear at the next sessions, to find sureties for the same, and in default, to be sent to gaol. Last of all, and in its implication and effects the most important of the orders, the Justices were to tender the oath of allegiance and supremacy to all the frequenters; on their refusal to swear, the statute 7 James I was to apply.[3] This proviso bore most hardly upon the Fifth Monarchists, who had the sincerest of scruples against swearing allegiance to any earthly king, and upon the Quakers, who had a fundamental objection to swear any oath whatsoever. By the end of January, many of them were in prison in North Wales for this reason[4]; fortunately, a humane Judge at the Ruthin April Assizes let them free 'upon the Subscription to y^e^ tenor of y^e^ Oath without swearing formally to it.'[5] Others were not so moderate, and hundreds, if not thousands, of the society had to stay in prison until the proclamation of grace on the King's

1 Cymru, Vol. xxi, p. 111, sts. [17, 18].
2 Diaries, p. 74, sub 11 January.
3 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, II, Doct. CL., pp. 251-253.
4 Diaries of Philip Henry, p. 76, sub 31 January, 1661.
5 Ibid. p. 83, sub 4 April.

coronation in 1661 (which bore fruit for this particular sect on May 11[1]). Nor is it in any way a matter for surprise that there was a general search for arms, both in execution of the supplementary clauses to the Convention disbandment acts and as a precaution against further uprisings of the 'fanatics and sectaries.' This new vigilance of the authorities finds corroboration in many records relating to Wales. This was the time[2] that Philip Henry's old pupil Roger Puleston caused the house of that very unsoldierly Puritan to be searched for arms 'not openly but slily through his brother E[dward],' a course of sharp practice somewhat unnecessary in a Deputy Lieutenant for the county of Flint[3]; on February 27 Ellis Rowlands of Clynnog was ordered to be arrested and scrutiny made as to 'what Armes you can find'[4]; soon after (on the next day, in fact) the 'messuage' of the late minister of Llansantffraid in Montgomery was forcibly entered upon by three gentlemen of the parish armed with 'swords, cudgels, bows, arrows, and guns'[5]; and it is likely that the rudeness and profanity that obtained in the commote of Tir Iarll[6] arose from Cavaliers who suspected Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd to be even then paying surreptitious visits to secret meetings at Cildeudy[7] and who had doubts about the weapons his father-in-law was harbouring at Coitrehen. Before long the Sheriff of Carnarvon was in full cry after three distinct branches of Restoration delinquency: the hasty words used by Edmund Glynne of Hendre, an Anglesey parochial commissioner in 1650[8] and a Carnarvon J.P. in 1655,[9] accusing the Llanbeblig clergyman—probably the William Davies newly admitted vicar there by the Bishop on 22 April 1661[10]—of 'connering' from the Prayer Book[11]; obscure words about the criminal responsibility of 'some few

1 Extracts from St. Papers relating to Friends, p. 132.
2 8 February.
3 Diaries, p. 77.
4 Mostyn MSS. 237, f. 59.
5 Literal translation of plaint in Controlment Roll 310, m. 66, Trinity, 13 Chas. II.
6 Letter of Jones to Baxter, dated 29 April, 1661 (Bate: Decl. of Ind., p. 15, n. 69; Rees: Prot. Noncon., pp. 121-2).
7 This is arguing backwards from the licence to preach in this remote house he obtained in *1672* (St. Pap. Dom., Chas. II, E.B. 38A, p. 273). It was part of the Coitrehen property and situated in a recess of Mynydd Baidan.
8 Lamb. 902, f. 36.
9 Cal. St. Pap., 1655-56, p. 66.
10 Supra, p. 386.
11 The original has been examined from more than one angle of vision; what exactly is meant by 'connering,' whether 'conning' or 'conjuring' (if either), is open to some doubt. To the Sheriff's mind it was beyond all doubt fraught with a derogatory meaning.

great men in London' (Monck principally) uttered by still more obscure countrymen in far-away Llangwnadl; and the possible concealment of arms by Jeffrey Parry of Rhydolion and Thomas Madryn of Madryn.[1] Before this the Carnarvon Cavaliers had successfully objected to the continued holding of important offices in the county by the Puritan attorney Richard Edwards of Nanhoron, who had added to his other sins the visiting of Vavasor Powell in prison about Christmas 1660.[2] Old soldiers in the Parliamentary army were particularly suspect: Owen Jones of Llanllyfni was one of those to be arrested in company with Ellis Rowlands, being described as 'late Corporall to Mr. Madrin'; Owen Morris of Clynnog another.[3] The latter had evidently seen service in Ireland, as witness his leaving the shirts of a certain John Jones at the 'Blak House in Coledge Green in Dublin' and wanting them (in a note intercepted by the authorities) to be sent 'as soone as may be.'[4] Some indiscreet Puritans still remained in the reconstituted military forces, like those fifty soldiers of the Holyhead garrison who 'profaned God's house' and made the people of Anglesey seek the help of Viscount Bulkeley of Beaumaris to get *loyal* officers and men in their places.[5]

Owen Morris[6] was desirous at the beginning of 1661 to understand 'what liberty was like to be enjoined in relation to the Service Book and what encouragement there is to others to com there also' (to the parish churches, in all probability). Here he touched upon one of the most knotty problems of the period of transition. It was undoubtedly the opinion of ecclesiastical jurists of the Anglican school that the King's return meant the 'ipso facto' restoration of his supreme governorship of the Church, that rules and constitutions drawn up to regulate the affairs of religious bodies outside the pale of the National Church only amounted to heresy and schism, and that the canon law which prohibited dissent from the old established service should be applied without the

1 The prime authority for these Carnarvonshire happenings is Mostyn MS. 237, ff. 1-30, 45-79 (passim).

2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 423-4, 484. Informing chapters on Richard Edwards have appeared in 'Y Genedl Gymreig' (May-June, 1923) from the pen of Mr. Gilbert Williams of Rhostryfan.

3 Mostyn MS. 237, f. 59.

4 Ibid.

5 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 414—petition dated 16 December, 1660.

6 It is a small point, but the writer has some doubt whether the inquiries about the Prayer Book are written by the same hand as the note concerning the shirts.

slightest qualms and with the greatest rigour. They further pleaded that the penal statutes—1, 3, 29 & 35 Elizabeth—levying fines on absence from church and placing a ban ever more and more strigent upon all conventicles, had a continuing force and needed neither confirmation nor re-enactment.[1] Clarendon and the King, surrounded by the difficulties of a monarchy restored by Presbyterians, had to proceed by slower degrees than these Anglican highflyers (the impatient Sheriff of Montgomery had to complain in July 1660 that no less than six letters, addressed by him to the Council telling of the doings and sayings of fanatics in the county, were left unanswered[2]). In the declaration of October the King unhesitatingly said that the liturgy of the Church of England was the best he had seen; 'on account of exceptions made against it in some particulars,' he had to content himself with hoping it would not be totally laid aside by any ministers[3] (pending a conference of divines summoned to review the same). The bishops, on the other hand, some months before this and when the Presbyterians were fighting a not unequal battle for concessions, had dogmatically disregarded the whole significance of the late revolution by appealing to the 'known and established laws' of church usage, and had made merry over the charge of tediousness brought against the Anglican mode of worship by saying that some men's extempore prayers before and after sermon 'had been usually not much shorter and sometimes much longer than the whole church service.' Such a practice of praying, they averred, was of no great antiquity, often full of unhandsome tautologies and undigested ideas, and should in any case be used with all possible moderation; opposition to ceremonies laid down by lawful authority they attributed to weakness of judgment and 'unsubduedness of spirit.'[4] The Prayer Book itself they described as a great conservatory of the chief heads of the Christian religion, remarking that its disuse had been the chief cause of the sad divisions in the Church, while 'the restoring the same will be a special means of making up the

1 These points are lucidly treated by Dr. Stoughton; Church of the Restn., I, 134-135.

2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 135-136. From this it seems that matters could have been worse with Vavasor and his friends than they really were.

3 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, II, p. 246.

4 The Bishops' Answer to the First Proposals of the London Ministers, sec. 18, sub-secs., 3, 5, 19 (Docts. Act Unif., pp. 33-34); also sec. 24 (ibid. p. 36).

breach.' Parallel with these contentions of the bishops, the Restoration judges from the beginning adopted the principle of the automatic continuity of the penal laws and enforced their penalties; in Wales, as much as anywhere, the unfettered expression of pent-up loyalism had no wish to traverse the position taken up by the legal authorities, thus fortifying the bishops' confident assertion that 'the people usually were very well satisfied with it [the Prayer Book] where it is used.'[1] John Powell of St. Lythans, we are told by Calamy, lost his living because he would not bury a gentleman's son according to the liturgy[2]; four times at least the Prayer Book was tendered to Philip Henry between April and the end of August 1661[3]; as early as September 1660 he, Robert Fogg, and Richard Steele were presented at the Assizes of Flint for not reading it in their services,[4] Henry and Steele at the Spring Assizes following,[5] Steele again in the autumn.[6] In the same region four men—William Jennings, Philip Rogers, John Ratlieff, and Philip Williams—each of whom had subscribed the 'Word for God' five years before, were also presented for 'nonconformity.'[7] Henry's diaries are, moreover, especially eloquent of the pernicious influence Venner's plot and the proclamation of January had upon such meetings in English Flint as were particularly beloved of the pious Puritan: on the assumption that he had had a meeting (8 February, 1661) at the house of John Hughes in the form of the old monthly conference of his members, the Cavalier heir of Judge Puleston caused the bells to be rung for joy, 'hoping for great advantage against us thereby'[8]; and on April 3, after an 'exercise' at Hanmer where Thomas Porter the erstwhile president of the classis and the local minister Steele both preached, they soon understood that the neighbouring Royalist Sir Thomas Hanmer disliked such practices, 'which made it doubtful whether wee should have any more.'[9] Several women who met on June 24 to pray at the house of Widow Prichard in Worthenbury were

1 The Bishops' Answer . . . (Docts., p. 35, sec. 20).
2 Account, II, 731.
3 Diaries, see esp. pp. 83, 84, 89, 93.
4 Ibid. p. 72.
5 Ibid. pp. 81, 82—sub 28 and 29 March, 1661.
6 Ibid. p. 97—sub 4 October, 1661.
7 Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, App. VI, p. 323.
8 Diaries, p. 77.
9 Ibid. p. 82.

dispersed by the orders of the young Puleston,[1] and a group of ten Presbyterians who assembled at Wem on November 26 to hear a 'lecture' were sent to be examined at Shrewsbury.[2] Very instructive, too, is his testimony to the re-entry into the parishes of traditional usages and ceremonies long discontinued: ringing church bells for pleasure[3]; the repairing of the churchyard cross[4]; the publishing of marriage-banns and citations for probate in the revived ecclesiastical courts[5]; the desire to use the baptismal font as of yore[6]; prohibiting strangers from other parishes to come to partake of the sacrament[7]; the laying a snare for the Presbyterian exclusionist by the desire of people with 'miscarriages in their conversations' to come to the Lord's Table[8]; the burying of 'an old man of evil name' with the full service of the Prayer Book[9]; a promiscuous sacrament at the chapel of Emral[10]; the superstitious vanity of carrying the body of the parish clerk's daughter to the body of the church before burial, which made the diarist speak out boldly to the people 'witnessing ag^{t} w^{t} they had done.'[11] It was only with some serious misgivings that Henry (after his expulsion) justified himself in staying to see a child being baptised with the sign of the cross—'the essentials of it are retayn'd though corrupted circumstantially'[12]; and though he quotes a passage from Tertullian in its support, it is evident he viewed with dissatisfaction the 'service afore-day' in Worthenbury church on Christmas Day 1661.[13] Early in February he had heard that a proclamation had gone forth to observe the customary days of Lent[14]; on 5 March he remarks that this observance was being punctiliously seen to.[15] Were the diarists more numerous, there is no serious doubt that these entries would be duplicated for practically every parish throughout the kingdom.

1 Diaries, p. 89.
2 Ibid. pp. 100-101
3 Ibid. p. 77.
4 Ibid. p. 79.
5 Ibid. ibid.
6 Ibid. p. 81.
7 Ibid. pp. 83, 96, 97.
8 Ibid. pp. 84, 85.
9 Ibid. p. 84.
10 Ibid. ibid.
11 Ibid. p. 94.
12 Ibid. p. 102.
13 Ibid. ibid.
14 Ibid. p. 77.
15 Ibid. p. 79.

While royal proclamations, the dicta of judges, the re-clothing of pre-Civil-War canons and statutes with new authority, and the speedy readjustment of the countryside to discarded church usages, were building up impregnable defences for the Anglican system, it was a further disconcerting symptom to Puritan thinkers that the tolerant opinions once associated with Episcopalians universally recognised as intellectual leaders were undergoing a negative transformation. In 1659 the very Catholic Anglican Herbert Thorndike was willing, in view of a possible restoration of the Church, to see it observing primitive practice, and even wished to see presbyters restored to their ancient position of a council to be consulted by the bishop[1]; in his 'Due Way of Composing the Differences on foot, Preserving the Church,' published in 1660, he does not want any comprehension that could possibly prove an obstacle to future re-union with Rome, stretching his point to such an extreme as to state that it was more easy to secure to the state the allegiance of Roman Catholics against a dispensation from it (like the bull of Pius V) than to secure the loyalty of sectaries against a dispensation 'which the pretence of God's spirit may import when they please.'[2] In Stillingfleet's 'Irenicum' of 1661 there are references to 'sober Congregational men' and to a possibility of reducing Episcopacy and Presbytery into a well-proportioned form of superiority and subordination[3]; it was not long before the great divine was given official access to confer with the younger Penn in the Tower in order 'to convince him (if it may be) of his blasphemous and Hereticall Opinions'[4] and adopted the attitude which appears in his 'Unreasonableness of Separation,'[5] making him also compare universal toleration to the Trojan horse 'which brings in our enemies without being seen.'[6] A sufferer during the interregnum and a future licenser of the press, Roger L'Estrange, in answer to a Presbyterian polemic which had dwelt upon the risks of having many sufferers in the country

1 Dr. Stoughton: Church of the Restn., I. 34-36.
2 A. A. Seaton: Theory of Toleration under the Later Stuarts, pp. 96-97. Thorndike was one of those who believed in forbidding Christian burial to people who stood excommunicate and had not received Holy Communion within the year (ibid. p. 193, n. 1).
3 Ibid. Appendix IV, p. 342 (date and contents of 'Irenicum' discussed).
4 Extracts from St. Pap. relating to Friends, p. 279.
5 A. A. Seaton: Theory of Toleration, pp. 197-8.
6 Ibid. pp. 193-4.

'on a religious account,' gave his opinion in a more practical and prophetic manner than the intellectuals by saying that the number of sufferers depended upon the number of offenders, 'and there will not be many offenders when an early severity is used.'[1] The severity adumbrated by L'Estrange in 1660 and practised on a large scale in that and the following year, coupled with the 'restoring' factors referred to at the head of this paragraph, ought to have found all the Puritan forces arrayed in one well-disciplined phalanx. It was far otherwise. The Baptists, or Anabaptists as they were 'falsely so called' by their detractors, had been the objects of unwelcome attentions before Charles arrived in the capital: the meeting-house of the London Welshman Kyffin was 'defaced' early in May 1660, and within a few months after John Bunyan was arrested and imprisoned for preaching without having first obtained episcopal ordination.[2] The Venner plot gave an opportunity to their many enemies to involve in its doom all divisions of a sect many members of which in the near past had associated themelves only too closely with millenarian projects; however, a close scrutiny of the records cited in Champlin Burrage's article in the Eng. Hist. Rev. reveals the name of only one Baptist who figured in both movements organised by Venner.[3] Their responsible leaders hastened to present an address to the King in which they indignantly repudiated the idea that 'the bloody tenets and tragical action' of January 1661 should reflect upon their persuasion when all the plotters save one (a curious but cogent support to Burrage's evidences) were assertors of infant baptism and never had communion with them in their assemblies.[4] Nevertheless it is an awkward fact that another responsible leader and an outstanding figure among London Baptists, to wit Hanserd Knollys, who had in several of his sermons and published tracts developed arguments implying belief in a visible kingdom of God on the earth administered by the saints,[5] saw well to make a hurried visit to *Wales* at this

1 A. A. Seaton: Theory of Toleration, pp. 95-96. The title of his tract read 'Interest Mistaken, or the Holy Cheat.'

2 Bate: Decl. of Ind., p. 8 (for Bunyan and Kyffin).

3 Vol. xxv, pp. 731, 744. His name was *John Wells*.

4 Doctr. Act Unif., p. 104 (n. 1).

5 Dr. James Culross: Hanserd Knollys [Bapt. Manuals, Vol. II (1895)], pp. 96-98. Gooch, by placing Knollys in a class of Baptists apart from the Fifth Monarchy sympathisers, falls into a similar mistake as that over Henry Jessey (Eng. Democ. Ideas, pp. 269-270; supra, p. 215 (n. 3).

juncture, very probably to the same highlands of Brecon and Radnor where he had ministered for some time during the early Propagation period.[1] Kyffin also had on April 20 to enter with two others into a bond of £200 to answer for his good behaviour.[2] Before the Restoration Clarendon was the author of a circumstantial story that a group of Baptists had advocated the return of Charles in order to free them from 'that loathsome hypocrite Cromwell,' but the signatures (if genuine) were thoroughly unrepresentative.[3] At the Restoration the only Baptist address that welcomed the King was a petition from humble Kentish Anabaptists confined in Maidstone gaol pointing out that the apostles refused to obey the commands of rulers which were contrary to the word of God.[5] Confirmed believers in freedom of conscience they had been from their first appearance in this country; the theses of this petition, John Sturgion's plea in 1661 that nothing (under God) hath power over the understanding of man,[5] and the seven Baptist ministers who boldly quoted the parable of the tares and wheat in 'Sion's Groans'[6] of the same year were only successors in a long line of the 'Persecution for Religion judged and condemned' published in 1615. The Baptists only abdicated their sullen aloofness from the new powers when they joined the Independents in pleading for freedom of worship in view of the King's promised declaration of October 1660.[7] As to the latter body, twenty of their number, including a late chaplain to Cromwell and seven of the new Triers at work in 1659-1660, had submitted a loyal address to the King in May, referring to the hopes they founded upon the Breda declaration and adding that they did not wish for liberty longer than they deserved it.[8] Miss Brown has given good reasons for her statement that 'some of the old Commonwealth party'[9] in the Convention, disillusioned by the terms of an indulgence which was designed

1 Article by Alex. Gordon in D.N.B., xxxi, 280; H.P.M., p. 149.
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 571.
3 Dr. Stoughton: Church of the Restn., I, 31-33.
4 A. A. Seaton: Theory of Toleration, pp. 98-99.
5 Ibid. p. 100.
6 Ibid. p. 101.
7 Bate: Decl. of Ind., p. 12.
8 Dr. Stoughton: Church of the Restn., I, 79-80. The signatories are given n n. 1, p. 80, George Griffith of Montgomery and the Charter House being of the number.
9 They would almost all be *Independents*.

to exclude them from its scope,[1] voted with the majority in November of the same year to prevent its becoming the law of the land on the further and allied ground that it would serve to rivet upon them the chains of a pseudo-classical system against which they had so persistently fought from the days of the Westminster Assembly to their own Savoy Conference of 1658. It is true that Baxter in his 'Reliquiæ' endeavours to explain the Independent opposition on the lower ground (which might also be true) that they were not, like the Presbyterians, averse to extend toleration to the Papists: 'it was better,' he makes them say, 'for them to have it than for all us (*sic*) to go without it.'[2] The general Presbyterian attitude, and the bitter running fight made by the spokesmen of the party in 1661, calls for more expatiation. They looked for 'a due requital of the Lord for so great a deliverance' as the King's restoration,[3] and had already benefited somewhat from the terms of the September compromise; they were not a little pleased (at first) with the qualified sanction given to suffragan bishops and diocesan synods in the declaration of October. Dr. Edward Reynolds, one of their most respected leaders, was on 6 January, 1660-1661, consecrated Bishop of Norwich,[4] under the conviction, doubtless, that accommodation was a working principle, and that the King, notwithstanding the opposition of courtiers and disgruntled sectaries, would honourably carry into effect his high professions of adapting the restored Church to the more conservative elements in the Puritan movement. The Presbyterians were willing to agree to the doctrine of the Church of England, except in some 'by-passages and phrases'; they were ready then, as they had often been before, to subscribe to 'a meet confession of faith'; nor did they object to the oath of allegiance and supremacy[5]; in Baxter's mordant phrase, their desire was not 'to dispute the bishops into

1 Eng. Hist. Rev., xxii, esp. pp. 61 (n. 50), 63. Her article is headed 'Religious Factors in the Convention Parliament.'

2 Quoted in Docts. Act Unif., p. 406.

3 Petn. for Peace and Concord, p. 180—Docts. Act Unif.

4 This date is not of great significance, as Reynolds was 'to be promoted' as early as 9 September, 1660 (Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 262) and took the oath of allegiance and supremacy on November 28 (ibid. p. 365). He happened to be consecrated on the same day that Venner hoped would see the beginning of a very different cycle of history.

5 The Petn. of the Minrs. to the King upon the first draft of the Decl. (Docts., p. 96).

nonconformity.'[1] The same divine[2] in his discourse with the King in June 1660 stated that the Presbyterians did not advocate their own cause apart from other 'religious' subjects,[3] and in defending their particular proposals against the aspersions of the bishops went further and said they 'never once spoke for the cause of presbytery.'[4] This latter remark at least did not connote any sudden outburst of tolerating zeal, as the context amply proves that what was really meant was that the suggested fusion of Presbyterian and Anglican on the lines of Ussher's 'Reduction' would so satisfy the former as not to make them insist on mere verbal terminology. The general trend of the Presbyterian argument during 1660 and the early part of 1661 decisively excludes the possibility of comprehension to other sects, and show them as a party to be as narrowly rigid as Henderson and Rutherford in the Assembly debates of fifteen years before: Papists, of course, were a 'party intolerable'[5]; there was to be 'no meddling on behalf of them or quakers, *etc.*'[6]; 'we thought the cautions in our petition were sufficient when we confined it [freedom, accommodation] subjectively to those of *our* flocks'[7]; reordination by Anglicans was objected to, but only those previously ordained by presbyters were to be the favoured exceptions for inclusion in the new order.[8] One of the humbler members of the party, John Corbet rector of Bramshot in Hampshire, brought out a work in 1660 in which he described toleration as 'the daughter not of Amity but of Enmity'; in fact, he states it quite frankly that the Presbyterians sought accommodation with the Anglicans in order to check sectarianism and popery.[9] Among these sectarians the Baptists occupied a particularly low circle

1 Docts., p. 385—Petn. to the King at the close of the Savoy Conference.

2 Nightingale discounts the label 'Presbyterian' as applied to Baxter and defines him as 'a great Comprehensionist . . . labouring all his lifetime to heal the divisions of the church and bring its various branches into effective union' (Ejected of 1662 in Cumb. and West., p. 31). But in 1660 and 1661 (whatever about the liberalism of his 'voluntary associations') Baxter was for all practical purposes as uncompromising a Presbyterian as any of his Savoy colleagues: it would be interesting to know how N. would explain the passage on p. 13 of the Docts. about the suppression of sectaries in the light of any comprehensionist theory but one that would comprehend Presbyterians and Anglicans only.

3 Docts., p. 10.

4 Ibid. p. 51.

5 Ibid. p. 82.

6 Ibid. p. 62.

7 Ibid. p. 43.

8 Ibid. p. 97.

9 A. A. Seaton: Theory of Toleration, pp. 94-95.

of respect, as witness the effort of Calamy to father Anabaptistical notions upon the bishops on account of the latter's insistence on sureties or godfathers to answer for infants in baptism[1]; Baxter brings up the same argument in the 'Rejoinder' to the bishops' defence of the Prayer Book.[2] When proceedings at the Savoy Conference showed the Presbyterians that theirs was a lost cause, more 'impartial'[3] sentiments towards other sectaries began of necessity to be expressed, and more solicitude for those who disagreed with them in discipline but yet 'strangely agreed with us in worship'[4]; they would now reform the liturgy (or attempt to do so) by de-assimilating those Romish forms which had been the great obsession of its first compilers in such a way as 'to gain the affection and judgment of all those who in the substantials of the Protestant religion are of the same persuasion with ourselves.'[5]

The summoning of this Conference by the King was the last concession won by the Presbyterians, being the fulfilment of his promise in October 1660 to appoint an equal number of divines of both parties to revise the Book of Common Prayer—'to make such alterations as shall be thought necessary and embody some additional forms (in the Scripture phrase as near as may be) suited unto the several parts of worship.'[6] The King's warrant was issued on 25 March, 1661, and four calendar months were allowed for the deliberations of twelve divines on each side, each panel being accompanied by nine assistants.[7] The leading Presbyterians were Baxter, the elder Calamy, and Reynolds (though appointed bishop); Dr. Anthony Tuckney, who once made such a desperate effort to secure for the University of Cambridge the profits of the rectory of Llanrhaiadr-ym-Mochnant[8]; Dr. John Conant, the Trier rector of Abergele; Matthew Newcomen, the MN of 'Smectym*nus*,' and who, according to the absurd system by which Welsh divines were disregarded, had been chosen on 6 Jan., 1642-1643, to represent Carmarthenshire in

1 Docts., p. 203—Preface to the 'Rejoinder of the Mnrs. to the Ans. of the Bishops'
2 Docts. Act Unif., pp. 319, 324.
3 Ibid. p. 200 word used at end of 'Petn. for Peace and Concord.'
4 Ibid. p. 263—'Rejoinder.'
5 Ibid. p. 114—'Exceptions agst. the Bk. of Common Prayer.'
6 Cardwell: Docty. Annals. II. p. 246.
7 Docts. Act Unif., pp. 107-111.
8 Supra, p. 96.

the Westminster Assembly of Divines[1] ; and William Spurstow (the US of Smectymn*us*), who was given the geographical honour of speaking for Merionethshire in the same Assembly.[2] The one Bishop in the Conference (who was certainly one of the most prominent) indirectly connected with Wales was Dr. George Morley,[3] once chosen spokesman for Monmouth in the aforesaid Assembly,[4] and had been sinecure rector of Pennant Melangell for barely two years[5] when he was sequestered (early in 1647) by a Parliamentary committee[6]. [It is not altogether easy to explain the grounds (seeing that they were neither numbered among the Anglican commissioners nor in the panel of assistants) on which Bishops Lucy of St. David's and Griffith of St. Asaph turned in to the Conference ; they not only did so, but even spoke a few words once or twice, and that 'calmly'—a rather surprising addendum in the case of the irascible Lucy (Calamy : Account (1713), Vol. I, p. 173)]. The full history of the proceedings is quite outside the scope of this work, especially as the long and bitter discussions produced no appreciable result. Suffice it to say that the learning of the bishops was barbed and pointed by the experiences of their long adversity and that the controversial skill of the other side was whetted by the certain doom which awaited their cause should their arguments fail to secure agreement. The Anglicans succeeded from the first in putting their opponents on the defensive ; they steadily refused to recede from their standard watchwords—the 'set liturgy,' 'catholic usage,' and the 'ancient church' —and were simply content to say that certain debated formularies were not to be changed. Their arguments, too, were on the whole much more cogent and compact than those of the Presbyterians. In the 'Documents' edited by Gould, while the 'Exceptions' against the Prayer Book take up thirty-five pages,[7] the 'Petition for Peace and Concord' twenty-four[8] and the 'Rejoinder' to the bishops 144,[9] the

1 C. J., II, 916.
2 Ibid. 541, spelt 'Spurstoe.' For more of these anomalies, see H.P.M., 15-16.
3 Bishop of Worcester (afterwards of Winchester).
4 C. J., II, 540. Like the majority of the nominated Episcopalians, he never attended.
5 Lib. Inst., St. Asaph, f. 164.
6 Bodl. MS. 324, f. 189b.
7 pp. 111-146.
8 pp. 176-200.
9 pp. 201-345.

'Answer' of the latter only occupies thirty.[1] One example will be given of this difference in tactics. The bishops in repudiating the plea of the ministers that clergymen should be allowed to use discretion (the service under review was the 'Order for the Burial of the Dead') and perform the whole service *in* the church say that such a desire 'being not pretended to be for the ease of tender consciences but of tender heads may be helped by a cap better than a rubric.'[2] Instead of giving a crisp and short retort (if one were expedient at all) to this humorous sally, the ministers indulged in a solemn and involved argument winding up with this question—'do you think no place but that which a cap or clothes do cover is capable of letting in the refrigerating air?'[3] Needless to add, numberless telling points were made by Baxter and his friends, points which have formed an almost inexhaustible arsenal for Liberation orators and modern opponents of reunion. One passage of the 'Rejoinder' is particularly worthy of remark, the ten pages of the 'Documents' in which are wonderfully blended stern logic, intimate knowledge of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and a passionate appeal that no innovations (thus he characterised the episcopal contentions) be made under the shelter of the name of antiquity[4]; in another context he could not refrain from uttering the taunt that 'we should hope we may yet escape the hands of uncharitable destroying zeal,'[5] a taunt all the more apt because the King in his summoning warrant had asked the divines to compare the Prayer Book 'with the most ancient liturgies . . . of the primitive and purest times.'[6] It is a sad fact that all the massive and meticulous rejoinders of the ministers were composed in an atmosphere of unreality. The divines first met on 15 April: on the 23rd came the Anglican splendours of the King's coronation; twelve days before that and four days before the ministers and bishops came together, writs had been issued to elect members of Convocation to sit coterminous with a new Parliament; in the beginning of May these representatives were chosen; on the 9 July the Act of Uniformity passed the Commons (only to be delayed in the

1 pp. 146-176.
2 Docts. pp. 173-174 cp. p. 143.
3 Ibid. p. 340.
4 Ibid. pp. 294-304.
5 Ibid. p. 298.
6 Ibid. p. 108.

Lords), a significant event which happened about a fortnight before the last stormy meetings of the Savoy Conference. This Convocation, the very summoning of which after a twenty years' abeyance proved how far the reaction against Puritanism had spread, proceeded with its own independent work of revising the Prayer Book of Elizabeth; on 20 December its two Houses adopted and subscribed the new Restoration liturgy.[1] To the Presbyterians the calling of this new Anglican convention must have caused extreme annoyance, not made less by their whilom colleague Reynolds attending as Bishop of Norwich and being asked to compose the new prayer for 'general thanksgiving'[2]; and Baxter was not slow to state his objections and point out how unrepresentative of the establishment guaranteed[3] by Clauses I and IV of the Act of 1660 such an assembly was: many hundreds of the ministers 'we speak for' displaced or removed before the 'advice' of Convocation; others denied their votes because not ordained by diocesans; 'others, not approving the constitutions of our convocations, do not meddle in the choice.'[4] These positions were irrefragable; but when at the close of the same passage he set up the possibility of King and Parliament reversing the decisions of Convocation ('would you have us acquiesce in it when King and Parliament do not?)[5]—remembering that this sentiment was uttered very near to the end of the Conference and that the Cavalier Parliament had been in session for six weeks—it would be easy to appreciate what a crushing retort was possible to Bishop Cosin of Durham (to whose 'paper' this hope of Baxter's was advanced as a rebutter). The alterations made in the Prayer Book by such a body were not likely to satisfy the Presbyterian 'exceptions'; they have been carefully summarised by historians of both schools[6]; of their nature the words of Dr. H. M. Gwatkin may be taken as authoritative —'few of the offences to tender consciences were removed, and one or two were added, such as the reading of Bel and the

1 The authority for these dates is Dr. Stoughton: Church of the Restn., I, Chap VII, pp. 147-191.
2 Ibid., p. 220.
3 *i.e.*, as he and his friends had once fondly hoped.
4 Docts., p. 349.
5 Ibid. pp. 349-350.
6 Esp. Dr. Stoughton: Church of the Restn., II. Appendices II and III, pp. 513-522.

Dragon.'[1] Sancroft, on the word of another Archbishop at the time of the Sacheverell trial, is supposed to have regretted at the crisis of 1688 what a happy opportunity had been lost at the Restoration for a more perfect establishment of the Church in the direction of accommodation[2]; in the Convocation of 1661, seeing that he and Thorndike were very prominent in making the revised Prayer Book absolutely unacceptable to the Presbyterians,[3] he well knew that Baxter's remark to the King, after the melancholy end of the Savoy disputes, about the ministers being the boat and the Bishops the bank that must not stir was a quaint but true analysis of the situation.[4] It would certainly be no loss to the boat if its crew consisted of Tombes as well as Baxter, of Dr. John Owen as well as Calamy, and if the fiery George Fox acted as a foil to the amphibious Reynolds. For the failure of the Conference meant that in the coming days of persecution the Presbyterians would have to share the unhappy lot of the sectarian 'et cetera's' for whom they forbore to meddle in the comparatively auspicious days of discourses with the King and revising drafts of partisan indulgence with Clarendon and the Bishops. But the failure of the Conference transformed the Presbyterians from being an extremist element in the new national church into the right wing of a Puritan army that was to keep its banners flying until the advent of a new toleration a quarter of a century afterwards. Baxter's bitter attack upon the new Convocation meant that the infusion of 'presbyters' into archidiaconal councils and the close preserves of chapters[5] had only been a King's passing whim; and the last day of the Savoy deliberations was the downward limit of that King's insecure promises. Thus (to use a modern metaphor) Cavalier officers had successfully torpedoed the Act of September, and the Anglican tide now submerged the declaration of October. Whether the troubled Puritan ministers of Wales took much interest in the contentions that raged under the roof of Sheldon as Master of the Savoy remains obscure. The Baptists having been completely silenced and the Independents restricted to growling forth

1 Camb. Mod. Hist., V, cap. xi, pp. 330-333.
2 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, Notes to Doct. CLXV, p. 320.
3 Dr. Stoughton, I, p. 222.
4 Docts. Act Unif., p. 385.
5 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, CXLIX, Concessions III and IV, pp. 243-244.

unfruitful (and unrecorded) comparisons between 'new priests' and 'new presbyters,' it follows almost as a matter of course that the only likely references are to be found in the pages of the Presbyterian diarist of Flint. Only one such can be discovered (the entry regarding 'contests about the liturgy' placed by him under 8 March, seventeen days before the Savoy warrant was issued, evidently cannot have in mind the London wranglings[1]): it was as late as 21 November, 1661, before he had opportunity of perusing the 'Exceptions'[2] of the ministers against the Prayer Book, 'to w^ch^ I subscribe, as also their new draught of a liturgy, which for y^e^ mayn I approve of.'[3] This new liturgy, composed in the space of a fortnight, was a 'tour de force' on the part of Baxter; it had been presented to the Conference prefaced by the petition for 'peace and concord.'[4]

The men elected to the Cavalier Parliament were not of a type to appraise Baxter's attempt to banish Cranmer's sonorous phrases from the common vocabulary of English-speaking people; nor would Henry's approval of such an effort be likely to reinstate him in the living he had lost a month previously. Wales sent up not a single member but pronounced Cavaliers; it would be too absurd to associate any genuine Puritan sympathies with the Sir Richard Wynn of Gwydyr who represented the county of Carnarvon,[5] a gentleman who was to use 'much opprobrious language' to poor Nonconformists in the summer of 1663[6] despite the fact that he had been high sheriff in 1658; or with Edward Vaughan of Llwydiarth, M.P. for Montgomeryshire, who had come up from the same electorate in 1659-1660[7]; or with the brother of Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton from Pembrokeshire[8]; and very little more with the younger Sir Thomas Myddelton, brother-in-law to the knight of Gwydyr, who represented Denbighshire from 1661 up to his death.[9] One

1 Diaries, p. 80.
2 Docts. Act Unif., pp. 111-146.
3 Diaries, p. 100.
4 The 'Petition,' but not the Liturgy, is printed in Docts., pp. 176-200. The latter, according to Dr. Stoughton (Church of Restn., I, 181 (n. 1)), can be seen in Vol. XV of Baxter's published works. It certainly takes up 82 pp. in an Appendix to Calamy's Account, Vol. I (1713 Edition), and 95 pages (53-148) in 'The History of Non-Conformity as it was Argued and Stated by Commissioners on both sides (1661),' whose second edition came out in 1708.
5 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Repn. in Wales, pp. 60, 61.
6 P. Henry: Diaries, p. 157, sub July 14, 1663.
7 W. R. Williams, pp. 143, 144.
8 Ibid. p. 156.
9 Ibid. p. 74.

of the Bagenals of Plas Newydd, grandson of Sir Henry Bagenal killed at the Blackwater in Ireland in 1598, was sent from the county of Anglesey,[1] and Lieut.-Col. John Robinson of Gwersyllt, grandson of a former Bishop of Bangor, from the borough of Beaumaris.[2] A boon companion of Charles in his exile, Edward Progers of Gwernvale, sat for Brecknock for many years,[3] and for Brecon Sir Herbert Price of the Priory, a knight who had fought at Naseby, entertained Charles I on his Welsh tour of 1645, and was Master of the Household to the restored King.[4] John Vaughan of Trawscoed, M.P. for county Cardigan in this Parliament, had, it is true, been guilty of doubtful conduct in the difficult times of the Puritan occupation; but at one end of his career he had a large practice at the Star Chamber and at the other a very distinguished record as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (1668-1674).[5] The Sir Charles Cotterell who succeeded in securing the votes of the Cardigan burgesses had been steward to the Queen of Bohemia for eleven years, became ambassador to Brussels in 1663, and Master of the Court of Requests in 1669.[6] The loyal services to the reigning house of the Vaughans of Carbery saw two of their number coming up from Carmarthenshire[7]; a son of the self-sacrificing Catholic Cavalier of Raglan found enthusiastic supporters in Monmouth[8]; Cardiff was convinced of the new-found loyalty of the house of Pembroke and Montgomery[9]; and room was found in Radnorshire for the Denbighshire royalist Sir Richard Lloyd of Esclusham[10] (some of whose children had been born in exile at 'Calice' in France[11]), who had already in July 1660 been appointed Justice of Great Sessions for the counties on the eastern border[12] (it may be added that his son-in-law, Conway of Bodrhyddan, represented the county

1 W. R. Williams, Hist. Parly. Repn., p. 5.
2 Ibid. pp. 10-11. Who was the 'John Robinson' subscribing a letter to Cromwell in November, 1655, in company with Berry and seven other prominent Puritan officials appointed to 'secure the peace of the Commonwealth' *not* Commissioners for Propagation as written in pencil on the margin of the MS.) is not at all evident (Rawl. MS. A. 32. 617).
3 W. R. Williams, p. 18.
4 Ibid. pp. 23-24.
5 Ibid. p. 31.
6 Ibid. p. 38.
7 Ibid. pp. 46, 43—one for county, one for boroughs.
8 Ibid. p. 126.
9 Ibid. p. 99.
10 Ibid. p. 174.
11 See Clause I in 29 Chas. II, cap. VI.—'An Act for the Naturalising of Children' (Stat. at Large, II, p. 791).
12 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 142; Rawl. MS. A. 119, p. 17.

of Flint[1]). The Radnor boroughs remained a monopoly of the Harley family, Robert of the Convention being followed by Edward,[2] both Cavalier sons of the Puritan knight of Brampton Bryan who had once given succour to Walter Cradock and Morgan Llwyd.[3] Two men who in 1655-56 had been under the close surveillance of the Major-General[4] for Wales appeared for Glamorgan and the boroughs of Monmouth: Robert Thomas of Llanfihangel by Cowbridge[5] and Sir George Probert of Pantglas.[6] The boroughs of Pembroke sent up a still more interesting personality in Rowland Laugharne of St. Bride's, once Parliamentary general in South Wales, afterwards a Royalist partisan of Poyer in the rising of 1648, defeated at St. Fagans in the same year, and now in receipt of a pension from Charles II of £500 a year for life.[7] The uncompromising Anglican sympathies of such men as William Griffith of Llevn (Carnarvon boroughs),[8] Sir John Salesbury of Llewenni (boroughs of Denbigh),[9] Henry Wynn of Rhiwgoch, tenth son of Sir John Wynn of Gwydyr (Merioneth),[10] Roger Whitley of Flint boroughs[11] and John Purcell of Nantyeribba (Montgomeryshire burgesses),[12] he who showed such compliance in attesting restitution petitions sent up in 1660 by the ejected clergy, do not call for further analysis. Here it must be said that the American professor Wilbur Abbott—basing his conclusions on Presbyterian dominance in the Convention, the displays of independence in the later history of the Cavalier Parliament itself, and the close divisions of the same assembly in some crucial debates—has held that the traditional number of 56 Nonconformists who found seats in May 1661 is far from adequately representing the real strength or the actual numbers of Presbyterians in this Parliament.[13] It happens that the professor's

1 W. R. Williams, p. 87.
2 Ibid. pp. 178-180.
3 Gweithiau Llwyd, II. Introd., xxiii-xxiv. The interest shown by Sir Edward Harley in the fortunes of John Weaver of Old Radnor (Noncon. Mem., III. 509) and Maurice Lloyd of Aberhafesb (Walk. MS., c. 4, f. 106)—two ejected Puritan ministers—portend that this Harley had not altogether forgotten the traditions of his house.
4 Rawl. MS. A. 34, 901—first and sec. col. of prisoners respectively, Thomas at Cardiff Castle, Probert at Chepstow.
5 W. R. Williams, p. 107.
6 Ibid. p. 136.
7 Ibid. p. 162.
8 Ibid. p. 67.
9 Ibid. p. 81.
10 Ibid. pp. 115, 117.
11 Ibid. p. 92.
12 Ibid. p. 149.
13 Article on 'The Long Parliament of Charles II' in English Hist. Review, Vo xxi, esp. pp. 27 and 38 (n. 30).

contentions on the first point have been seriously affected by his compatriot Miss Brown in the proofs given by her of the degree and uncertainty of the Presbyterian majority[1]; as for the other two arguments, he does not seem to have drawn any exact boundary between Presbyterians and moderate Cavaliers. Moreover, his very fluid application of the term 'presbyterians' as the *only* people who suffered under the Act of Uniformity[2] and his reference, without further qualification, to Buckingham and Ashley as being inclined politically to 'presbyterianism,'[3] do not leave the impression that his general deductions on the history of the period can be accepted without demur. The matter is not one of great moment for us, seeing that the Cavaliers of Wales were neither moderate nor Presbyterian, as befitted men who represented the most Cavalier and least Presbyterian division of Southern Britain. Nor did the further reflection afforded by later contests cause the electors to make any appreciable change in their type of representative: the death of Vaughan of Llwydiarth saw his Montgomeryshire seat pass to the Hon. Andrew Newport, treasurer of money collected for the King's service from 1657 to 1660 and esquire of the body to the King[4]; for Haverfordwest in 1666 came in a cousin of the Chancellor Clarendon.[5] Abbott makes much also of the *youth* of many of the Cavalier members, quoting in illustration the merry monarch's remark, 'I will keep them till their beards grow.'[6] Making an average of the ascertained ages of the Welsh members, it comes to between 44 and 45 years, some few (like Wynn of Rhiwgoch who had sat in the Parliament of 1624) being well advanced in age. The Hon. John Vaughan of the Carmarthen boroughs is the one unmistakable exception, being only 21; but even he a few years later was named (under the courtesy title of Lord Vaughan) as one ready to produce witnesses to support charges against Clarendon,[7] and later on was to be chief commissioner of the Admiralty and President of the Royal Society.[8] Such well-grounded and

1 Supra, p. 359 (n. 3).
2 Eng. Hist. Rev., xxi, p. 29.
3 Ibid. p. 47.
4 W. R. Williams, p. 144.
5 Ibid. p. 168. The member elected in 1661 was Sir Wm. Moreton, once Lieut.-Col. in the King's army.
6 Eng. Hist. Rev., xxi, p. 23 (n. 4).
7 Ibid. pp. 41-42, quoting Harl. MS. 7170, f. 36.
8 His second wife was a daughter of the 'trimmer' Earl of Halifax.

well-seasoned Cavaliers were little likely to give a long shrift to men of Nonconformist leanings and would vote in one compact body for those acts and orders portending their speedy extinction and paving the way for the more comprehensive Act of Uniformity. Such were the order that no one who did not partake of the sacrament according to Anglican rites should be allowed to continue as members of the Commons; the public burning of the Solemn League and Covenant; the closing of the corporations to all but satisfactory members of the Church of England[1]; the act against tumultuous petitioning by 'getting of hands'[2]; the veto upon the printing of seditious pamphlets, sermons and speeches, supplemented by the 'licensing act' of 1662[3]; the act of November 3, 1641, 'disenabling all persons in Holy Orders to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction,' made null and void[4]; and the act ordering all officers of the ships of war at sea to take care that the liturgy of the Church of England was to 'be solemnly, orderly, and reverently performed in their respective ships . . . by the respective Chaplains in Holy Orders.'[5] And if the accounts of the Trustees for Maintenance did not escape the vigilance of the Convention, it is not to be expected that the united memories of the Cavaliers would allow such good servants of the republic to go unremembered. One of their earliest steps was to pass an act explanatory of certain clauses in the Act of Indemnity and reinsisting upon a full account of 'all monies received in the late Times,'[6] in particular from all persons who had collected the revenues of any churches or vicarages in Wales and Monmouth since 1648,[7] a specification of date which evidenced no intention of removing the ban placed by the Convention upon the sequestrations of the C.P.G.W. or upon those of the Protectorate committees.[8] Commissions of discovery were to be issued for the due tracing of all such transactions[9]; all prosecutions to be effective must

1 Grant Robertson: Select Statutes, Doct. IV, pp. 10-12.
2 Ibid. Doct. II, pp. 5-6.
3 13 Chas. II, cap. I, preamble (Stat. at Large, II, 536-537); Grant Robertson: St., 27-31.
4 13 Chas. II, cap. II (Ibid. 538).
5 Ibid. cap. IX, Art. 1 (Ibid. 542).
6 Ibid. cap. III (Stat. at Large, II, 538).
7 Ibid. cap. III, Cls. I and II (Stat. at Large, II, 538).
8 Supra, pp. 341-344.
9 13 Chas. II, cap. III, Clause III (Stat. at Large, II, 538).

begin before 24 June, 1662[1]; and if information against accountable persons be divulged, it must be followed up at law 'within twelve months after the Exhibition thereof.'[2] Another act 'for the more speedy and effectual bringing the [aforesaid] persons to account'[3] was passed in 1662 which, although its detailed provisions are not given in the 'Statutes at Large,' is (together with the original act) reflected in local commissions of inquiry issuing out of the Exchequer similar to that which sat at the house of Evan Thomas of Tretower to unravel the Llangattock sequestrations.[4] Collateral effects of these enactments are witnessed in the writs issued to the petty constables in 1662, the returns perserved in Lamb. 1027, and the 'declared accounts' at the Audit office, so called because they had to be produced before the Barons of the Exchequer and passed (or otherwise) by them, *e.g.*, the account of the sale of Dean and Chapter lands was examined by Sir Edward Atkins on May 28, 1662[5]; a similar account dealing with Bishops' lands by the same Baron on 24 February, 1662-3[6]; two accounts for First Fruits were submitted to Sir Matthew Hale, one on 2 January, 1662-3,[7] the other on 26 February.[8] There is the strongest probability, but no overt proof, that the South Wales Propagation balance-sheets that came into the hands of John Walker when gathering material for his 'Sufferings' and now lodged among his MSS. in the Bodleian Library (c. 13) came under the expert gaze of the new Barons. It would be a confident prophecy, too, that the sword long fashioned by his many enemies would at last descend upon Philip Jones, secular manager of the aforesaid Propagation in South Wales, intimate confidant of the Trustees in the actuarial difficulties of 1654-55, superintendent of Oliver's state funeral on 23 November, 1658.[9] They would be false prophets, because that prudent man (depending on the intercession of the many good friends he had made in his days of power and taking full advantage of the

1 13 Chas. II, cap. III, Clause IV (Stat. at Large, II, 538).
2 Ibid. Ibid. (Ibid.).
3 13 and 14 Chas. II, cap. XVI (Ibid. 596).
4 Exch. Depos., Brecon and Radnor, No. 8, Hilary—15 and 16 Charles II. These Exchequer commissioners must be kept very distinctly apart from the previous inquiries set up under the Act of Indemnity (supra, p. 344).
5 Foot of 367, roll 1.
6 Foot of 367, roll 4.
7 Foot of 1216, roll 86.
8 Foot of 1216, roll 89.
9 Hist. Parly. Repn. in Wales, p. 98.

Convention land settlement)[1] managed to preserve moderately intact the territorial acquisitions which had transformed him from being a landless yeoman of Llangyfelach to be a powerful magnate in the Vale of Glamorgan[2]; his luck is probably referred to by Mansell as the one unnamed exception to 'the great Fortunes of these Topping Rulers . . . and Encroachers upon y^e^ rights of y^e^ faithfull members of y^e^ Church of England [which] have taken wings and fled away.'[3] He lived to become High Sheriff of Glamorgan in 1671, and as witness to his will made on 15 April, 1673, is found the name of Robert Thomas of Llanfihangel, the Cavalier M.P. for the county of Glamorgan.[4] It is probable, too, that long before this he had patched up his quarrel with that M.P.'s neighbour, Bassett Jones, who in 1654 had sent a petition direct to the Protector accusing Jones of forcibly entering upon his lands.[5] Philip Jones is the supreme example of the lay conformist, and though the mercy which left him practically unscathed was one occasion of the Cavalier parody that the Convention settlement was nothing but indemnity to the king's enemies and oblivion to his friends, yet his interested compliance, quite as much as the unopposed disinterment of the great Oliver and the unreasoning vengeance of the victorious Cavaliers, was a strong proof that the King had come to stay and that the republic was an interesting but premature experiment. In Wales he was assuredly not alone. Out of the large number of prominent Puritans and Parliamentarians who settled down quietly under the new rulers, six will be chosen as types; in one or two cases the evidence for the changed attitude will come to view some years after the Restoration. Mansell could easily have made an additional exception of Edmund Thomas of Wenvoe (especially as he often mentions his name as sequestrator of church livings in the eastern hundreds of Glamorgan), created one of Cromwell's 'Other House' in 1657 and busy in the summer of 1659 commanding the militia troops of Brecon, Radnor, and Glamorgan.[6] It is true that he was connected

1 Camb. Mod. Hist., V, p. 95.
2 H.P.M., p. 95 (and nn. 3, 4, 5).
3 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 70.
4 W. R. Williams: Hist. Parly. Rpn., p. 107.
5 The Copy of a Petition Presented to his Highness . . . by Bassett Jones of Llanmihangel . . . Printed September 8, 1654 (Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus.).
6 W. R. Williams, pp. 97-98. Thomas was M.P. for Glamorgan during 1654-7.

by descent with the Stradlings of St. Donats and by his two marriages with the families of Ruperra and Penmark—which would facilitate his becoming Sheriff in 1664; it is also to be said that an Anglican satirist of 1658, 'the Fifth Year of England's Slavery under the New Monarchy,' puts him down as of easy principles and 'none of the great Zealots or high sectaries (so called) in Wales'[1]; but it was with some surprise, for all that, Vavasor Powell found Thomas one of the Deputy Lieutenants for Glamorgan in 1668, and granting an order to apprehend him for preaching in a conventicle at Merthyr Tydvil.[2] No man as general and as commissioner to execute ordinances had his hands more deeply imbrued in the affairs of the Parliament than Rowland Dawkins of Cilfriw; his private fortune of £250 a year was 'raysed,' we are told, 'in the late tymes'[3]; in 1686 he was appointed to survey the Manor of Kilvey for the Duke of Beaufort.[4] Bussy Mansell of Briton Ferry, notwithstanding his bizarre membership of the Saints' Parliament and an alliance in marriage with the daughter of one of the Presbyterian aldermen of London, underwent an early repentance, and in 1662 is presenting to the living of Llangynwyd a cleric with an English name who distinguished himself in the coming years by excommunicating the Nonconformists of Tir Iarll trained under the five years' pastorate of his predecessor Samuel Jones.[5] James Watkins of Brecknock was farmer of the tithes of Merthyr Cynog in 1650-52 under the Propagators[6]; in the summer of 1660 he was one of the two magistrates who sent soldiers to disperse a meeting addressed by the old approver Jenkin Jones[7]; and in the next year made a successful defence, as far as the Exchequer records go, against a charge of misappropriating the above profits brought by Sir Francis Fane (of Ashton in Yorks.), the lawful Cavalier impropriator.[8] Owen Barton and Thomas Critchley again

1 A Second Narrative of the Late Parliament . . . Lampoon No. 35, p. 17. (Thomason Coll., Brit. Mus.)

2 Life and Death of Vavasor Powell (1671), pp. 133-134. Thomas is referred to as 'Mr. E. T. (in O.C. time Lord Thomas).'

3 St. Pap. Dom. Chas. II, Vol. 396, No. 140—'Report to the Secretary of State of the locus standi of the County Gentlemen of Glamorgan.'

4 Cymmrodor, Oct., 1883, p. 150. Yet he is described as 'a dissenter' in the beginning of 1688 (Bodl. MS. Rawlinson A. 139A, f. 166).

5 Bps.' Certifs., File 10 (Llandaff), Schedule 20 October, 1662—20 April, 1663.

6 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, ff. 59b, 61; Cal. Comm. Comp., II, 1003-1004.

7 Supra, pp. 395-396.

8 Exch. Answers, Brecon, No. 1, Michaelmas—12 Chas. II. Depositions taken 25 January, 1660-1661 'apud domum Evani Pryce' at Llanigon (latter illegible).

the former was named second in the panel of commissioners agreed upon by Robert Fogg and Judge Puleston to inquire into the equity of forming Worthenbury and Overton into separate parishes (1657-1658),[1] the second a sequestration official after ceasing to be Receiver of Tenths for North Wales[2]—both by 1680 are not only J.P.'s but good enough friends of the Tory-ridden King to escape the wholesale 'purging' of magistrates throughout the country in that year.[3]

We must return from a digression describing the personal and collective enthusiasm of Cavalier laymen and the ease with which their Puritan accessories accepted the new system to dwell on the brightened fortunes of the ejected Anglican clergy, fortunes which, in a very especial manner, depended upon the activities of their more secular sympathisers. Many such figured in the columns of the preceding chapter, *but those were restricted exclusively to cases where the restoration of an ejected Anglican led to the removal of a Puritan minister.* The evidence for the wholesale restoration of other surviving clergy to places where no such dispossession was necessary lacks the directness which supports the petitioners of 1660, and has to be sought in the later plurality returns of the Bishops, in the schedules supplied to the remembrancer of First Fruits, and (occasionally) in the Exchequer depositions. It is not proposed here to give long lists of these accessions, but only to select a few examples as representative of the corroborating material. John Owen had been ejected from Rosemarket in Pembroke by the C.P.G.W. on charges of drunkenness[4]; it is only a surmise that he was the same John Owen as was presented by the King to the living of Roch on 27 November, 1660[5]; his restoration to the old vicarage and his entry into the new are both placed beyond all doubt by the report of Bishop Lucy in 1665 that not only did Owen hold those livings but was in addition 'sub-chantor' at the Cathedral and lived in the Cathedral town.[6] Griffith Hatley of Abereskir did not appear among the petitioners of 1660, and one is left in some doubt whether he was the cleric of the same name

1 Lamb. 991, f. 380; Henry's Diaries, p. 25.
2 Supra, pp. 85-86.
3 Taylor: Hist. Notices, p. 148.
4 H.P.M., p. 131.
5 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part. 1, No. 45.
6 Lamb. 639, f. 333.

who was collated by the Bishop first to the rectory of Bryngwyn in Radnor on 8 April, 1661,[1] and afterwards to the prebend of Llanddarog on 8 October[2]: the doubt is completely dispelled by Hatley's own statements before a commission from the court of Exchequer (in answer to accusations levelled against him and neighbouring clergymen of not paying certain customary dues to the Archdeacon of Brecon) that he was made vicar of Abereskir in 1647, sequestered three years after and obtained his Radnor plurality in 1661[3]—some items of which and a full account of his other preferments are faithfully reported by the Bishop in 1665.[4] The same Exchequer record and the same folio of the Bishops' return testify that Richard Habberley of Talgarth had returned to the vicarage which he had lost, as he says, 'in the late distracted times.' That Richard Swinglehurst of Llanmaes was living in 1661 is borne out by his admission in that year (month not given, name partly illegible on the Schedule and entered with other prebendaries verso) to a prebendal stall in the Cathedral of Llandaff.[5] That Philip Williams, the Pembrokeshire clergyman made prisoner 'a shipboard 8 weeks the first time and 3 weeks the last time' for his loyalty to the King, had returned to the rectory of Robeston West is made conclusive by his interesting deposition to the petty constable on 16 September, 1662.[6] Owen Owens is entered on 25 April, 1661,[7] as in possession of the rectory of Rhiw in Lleyn of which he was deprived for scandal by the North Wales Propagators at their Conway meeting on 30 July ten years before.[8] Richard Jervis of Llansilin did not figure among the petitioners of 1660; that he was actually living and restored cannot be inferred from the removal of any Puritan minister; but the collation by the Bishop of St. Asaph of a cleric of that name to the vicarage of the Mochnant Llanrhaiadr on 7 August, 1661, and the admission exactly a week later of Edward Tanat to the vicarage of

1 Bps.' Certifs., File 13 (St. David's), Sched. 20 October, 1660—20 April, 1661.
2 Ibid. 20 April, 1661—20 April, 1662.
3 Exch. Bills and Answers Brecon, No. 13, Hilary Term—15 and 16 Chas. II.
4 Lamb. 639, f. 335.
5 Bishops' Certifs., File 10 (Llandaff), Sched. 20 April, 1660—20 April, 1661. The Pat. Rolls make it clear that it was the Chancellor's prebend, to which he had received the King's grant on 24 August, 1660 (12 Chas. II, Part 4, Nos. 170, 171). As to his ejection, see H.P.M., p. 126.
6 Lamb. 1027, Entry 49.
7 Bps.' Certifs., File 1 (Bangor), Sched. 20 April—20 October, 1661.
8 Rawl. MS. c. 261, Rpt., [30].

Llansilin to take his place, leave no room to doubt of his good fortune under the Act of 1660.[1] It did not follow that in all cases the once ejected clergyman was restored to the identical interest he had lost; very often he was promoted to other livings to his great advantage. Mansell in a regretful tone informs Walker that though Nathaniel Gamage lived for many years after the Restoration 'he never return'd to his own againe' at Eglwysilan and Llanfabon,[2] evidently quite unaware of the fact that according to the Patent Rolls Gamage was given the extensive living of Newcastle (by Bridgend) with its annexed townships and chapels on 20 July, 1660.[3] Edward Provand never recovered the living of St. Dogmells which the C.P.G.W. forced him to relinquish if he wished to keep Cilgerran[4]; the King, however, presented him to the rectory of Briddell in Pembroke, probably at the death of the David James who petitioned for the same in 1660[5]; that Provand held both in 1665 is proved by the plurality return of the Bishop of St. David's, who places 'Killgarron' in the county of Cardigan.[6] Gratitude and due requital are the virtues not unnaturally boded forth in these restorations and rearrangements; somewhat more unexpected was the equally generous treatment accorded to ministers appointed by one Puritan authority and ejected by another—both of them being 'usurped powers.' The conclusion is that they reaped the same benefit from the September Act as Anglicans duly admitted by Bishops; to all appearances the important opening words of Clause IV, providing in general terms that '*every* Ecclesiastical Person or Minister . . . formerly kept out after lawful Presentation and Perception of the Profits' was to come back, did not mean that embarassing questions were asked as to the *original* source of institution. Three outstanding cases must serve as proof of this particular sphere of commendation (let it be added that not a single member of this group can appear in the 'conforming' lists of the next chapter on account of their previous disgust with Puritan standards). William

1 Bishops' Certifs., File 14 (St. Asaph), Sched. 20 April—20 October, 1661.
2 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 65b. Walker accepted this information and copied it into the 'Sufferings' (Part II, p. 259).
3 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 369.
4 H.P.M., p. 132.
5 Pat. Rolls, 13 Chas. II, Pt. 47, No. 70—14 March, 1660-1.
6 Lamb. 639, f. 333.

Jones was presented vicar of Llanegwad by the Parliamentary Commissioners of the Great Seal on 20 March, 1646-7, ejected three years later by the C.P.G.W. for a malignancy that refused to subscribe the 'Engagement'[1]; he was now not only restored to his old interest, but was also made rector of Merthyr in Carmarthen, given a canonry in St. David's Cathedral, besides being presented Archdeacon of Carmarthen by the King on 13 August, 1660[2]—all these preferments being solemnly attested by the Bishop in 1665.[3] After the examining committee of the Westminster Assembly had deemed him superior to two other candidates, John Phillips (mainly on account of his knowledge of Welsh) was appointed by the C.P.M. to the living of Diserth in Radnor, only to be expelled for drunkenness by the C.P.G.W.,[4] despite very strong reasons for believing that he had subscribed the oath of loyalty to the Commonwealth just two months before the Propagation Act was passed.[5] On 23 July, 1660, he finds himself reconfirmed in his rectory by the King's grant,[6] and by 1665 he was holding one of the Radnor prebends in addition.[7] No doubt, among other reasons, the fact that Jones and Phillips were both M.A.'s operated in their favour. Without such a qualification Morgan Evans, once presented to the rectory of Cilie Aeron by the Puritan Lords early in March 1647 and ejected later for drunkenness by the Propagators,[8] is again in possession of the living on 17 April, 1661.[9] Varying in some degree from these come two others: Sylvanus Griffiths of Llanwyddelan (more than once referred to already), appointed and ejected during the Protectorate, did not settle down again in Montgomeryshire, but was given a *new* living in Radnor; Humphrey Jones, who acted as Puritan pastor of Llandrillo in Edeyrnion for barely a year

1 H.P.M., cp. pp. 66, 124.
2 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 3, No. 97 and Part 19, No. 12.
3 Lamb. 639, f. 334. This plurality return makes more impossible than ever Spinther James' contention that this Wm. Jones was the same as the Wm. Jones of Cilmaenllwyd mentioned in the Lamb. MSS. (Hanes Bed., II, 482) and confirms Mr. Shankland's theory that he was not ('Wm. Jones Rhydwilym,' pp. 5-6). As strong, if not stronger, than any evidence summoned by the latter are the two Patent Roll entries: on 11 August, 1660, the genuine Puritan Wm. Jones had to leave Cilmaenllwyd (new rector presented—P.R., 12 Chas. II, Pt. 1. No. 292); on 13 August the other Wm. Jones was initiated into a new and prosperous career as an Anglican.
4 H.P.M., cp. 45, 133.
5 Rawl. MS. D. 711, f. 3; subscribed 24 January, 1649-50; cert. pres. in London on 15 February.
6 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 365.
7 Lamb. 639, f. 335.
8 H.P.M., pp. 65, 123.
9 Bishops' Certs., File 13 (St. David's), Sched. 20 October, 1660—20 April, 1661.

before he was ousted, was after the Restoration readmitted to the *vicarage*[1] (the *rectory* having been passed by the King into the hands of the foreign pluralist Clutterbuck). Dissimilar in many respects to the restored Anglicans of the preceding chapter, unlike in one important trait to the group immediately under review, the career of Sparkes of Northop borders on the romantic, and comes near to baffle all canons of classification: instituted to the vicarage there in July 1639 by the then Bishop of St. Asaph,[2] approved by the C.P.M. in October 1646,[3] left unmolested by the C.P.G.W., his good word for Puritan ministerial nominees found upheld by the Triers, ejected by the new Cromwellian inquisitors, to be by 1665 described by the new Bishop as 'vicar of Northop and prebendary of St. Asaph.'[4] When such double mercies were bestowed upon quondam Puritan beneficiaries it is not likely that the sons and relatives of lifelong Anglicans were left without consideration. The John Bonner admitted to the rectory of Llanwenarth on 20 November, 1662,[5] must have been a close connection of the previous incumbent Antony Bonner (the provoking tormentor of Tombes and prime cause of the Baptist dispute at Abergavenny in 1653), a contention more strengthened than otherwise by the additional entry that the patron was Henry Baker of Abergavenny, one of the most bitter persecutors of non-conformists in the conventicle days[6]; the Robert Gamage instituted to the vicarage of Llangennith in Gower (under the patronage of the Fellows of All Souls) on 2 April, 1662,[7] was most probably of the same family as the Edward Gamage (also rector of Rhossilly) who had been ejected therefrom before Propagation days[8]; there is even a greater sureness of consanguinity between the John *Wonnaker* collated to the vicarage of Angle in Pembrokeshire on 15 October, 1662,[9] and the Paul *Onacre* (according to Walker's way of spelling the name) ejected from St. Florence[10]; a John Bayly is

1 Bishops' Certifs., File 14 (St. Asaph), Schedule 20 October, 1660—20 April, 1661.
2 Lib. Inst., St. Asaph, f. 141.
3 Bodl. MS. 323, f. 110.
4 Lamb. 639, f. 303.
5 Bps.' Certifs., File 10 (Llandaff), Sched. 20 October, 1662—20 April, 1663.
6 Dr. Thos. Rees: Hist. Prot. Nonconn., p. 168.
7 Bishops' Certifs., File 13 (St. David's), Sched. 20 April, 1661—20 April, 1662.
8 MS. J. Walker, c. 7, f. 208.
9 Bishops' Certifs., File 13 (St. David's), Sched. 20 April—20 October, 1662.
10 Sufferings, Part II, p. 325.

admitted (16 April, 1662) to the rectory of Penstrowed[1] once held (if not immediately before) by William Bayly, one of the petitioners of 1660; and it is a pretty safe conjecture that the new rector of Llanilid in Glamorgan, Thomas Deare,[2] was a near relative of the Stephen of that ilk, the unemployed Llandaff chorister who was not very generously treated by the C.P.G.W. and the Trustees.[3] In one case closer contact is very definitely established: John Delahay was presented under the Great Seal to the hilly Border vicariate of Clodock 'vice Morgan Delahay his father deceased.'[4] Another illustrates the curious obsession that overtook the Anglican powers in safeguarding the fortunes of the du Moulin family. The older Doctor of that name had been granted among other promotions the sinecure rectory of Llanrhaiadr D.C. in 1620; in 1660 his son, following a petition to the authorities at Whitehall early after the King's return,[5] accedes to the same preferment by the direct presentation of Charles on 28 June, 'vice Peter du Moulin deceased.'[6] The aged Bishop of Bangor apparently made an effort to appropriate this sinecure for his own support, 'on pretence that it is in his gift,' according to a new petition presented to the king by du Moulin later in the year.[7] In this latter document he has the startling announcement to make that he had transferred his interest in Llanrhaiadr to his brother Louis, and wants His Majesty's confirmation for that presumptuous transaction. No such sanction was forthcoming. But when it is remembered that he also succeded to his father's sinecure of Llanarmon in the diocese of St. Asaph,[8] undoubtedly recovered the heavy arrears of fifths (by Clause VII in the Act of 1660) due to him from the intruded rector of Wheldrake in Yorkshire (the living worth £200 a year, he having received 'one £20 altogether'),[9] made also rector of Adisham in Kent and a

1 Bishops' Certifs., File 1 (Bangor), Sched. 20 October, 1661 20 April, 1662 {'Penstrowyth' in deanery of 'Arnstley.']
2 Presented by the King (Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 303—6 August).
3 Supra, p. 91.
4 Pat. Rolls, 13 Chas. II, Pt. 47, No. 116—9 December, 1661.
5 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 14.
6 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 3, No. 173.
7 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 230.
8 Information supplied by the Bishop of St. Asaph in 1665 (Lamb. 639, ff. 300, 303).
9 House of Lords MSS. Comm. Rpt., App. I, p. 122—petition of his wife Anne, dated 26 July, 1660. His claim to these arrears was all the more strong as he (or she) could enclose with the petition a copy of a C.P.M. order (18 September, 1646) threatening to sequester the living from Henry Byart, the Puritan minister, unless the latter would punctually pay the 'fifth part.'

prebendary of Canterbury[1]—it cannot be said that this French divine could complain of the quarters given him in Restoration England (especially when one reads of his brother Louis holding the Professorship of Ancient History in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Protectorate and 'tiring his auditory with praises of the Parliament').[2]

So precipitate seems to have been the desire of both King and Bishops to deal out some compensation for their past lot to the expropriated clergy and to re-establish the old polity before there was any possibility of the Restoration roysterers looking back to the days of Oliver with regret, that the natural confusion of the first years is made worse confounded by absurdly hasty appointments followed by equally hasty revisions. For example, the North Walian Dr. Michael Evans who, as chaplain to the Bulkeleys of Beaumaris, had assisted Dr. Robert Morgan of Llanddyfnan to draft the loyal declaration of the gentlemen of Anglesey in July 1648,[3] been subjected in 1651 to severe cross-examination for his part therein by a parliamentary committee[4] and 'outed' in 1650 from the rectory of Llanllyfni,[5] was presented by the King in September 1660 to the prebend of Llangunllo in the collegiate church of *Brecon*,[6] a promotion that had very soon to be surrendered to Griffith Hatley of Abereskir.[7] Let it be added that Evans did not go without his reward: a few days earlier in the same month he had been re-admitted to the Treasurership of Bangor Cathedral plus the customarily annexed livings in the deanery of Ardudwy[8] (which had been held for some time before the dissolution of the capitular system, according to the report of the 1649 surveyors, by the Anglican opportunist Dr. Rowland Chedle of Llandegfan[9]), a promotion reinforced in the following month by the rectory of Llanbeulan[10] and in July 1661 by that of Llanddeusant in Anglesey.[11] The Griffith Hatley aforesaid had less pleasurable

1 Information supplied by the Bishop of St. Asaph in 1665 (Lamb. 639, ff. 300-303).

2 G. B. Tatham: The Puritans in Power, p. 186 (quoting Walker: Suff., Part I, 141 [col. 1]). Du Moulin was appointed as Camden Professor in 1648. (Burrows: Register of the Visitors, p. 186).

3 J. R. Phillips: Hist. Civil War, II, Doct. CXVII, pp. 399-400.

4 Cal. Comm. Advance of Money, II, 1163-1164.

5 Exch. First Fruits Ret., Carnarvon, 1651-1652.

6 Pat. Rolls, 12 Charles II, Part 4, Nos. 103, 104.

7 Lamb. 639, f. 335.

8 Bishops' Certifs., File 1 (Bangor), Sched. 20 April, 1660—20 April, 1661.

9 Lamb. 902, f. 64.

10 Bishops' Certifs., File 1 (Bangor), Sched. 20 April, 1660—20 April, 1661.

11 Ibid. 20 April—20 October, 1661.

experiences to relate of the time's confusion. On 8 October, 1661, he had been admitted by the Bishop of St. David's to the prebend of Llanddarog (with the annexed chapel of Llanganten),[1] quite oblivious of the fact that a Robert Morgan had been presented to the selfsame interest under the Great Seal on 29 September in the previous year.[2] Confusion became so confounded that in 1664 Hatley was asked to explain his failure to compound for the first-fruits of the prebend by the Exchequer officials, who in turn received the following certificate from the Bishop: 'invenimus quendam Griffinum Hatley eidem Prebendæ cessisse quia pristinus Prebendarius ibidem tempore ejus predictæ institutionis in vivis fuit.' Hatley himself (in a statement to the remembrancer) put it more quaintly that the prebend 'was full of another person.' Needless to add, he was exonerated.[3] Reference has already been made to the proposed presentation of a stranger named Mossom to the rectory of Llandyrnog oblivious of the prescriptive right therein of the Bishops of Bangor,[4] and how the actual grant of Northop rectory to another stranger called Buttolph had to be revoked because the old rector John Williams was alive to claim restoration under the Act of September.[5] And when the aforesaid Williams pleaded that his estate had been much impaired by his loyalty and wished for a grant of the prebend of Llannefydd,[6] his wish was acceded to on 17 November, 1660,[7] although that meant the rescinding of a previous grant of the identical preferment (primâ faciê) made on 25 July to a Thomas Price, B.D.,[8] who had had a much more picturesque tale to tell: once chaplain to Lord Wilmot, long imprisoned by the Irish rebels of 1641, came over to Wales as chaplain in Sir Robert Byron's Irish contingent, and again imprisoned on the surrender of Liverpool.[9] This case of the Llannefydd prebend claims closer attention than the bare recital of entries on rolls and calendars, serving as its later history does to show at once the indiscreet impetuosity of the King's

1 Bishops' Certifs., St. David's, File 13, Sched. 20 April, 1661—20 April, 1662.
2 Pat. Rolls, 12 Charles II, Part 4, Nos. 60 and 61.
3 Second Admissions, Part II, No. 14 (on what principle this case figures among the re-admissions of *Puritan* conformists remains a mystery).
4 Supra, p. 364.
5 Supra, p. 363-364.
6 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 436.
7 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 2, No. 24; Part 4, No. 27.
8 Ibid. No. 153.
9 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, p. 118—petition to the King on 12 July, 1660.

advisers, the type of influence that lay in the background, and the unpleasant results that often followed the blunders of Westminster. Fierce litigation broke out at the Exchequer in the Michaelmas term of 1661 between Evan Edwards of Rhual in Flintshire (father of the pro-Puritan Baptist Thomas Edwards) who pleaded a lease of the prebend tithes granted by Price, and William Williams of Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant, son of John Williams, who naturally pleaded that his father had been duly installed prebendary and that a lease of 21 years had been made to him (William). On the one hand the Rhual squire could prove that he had been a former lessee of the prebend profits from 1639 to 1660 (the original lessor was no less a person than Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd), that he had an old tenant's prior right to a new grant, that in the nebulous period between the political Restoration and the actual revival of the powers of bishops and prebendaries he had obtained a year's lease from a committee of the Convention, and that soon after Price's preferment he had secured from him in August 1660 a full lease for 21 years. But Williams had some very damaging arguments to bring forward in opposition. He pointed out that Price's presentation was only to the *rectory* of Llannefydd and not to the *prebend* (which is fully borne out by the terms of the Patent Roll), that no lease of the latter's profits could thus be valid, and that Edwards indirectly admitted this contention by earnestly soliciting his father John Williams on the latter's appointment in November 1660 for a new lease, which was refused. Incidentally, he avers that Price's 'supposed' presentation to the rectory was obtained through the intervention of Edwards, as a preliminary move to secure the full prebendal rights and the power to make an unavoidable lease. The decision of the court is not recorded, but it is difficult to believe that an ostensibly illegal grant made by a temporary rector at a time when His Majesty and his advisers had not decided whether they would restore the full leasing powers of prebendaries could override a lease made by a fully accredited prebendary when that decision had been made.[1] This material desire of a powerful 'farmer' to fish in the troubled waters of the Restoration is paralleled

1 Exch. Bills and Answers, Denbigh, No. 1, Mich., 13 Chas. II.

by the determination of a Monmouthshire cleric to take advantage of the hurries and preoccupations of the ruling powers. Playfair Field, having received on his own admission some favour at Caerwent from the Puritans,[1] restored to Penhowe in 1660 by the Act of September, legally presented anew to the vicarage of Caerwent in 1660 under the Great Seal,[2] in 1665 advances some mysterious claim to 'the agistment of lands and tithes' in Raglan on the ground that he was lawfully presented *there* as well in 1660; unfortunately for him, a Llandaff schedule proves that a John Davies was admitted vicar there in June 1661,[3] and the men who refused him the tithes not only triumphantly pointed out this truth but added that Field's only claim arose from the fact that a sister of his lived in the parish, and that he for some months in 1660 casually coming to visit her 'did officiate by reading of common prayers in the church of Ragland for three or four Sabbath days.'[4] Apposite in this context some allusion must be made to a curious predicament (but it ought to be added, a most unlikely one to be true) which was allowed to develop in the diocese of St. David's. If the word of a Bishop of Peterborough in 1683 is to be believed, the King had appointed a George Owen rector of Narberth in 1661[5] (and the Bishop had allowed him to take the profits of another rectory ten miles off before 1665[6] and to be made Archdeacon before 1683) who 'in the late rebellious tymes had been preferred to be Gentleman usher to Cromwell, besides being a mute or Close mourner att the Tyrant's funerall.'[7] Notwithstanding the Bishop's statement that he had been informed of the Archdeacon's remote indiscretions by a letter 'which I received the last post,' that they were matter of fact, and that the informant was willing to bring them to proof 'if your Grace shall call him to it,' the whole episode was too obviously an attempt to prejudice Owen's chances of being promoted to the deanery of St. David's, which was then likely to be soon

1 Supra, p. 16, n. 4; also p. 50.

2 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 273,—17 August.

3 Bishops' Certifs., Llandaff, File 10, Sched. 20 April—Michaelmas, 1661.

4 For the whole case, see Exch. Bills and Ans., Mon., No. 20, Hilary, 16-17 Chas. II, especially the answers of defendants Charles Williams, Thomas Jenkins, and Thomas Bevan.

5 Pat. Rolls, 13 Chas. II, Part 47, No. 24—21 January.

6 Lamb. 639, f. 332.

7 Letter to Archbp. Sancroft dated *23 August, 1683* (Tanner MS. XXXIV, 116).

vacant, to deserve credence as sober truth.[1] Is it very possible that the King's advisers in 1661, the high dignitaries of his own diocese, would not be acquainted with his imprudent lapses, and would not have retarded his steady promotion at some point of the 22 years ? Very different indeed from the imperturbable possession of the Narberth rector are those rapid changes of personnel in various ecclesiastical interests which cannot be accounted for by the average rate of mortality or by the unlikely creation of new comportions or by the still more unlikely conversion of Anglican nominees to the Puritan faith. What solution can be suggested to one rector being admitted to Clynnog on 22 August, 1660,[2] another on 23 May, 1661,[3] to be followed by a vicar on 9 August, 1662,[4], the first after presentation by a patron, the second and third by the independent collation of the Bishop himself ?

Notwithstanding this perplexity and inevitable confusion of the time, the impetus of the Anglican advance was irresistible ; it received reinforcements from all quarters ; and proofs are forthcoming in records of the most diverse character. Almost the first entry in the Patent Rolls relating to Wales condescends to notify the appointment as *sexton* in the parish of Nantmel of 'William Aubrey, yeoman, vice Hugh Lloyd of Gardd Fach, deceased'[5]; the State Papers record the desire of a trio of Cavalier candidates to take command of the 'two post-barks' of Holyhead-Dublin in place of Major Thomas Swift, an old C.P.G.W., and now described as a fanatic and rebel against the late King[6]; the Lords' MSS. perpetuate the resolute intent of the executors of Morgan Owen, late Bishop of Llandaff, to recover all his personal possessions and punish the servants of that prelate who had played into the hands of the Puritan administrators[7]; Henry's objections to being publicly discharged from Worthenbury before a non-Presbyterian 'rable' were ruled

1 On the other hand, it is a fact that Dr. John Wilkins, a brother-in-law of Oliver, was Bishop of Chester from 1668 to 1672. (Dr. Stoughton : Church of the Restn., I, 483-485). Indeed, one must admit that the antiquary Anthony Wood, Owen's contemporary at Merton College, supplies information not at all inconsistent with the gossip of the Bishop (Life and Times, ed. Clark, I, p. 137 ; II, p. 346).

2 Bishops' Certifs., File 1 (Bangor), Sched. 20 April, 1660—20 April, 1661.
3 Ibid. 20 April—20 October, 1661.
4 Ibid. 20 April—20 October, 1662.
5 12 Chas. II, Part 19, No. 184—21 *June*, 1660.
6 Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1661, pp. 96, 97, 126.
7 House of Lords MSS. Comm. Rpt., App. I, pp. 146-147—petition of Owen Owen, dated 26 June, 1661. The Exchequer records contain eloquent testimony to the same effect (Bills and Ans., Carm., No. 2, Hilary, 12-13 Chas. II ; Mixed Cos., No. 9, Mich., 13 Chas. II ; No. 12, Mich., 14 Chas. II).

out as peevish[1]; the petty constables of Llandenny are evidently pleased to depose that the sinister influence of Cradock in 'putting Ministers out of their churches' was a thing of the past[2]; and the entry of Thomas Vaughan, the unmolested rector of Llysfaen in Carnarvonshire, can be taken as representative of the very few such that have survived.[3] It reads: "a true and perfect Register . . . in the parish of Llysfaene since the happie Restauration of his Royal Majestie our dread soveraigne King Charles the second being the 29th of May . . . Anno Domini 1660." As the evidence against Vaughan being ordained by a bishop is too weak to include him in any list of undoubted Puritan ministers, he stands ecclesiastically midway between the Anglican petitioners of 1660 and the final residue of Nonconformists ejected by the end of August 1662. His attitude was very soon adopted by a number of men hitherto unexceptionable in their loyalty to the political Commonwealth and the religious settlement that was concurrent with it. The eventual submission of these men, some of them already 'removed' by the action of the King or the act of the Convention (about a dozen can with tolerable certainty be included in this category), is the surest testimony yet adduced of the convincing permanence of the foundations laid down by King and Bishops and of the political prescience of the Llangyfelach school of politicans. They took time by the forelock; this tide, they thought, would have no ebb, not in their generation at least. Future events were to show that their prognostications were correct, even if their conformity be deemed a matter of expediency.

'Puritan' conformists is the term applied to such men and 'unexceptionable' has been the adjective used to describe their loyalty to the republican government. But the case of Thomas Jones of Llanfihangel Cefnllys shows how dangerous it is to distribute these epithets too generously and how the Triers had harboured in some of their appointments men who afterwards declared themselves to have been all the time 'dutiful sons of their afflicted Mother the Church of England.'

1 Diaries, p. 98.
2 Lamb. 1027, Rpt. 23—13 June, 1662.
3 This has been very readily supplied by the present rector, the Rev. T. Llechid Jones.

After displacing a Fifth Monarchist 'lecturer'[1] in that region about 1655, Jones (like, indeed many good Puritans) sought and received confirmation under the Great Seal of his title to the rectory (July 24, 1660).[2] A little over a year after, the tide carries him much further: in the Michaelmas term of 1661 he accuses Puritan sequestrators of having misappropriated the tithes of Cefnllys *before* his original appointment and the deceased farmer Thomas Hughes of having withheld tithes for the pasture land of Dolau Gleision *since* that date. To crown all, he prefaces his plaint with the statement that in 1645-1646 he, like other loyal Oxford students, served in arms for Charles I under the Earl of Dover until the 'general expulsion' of such loyalists from the city. Again, the executors of the dead farmer—Jane Hughes and Thomas Hughes the younger—reveal the fact that Thomas Hughes himself, notwithstanding his later friendship with Puritan officials, had been a lieutenant in the King's trainbands under Captain Price of Pilleth, and imprisoned in Cardiff for his loyalty. Evidently both the rector of Cefnllys and some of his Protectorate parishioners were experts at submerging their true feelings. Jane Hughes also managed to introduce into her deposition a gibe at the rector to the effect that she had been credibly informed that he had once been in arms for the Parliament and active in its behalf. Whether true or no, such an admission on the records would prove invaluable for Jones should the present tide ebb and a Puritan reaction occur; whatever power was in the ascendant, he had not the slightest inclination to be left stranded on a forlorn shore.[3] In face of these facts, his inclusion among the Patent Roll conformists of the next chapter well illustrates the perils that beset accurate classification in a time of transition. But, not having received institution in Anglican times and not having held a living as an Episcopalian, he enters the list as one who was in July 1660, to all appearances, a thoroughgoing Puritan whose appointment to Cefnllys had passed under the seal of the Triers.

1 Edward Owen.
2 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 357.
3 For a full account of this case, see Exch. Bills and Ans., Radnor, No. 21, Michaelmas, 13 Chas. II.

V.

PURITAN CONFORMISTS.[1]

'Crazy titles need your Majesty's help as much as crazy bodies need the help of physicians' was a dictum uttered by the Speaker of the Convention Parliament on the occasion of the passing of the September Act of 1660,[2] but there is cumulative evidence that even from the first days of the Restoration many of the ministers appointed at any time during the previous eighteen years were very anxious, and that very naturally so, about their status in the new era, without thus of necessity implying a desire to conform to rigid Anglican standards. One of the most prudent methods that commended itself to allay this anxiety was to secure a confirmation of their titles by the King under the Great Seal; and the King's comparative readiness to do this must be set against the devastating force of his restoration of Anglicans to their old livings or the presentation of 'new' Anglicans to livings already in the possession of Puritan ministers: his very extensive activities in all three aspects accrued from that complete paralysis of the Protectorate Triers and the death of the old bishops (which together gave him almost unlimited powers either acquired or prescriptive). But this appeal to the King involved the double demerit of giving him a veto upon re-appointment and of leading eventually to the process of re-admission by episcopal authority. It is this state of things that accounts for Clarendon's words in September 1660 that His Majesty had never denied his confirmation to any one in possession who had asked for it, words only to be contradicted by others which immediately followed that some, upon examination and inquiry, did not appear worthy of it; in the same speech he set up a self-effacing sub-division of Puritan ministers composed of those who 'though they were pardoned, cannot

1 It is designed to include in this chapter all conforming movements up to the *actual operation* of the Act of Uniformity.

2 Bate · Decl. of Indulgence, p. 11.

think themselves worthy to be preferred.'[1] There was at the time beyond doubt a clear line of demarcation between those who had no conscientious objections to a complacent conformity in its full sense and others who, in a confident hope that the hammering of a satisfactory scheme of comprehension could be achieved under which they could remain members of a church that combined the symmetry of the old order with the application of the most abiding lessons of the interregnum, appealed to the supreme powers for confirmation of their title. Such a classification of the conformists as their names appear in roll or schedule is now next to impossible. No name in the whole lists of Bartholomew sufferers is associated with more heroic tenacity and fortitude than Daniel Higgs,[2] the Worcestershire man who arrived in Glamorgan to preach under the Propagation and was afterwards settled at Rhossilly by the Triers.[3] Betraying a sure presentiment of the restoring clause in the Act of September, he had already (17 August) been presented by the King to the living of Porteynon,[4] and was willing to be officially admitted there by the Bishop of St. David's on 10 February, 1660-1.[5] If his unbending Puritanism is abundantly proved by his early activities and by his later sufferings, how can his conforming from 1660 to 1662 be explained except on the ground that he based his hopes on a religious settlement? Such a distinction can hardly be applied to Francis Meyrick, the M.A. who held the rectory of Eglwysael in Anglesey, to whom neither the rules of the examining committee of the Assembly of Divines came amiss, nor the frowns of the North Wales Propagators, nor the revising power of the Cromwellian ejectors, nor the Anglican rigour of the Act of Uniformity. His is the only case on record where readmission by the Bishop (25 May, 1661)[6] was deemed insufficient without a further appeal for the sanction of the King (granted on 18 June).[7] This cautious cleric died in

1 Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, p. 11. This sentence of the Chancellor, like so many others of his, can bear a more sinister and 'dissuading' construction. Presumably the word 'pardoned' refers to the newly-passed Act of Oblivion, although not a single clause in it applied exclusively to *ministers*.

2 Calamy: Account (1713), II, 729-730; Noncon. Mem., III, 503-504.

3 H.P.M., pp. 149, 160.

4 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 269.

5 Bishops' Certifs., File 13 (St. David's), Sched. 20 October, 1660—20 April, 1661.

6 Ibid. File 1 (Bangor), Sched. 20 April—20 October, 1661.

7 Pat. Rolls, 13 Chas. II, Part 47, No. 192. In this context it is pertinent to note that the living of Eglwysael was customarily in the gift of the Crown (Harleian MSS. 4190, ff. 50-50b).

that land of easy consciences in 1669[1] at a time when the names of strong men like Cromwell and Clarendon were held in almost equal execration, and when Daniel Higgs was living in continual fear of the crowd of informers called into being by the Clarendon Code. Still different tests must be applied to the John Hughes of Darowen who took early steps to safeguard that Trier accession,[2] to Oliver Thomas who failed to recover his lost preferment at Lawrenny (but was confirmed at Nevern[3]), and to David Roberts of Penegoes,[4] upon whose shoulders all authorities and dispensations rested with equal ease. These three, different from Higgs and Meyrick, had been instituted (not necessarily in the livings here associated with them) in episcopal times before the war, and can by no refinement of reasoning be included in any list of Puritans. Such a type as Robert Owen of Llangelynin in Ardudwy—confirmed in that rectory by the King on 1 August, 1661[5]—of whom there is no record in the Anglican book of institutions, who lived in one of a group of parishes declared by the petty constables of 1662 to have escaped scatheless from all inquisitors[6] (although one of the decisions of the North Wales Propagators conveys a strong suggestion that he had been ejected by them[7]), but one who stood so high in the estimation of the Cavalier of Caergai as to be named in the same eulogistic reference with Dr. John Ellis of Dolgelly[8]- cannot find a place in any such list until more light is available as to the authority that first appointed him.[9] With these excisions from the entries on the Patent Rolls we get the first list of Puritan conformists, all originally appointed in Puritan times and now confirmed by the King in the same livings.

1 Lewis Coytmore adm. to rectory on 11 September, 1669 (File 2 (Bangor), 20 April—20 October, 1669).
2 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 353—July 1, 1660.
3 Pat. Rolls, 13 Chas. II, Pt. 47, No. 144—4 October, 1661.
4 Ibid. 12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 379—20 July, 1660.
5 Ibid. 13 Chas. II, Pt. 47, No. 171.
6 Lamb. 1027, Entry 37a.
7 Rawl. MS. c. 261, Reprint, [23].
8 'Eich cyffelyb Mr. Owen o langylinin' (quoted in Ashton: Hanes Llen. Gym., pp. 25-26).
9 Owen appears in two connections from 1650 to 1660:—
(*a*) described as 'Rector of Llangelynin' in Exch. First Fruits Ret. (Mer.) of 1652;
(*b*) joining with Dr. John Ellis and other ministers in protesting against making certain payments to the Trustees' officials (1658-9). [Rawl. MS. D. 843. 84].
Both imply that his possible ejection was not permanent.

Minister.	Living.	Date of Confirmation.	No. of Entry on Pat. Rolls.
Chamberlain, Edward[1] ..	Machynlleth ..	12 Oct., 1660 ..	12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 111.
Davies, Randolph ..	Meifod ..	25 Aug., 1660 ..	ib. ib. No. 222.
Edwards, Samuel ..	Pwllycrochan ..	25 Aug., 1660 ..	ib. ib. No. 251.
Eyton, David ..	Bodfari ..	16 Aug., 1660 ..	ib. ib. No. 279.
Eyton, Owen ..	Corwen ..	20 June, 1660 ..	ib. ib. No. 440.
Foulkes, John ..	Llangadfan (Mont.) ..	17 July, 1660 ..	ib. ib. No. 388.
Hilliard, Thomas ..	Newton Nottage ..	6 Sept., 1660 ..	ib. ib. No. 195.
James, David ..	Cilrhedyn ..	4 July, 1661 ..	13 Chas. II, Pt. 47, No. 90.
Jones, David ..	Bettws Abergele ..	28 Aug., 1660 ..	12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 220.
Jones, Thomas ..	Llanf. Cefnllys ..	24 July, 1660 ..	ib. ib. No. 357.
Lloyd, Jenkin ..	Llangoedmor ..	25 June, 1660 ..	ib. ib. No. 431.
Meyrick, Francis ..	Eglwysael ..	18 June, 1661 ..	13 Chas. II, Pt. 47, No. 192.
Owen, Thomas ..	Llanfyrnach ..	29 June, 1662 ..	14 Chas. II, Pt. 19, No. 195.
Powell, Rice ..	Boughrood ..	5 Nov., 1660 ..	12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 65.
Powell, Robert ..	Nantmel ..	16 July, 1660 ..	12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 395.
Price, Charles ..	Cardigan ..	28 June, 1661 ..	13 Chas. II, Pt. 47, No. 194.
Rogers, Philip ..	Llanwyddelan ..	6 Aug., 1660 ..	12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 317.
Rowlands, Humphrey ..	Llanwrin ..	21 July, 1660 ..	ib. ib. No. 34.
Swaine, Richard ..	Clyro ..	9 July, 1660 ..	ib. ib. No. 406.
Williams, Morgan ..	Letterston ..	15 Mar., 1661-2 ..	14 Chas. II, Pt. 19, No. 232.
Wynne, Robert ..	Cerrig-y-drudion ..	11 Aug., 1660 ..	12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 287.

1 'Charles' in Mont. Ret., First Fruits, February, 1657-8, 114. Chamberlain held the rectory as late as 1684, in which year he entered a claim for tithes at the Exchequer against Rowland Owen and others (Bills and Ans., Mont., No. 57, Trinity, 36 Chas. II).

Another list follows of Puritan conformists on the same Patent Rolls who were not settled in the same livings, the reason operating in six cases (that of Higgs was one) being the likely or actual restoration of the old Anglican incumbent. Another piquant feature of this list is that in six other cases *the presentation of the Puritan conformist meant the dispossession of a sitting Puritan who had not applied for confirmation of title.* And the Glasbury-Vaynor transference, though provisionally entered on the following list, must be looked upon as 'sub iudice.' For some time the writer laboured under the obsession that the Owen Griffith, approved by the Triers in 1658 for pastoral work at Glasbury[1] and dispossessed by the Act of September in favour of Alexander Griffith, was no other than the latter's second son, baptised at Trefeglwys on 25 October, 1632.[2] And it will be admitted that more than one consideration worked in favour of that theory: the complete silence of the Anglican constables of 1662 about any Owen Griffith having been minister in that parish[3]; that Alexander was prevented from actually driving out his own son by the latter's collusive promotion some months before under the Great Seal to the living of Vaynor; the frequent preferments that fell to Owen Griffith's lot from 1660 to 1670.[4] It is true that Rice Powell of Boughrood's reference to him in an Exchequer case of 1663-1664 as '*one* Mr. Owen Griffithes'[5] rather militates against the above contention did not one remember the very interested vagueness of that conformist's evidence when events before the Restoration came under review. But a new turn was given to the problem when the writer received a note (very kindly supplied by the present vicar, the Rev. H. H. Gibbon, on 4 November, 1921) enclosing two entries from the parish registers to the effect that Abigail and Barbara, two infant daughters of 'Owini Griffith cl[er]ici' were baptised at Glasbury on 27 April, 1664, and 25 May, 1665, respectively. These suggest very strongly that the Puritan Owen Griffith remained in that parish for some years after his eviction, that he was an altogether different person from Owen Griffith of

1 Supra, p. 23.
2 Mont. Colls., Vol. xxxii, ii, Registers of Trefeglwys, pp. 203-204.
3 Lamb. 1027.
4 Infra, p. 383.
5 Depositions, Mixed Cos., No. 8, Hilary, 15-16 Chas. II.

Vaynor, and by implication that he was very unlikely to be Alexander's son ; finally, that he was a type of obscure Puritan minister who did not conform indeed, but was so submerged by the Anglican wave as not to appear any more in the annals either of persecution or of indulgence. Even these suggestions are not the end of the matter : the register entries, after all, are only *conclusive* that Griffith's wife Hester, for some unexplained domestic reasons, actually lived at Glasbury for some time, and allow for the possibility of her husband being rector at Vaynor. And is it likely that Alexander Griffith, in writing up the registers, would condescend to describe as 'clericus' a man who was never (unless secretly) ordained by bishops and whose only claim to the term was the certificate of the Puritan Triers ? Here the writer takes his last refuge and finds (he thinks) sufficient defence for the retention of the fifth entry below. It is also necessary to add that the inclusion of the conformist Barnett rests on the assumption that he was the same Nathaniel Barnett who was appointed by Col. Mytton to be one of the Parliament's commissioners to negotiate the surrender of Denbigh Castle on 14 October, 1646,[1] and the same Nathaniel Barnett (although the original word in the MS. looks suspiciously like 'Harnett') who was described as 'present minister' of Llandyrnog by the Sheriff of the county in 1652.[2] Needless to say, this argument is open to attack at more than one point. However, the appointment of a minister to draw up articles of surrender need occasion no surprise : Robert Fogg had acted as single intermediary for Mytton in signing the Ruthin terms on 8 April, 1646, and had some months previously been sent with dispatches from the Colonel to Speaker Lenthall.[3] There is no difficulty in proving the identity of the tenth name on the list and no doubt whatsoever of his conformity ; but the lateness of the date at which he found room for absorption in the Anglican order as a settled clergyman calls for some comment. Dispossessed of Castell Caereinion by the Act of September,[4] he became in 1663 domestic and naval chaplain to James, Duke of York ; and when he ceased to act in that capacity two years later, he

1 Pennant's Tours in Wales, Carnarvon Ed., App. viii, pp. 555-559.
2 Exch. Ret., First Fruits, made by 3 February, 1651-1652.
3 Pp. 3-8 of tract 215 in Civil War Tracts, N.L.W. (Cat., p. 21).
4 Supra, p. 374.

entered upon the rectory of Llandyrnog under the Great Seal (to the disgust of the Bishop of Bangor, who had hoped to hold the living 'in commendam'). It was not unnatural that the new rector, as one who had been created Fellow of University College by the Oxford Puritan 'visitors' and had subscribed the Covenant, should develop violent anti-Popery views and libel the Bishop of Winchester[1]: all this, however, did not prevent him in 1681 using the influence of his old patron the Duke of York (then a Catholic) to become Bishop of Bangor, following upon a premature report that the reigning prelate was dead.[2] It is thus abundantly clear that Thomas Jones, to serve his own ends, was quite ready to shed both his anti-Popery and his Puritanism.

1 See a very interesting paragraph by J. C. Morrice (Wales, pp. 207-208). But the words '. . . and retired to the rectory of Llandyrnog, *which he still held*,' implying that he had some interest there already, are not confirmed by the terms of the Patent Roll.

2 Tanner MS. CXVLI, 81v. It should be borne in mind that the authority for this story was that Bishop himself (Humphrey Lloyd) who had not the slightest love for Jones.

Name of Minister.	New Living.	Old Living.	Date of Presentation.	No. of Entry on Pat. Rolls.
Barnett, Nathaniel ..	Newtown ..	Llandyrnog ..	16 July, 1660..	12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 398.
Davies, John ..	Newborough ..	Llangadfan (Angl.) ..	17 July, 1660..	12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 386.
Evans, John ..	Llanmerewig ..	Penstrowed ..	24 Aug., 1660..	ib. ib. No. 255.
Freeman, Thomas ..	Hubberston and Johnston ..	Llanddewi Velvrey ..	25 Sept., 1660..	ib. ib. No. 136.
Griffith, Owen ..	Vaynor ..	Glasbury ..	23 July, 1660..	ib. ib. No. 336.
Harries, Richard ..	Eglwyswrw ..	Manordeifi ..	17 Jan., 1660-1	13 Chas. II, Pt. 47, No. 90.
Higgs, Daniel ..	Porteynon ..	Rhossilly ..	17 Aug., 1660..	12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 269.
Jones, James ..	Cilybebyll ..	Llangyfelach ..	4 July, 1660..	ib. ib. No. 421.
Jones, Roger ..	Montgomery ..	Llanerfyl ..	11 June, 1660..	ib. ib. No. 448.
Jones, Thomas ..	Llandyrnog ..	Castell Caereinion ..	11 Nov., 1665..	17 Chas. II, Pt. 3, No. 37.
Owen, Nicholas ..	Aberporth ..	Cenarth ..	19 June, 1661..	13 Chas, II, Pt. 47, No. 199.
Parry, Henry ..	Bettws (Mont.) ..	Cemmes ..	17 July, 1660..	12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 390.
Rushworth, Isaac ..	Gladestry ..	Montgomery ..	29 Sept., 1660..	ib. ib. No. 125.
Salesbury, William ..	Llansansior ..	Henllan (Denb.) ..	31 July, 1661..	13 Chas. II, Pt. 47, No. 159.

So far the Patent Rolls. But a more deadly weapon to induce conformity than the King's confirmation or a new presentation at his hands was the growing practice of *re-ordination*. This was already in operation before the summer of 1660, as otherwise Baxter in his 'Defence' of the London ministers' proposals to arrive at a settlement with the bishops could not affirm that many ministers were denied institution, and others cast out for want of episcopal ordination, or for doubting whether diocesans and their paraphernalia of chancellors and commissaries ought to be recognised[1]; he returns to the charge in the petition to the King following the first draft of the October declaration, in which he pointed out the penalty of refusing the oath of canonical obedience.[2] The declaration itself was most explicit both in the original draft and in its final form (accepted with more or less reserve by the Presbyterian divines) that this insidious practice of re-ordination was not to be tolerated.[3] That the danger was not over comes out in the address of thanks presented to the King by a group of London Presbyterians a little over three weeks later, which prays that re-ordination be not imposed[4]; and by the time the Savoy Conference began its work in 1661, the Presbyterians have discovered that the practice was made more acceptable by its being interpreted as either absolute or hypothetical,[5] the latter no doubt being meant to appeal to those who were willing to swear fealty to a bishop on the hypothesis that synods of divines and conferences over the Prayer Book would make their oath less of a treason against the Puritan faith. In this context Alexander Gordon specifies a case in which a Hampshire minister was ordained deacon and priest in December 1660 *without* subscription to the Articles and instituted by the Bishop of Winchester in the following February.[6] So indignant was Baxter over this flank attack that he called it a new and strange thing, dwelt learnedly on "the canon amongst those called the Apostles," and referred to the opposition towards such a procedure of Archbishop Bancroft, 'a most fervent adversary of the

1 Docts. Act Unif., p. 44.
2 Ibid. p. 79; also pp. 96-97.
3 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, II, 249-250.
4 Docts., pp. 103-104.
5 Petn. for Peace and Concord, p. 177 (Docts.).
6 Freedom after Ejection, p. 376—Thomas Warren of Houghton.

Presbyterian way.'[1] It was now too late for Baxter's arguments from history or for the Presbyterians' stalwart defence of their own ordination as the visible embodiment of the Genevan 'jus divinum' to resist the Anglican advance: Orlando Fogg of Overton, the timid son of the stubborn Robert, was re-ordained early in 1661,[2] thus following in the wake of his brother Lawrence of Hawarden, who was among the first to restore 'the public use of the liturgy' in 1660 and continued the use of it till August 1662.[3] Whether Orlando received this blessing from the Bishop of Chester or no is not stated; the truth is that a promiscuous practice was allowed to develop by which *any* bishop, quite apart from the diocesan who supervised the living in which the conforming minister was located, could perform this solemn office. This was done to the Hampshire minister aforesaid by Thomas Sydserff, Bishop of Galloway, and to Richard Taylor of Holt (who made a special journey to London for the purpose about the same time) by Dr. Robert Sanderson, newly-appointed Bishop of Lincoln.[4] Evidently this variation from the accredited system—another apposite example of the abnormal excrescences of a time of transition—was carried to such lengths that Archbishop Sheldon in 1665 had to send forth a circular letter to the bishops giving instructions (contained in a plethora of negatives) that 'no Bishop not being within his own proper diocese do not at any time hereafter confer orders upon any person without Licence first obtained from us.'[5] The coming and going of men who were succumbing, some 'after great professions and high professions to y^e^ contrary,' to the importunities of 'want and Freinds'[6] and the instincts of self-interest set up a new agitation in the minds of the faithful few who hitherto had stood firm. A month after Taylor's return from London the Worthenbury minister spent altogether sixteen hours in Chester arguing with Dr. Henry Bridgeman, partly over the altered position at Bangor and its annexed chapels under the September Act and partly (although this does not find actual expression)

1 Petn. for Peace and Concord (Docts., pp. 186-187).
2 Philip Henry: Diaries, p. 78, sub 18 February.
3 Samuel Palmer: Noncon. Mem., III, pp. 481-482. Curiously, there is no evidence of this Fogg's actual re-ordination.
4 Philip Henry: Diaries, p. 74 (sub 3 January, 1661—return of Taylor from London).
5 Prof. Lyon Turner: Orig. Records of Nonconformity, III, p. 62.
6 Philip Henry: Diaries, p. 94—sub 29 August, 1661.

over the ethics of conforming, but he 'return'd as far from any result or determination as w[n] I went thither.'[1] When ten days later he was again at the cathedral city, the distracting debate went on—Bridgeman now being reinforced by Dr. Baldwin, the chancellor of the diocese. Without conformity, they said, his preferment was gone; they solemnly asked him if his wisdom was greater than that of the King and the whole bench of bishops.[2] Three days after this, the Presbyterian ministers of Flint had their ordinary meeting at Hanmer, which was wholly given up to discourse about the [moral] lawfulness of conforming; the cautious Henry was 'at present' of the mind it ought not to be submitted to, 'the former being sufficient.'[3] Richard Steele of Hanmer made a visit to London in March, which saw him, not emulating the surrender of Taylor, but strengthened in his resolve to remain outside the jurisdiction of the bishops.[4] Henry and he had some hours' talk on the vexed question; this, together with the frank avowal of R[obert] B[icklys]—one of his chief members and Judge Puleston's old bailiff—that he would rather see his beloved minister leaving the district than conforming, considerably heartened him at a difficult time.[5] In August, however, Steele and Henry were again in great doubt what to do[6]; in October, two days after his farewell sermons, several (ministers, presumably) 'came to advise with the latter about [the] Common Prayer [Book]'[7]; a compliant 'uncle' pointed out the promotions he would forego by his stubbornness[8]; and a conformist 'cosin' would have it that whatever our magistrate commands (which the Word doth not forbid) it is our duty to obey[9]—all insufficient to move the Presbyterian. The end of the diary for 1661 has a detached entry quoting the opinion of a Puritan minister from Chester that though ordination by presbyters might not be legal yet it was evangelical[10]; with this no doubt Henry agreed, and after many early misgivings held to

1 Diaries, p. 77—sub February 4 [and 5], 1661.
2 Ibid. p. 78—sub February 15.
3 Ibid. p. 78—sub 18 February, 1661.
4 Ibid. p. 81—sub 21 March ('return'd from London').
5 Ibid. p. 90—sub 9 July.
6 Ibid. p. 93—sub 22 August.
7 Ibid. p. 98—sub 29 October.
8 Ibid. p. 101—sub 2 December.
9 Ibid. p. 117—sub 21 May, 1662. The 'uncle' was Edwards of Eyton, and the 'cosin' Thomas Hotchkis[s]—both relatives of Henry's *wife*.
10 Diaries, p. 106.

it with unswerving tenacity until his death. These persistent arguments in favour of conforming were not addressed to the Presbyterians of Flint alone but to Independents like John Powell of St. Lythans who was offered by Dr. Hugh Lloyd of Llandaff, according to Calamy's editor, the choice of two places if he would submit to episcopal ordination[1]; like John Evans of Henllan in Cardiganshire who, 'though his acquired furniture was not remarkable,' was much tempted in a similar way, a rich parsonage being dangled before him by its patron, David Lloyd Gwyn, a prominent squire in the neighbourhood[2]; like the illiterate tailor John Davies of Llangattock (who seems to have been a mixture of Baptist and Independent), since a collation of three depositions in this interminable Exchequer case make it clear that if he would conform his peculiar ideas about the proper members of the Christian church and his carelessness over the baptism of infants and the burying of the dead would be forgiven him.[3] How delighted Philip Henry would have been to hear that Davies had gone on 15 May, 1660, to be ordained by the presbyters of Hereford![4]

Before long this comparatively cursory[5] ceremony of re-ordination had, when the full apparatus of the bishops' power was revived and re-enacted by the Cavalier Parliament and the authority of the central courts (always the most meticulous sticklers for the continuity of the royal jurisdiction) had been readjusted into their old grooves, to be completed by the '*second admission*' of the Puritan minister. A writ in the name of the King was issued by the Barons of the Exchequer to the particular Bishop asking him to give a full account of the circumstances under which the minister was readmitted to the living. On its receipt, we are told in the Latin return of the Bishop, the episcopal registers and archives were exhaustively examined, 'every legal way and manner diligently and accurately resorted to,' for the details and certificates (which the minister must have already exhibited)

1 Noncon. Mem., III, 503.
2 Noncon. Mem., III, 496.
3 Depositions of William David Thomas of Llanelly, William Edwards and William Thomas of Llangattock (Exch. Dep., Mixed Cos. (Brec. & Rad.), No. 8, Hilary, 15 & 16 Chas II).
4 Supra, pp. 327-328.
5 Dr. Stoughton, quoting Clarendon's 'Continuation,' represents it as merely taking this form—'If thou hast not been already ordained, then I do ordain, etc.' (The Church of the Restoration, I, pp. 234-235).

of the Puritan's original appointment,—' modo ut prefertur ' or ' modo et formâ usurpatis.' Then followed an account of the readmission, ' canonice et rite . . . pleno iure,' the date and a declaration that, as far as the Bishop knew or had heard, the minister had not ceased supervising the pastorate to which he had been so illegally intruded, nor had resigned it to the Bishop's hands nor to those of any other Ordinary. These statements were all-important in face of the ' actual possession ' demanded by Clauses I and XV of the September Act and of the non-interrupted continuity which alone would warrant the Barons in not demanding a *second* payment of the composition for first-fruits (due on specified ' appointed days' so circumspectly observed by the late Puritan authorities '). All this information on the Bishop's certificate was transferred by the Barons to the remembrancer of the First Fruits office, who proceeded in a very solemn manner to calculate the new conformist's debt to the Exchequer.[1] then recapitulated the story of the minister as told by the Bishop, and finally exonerated him from further payment (not, however, before the conformist had sued for it formally ' in propriâ personâ ' before the Barons[2]). This was the very involved and troublesome process—the Bishop quoting almost verbatim the terms of the Exchequer mandate and the Exchequer officials re-writing in full the return of the Bishop—of carrying out a compact clause of the Act of Oblivion which legalised all compositions for first fruits within a period closed by 24 June, 1660; none of the Welsh ministers seemed to have been lucky enough to get their arrears (depending from 1658 to 1660) included in the £7,582 11s. 4d. that were ' released ' by the same Act.[3] Lip-service is paid in some of the certificates to the corroboration of title given by the Act of 1660; but far more important is the insistence that the intruding minister followed next after the last and legal Anglican incumbent (if not, an ejected minister might possibly be alive who would very effectively

1 For Boughrood, *e.g.*, the remembrancer cast the account thus :—

(*a*) Value of living	= £12	6	8	
(*b*) Tenth thereof	= 1	4	8	
(*c*) To pay	= £11	2	0	(exonerated).

(Sec. Adms., Part VI, No. 247, Mich., 14 Chas. II).

2 *E.g.*, ' venit hic in propriâ personâ prefatus Hugo Humphreyes et petit exonerationem predictae summae ' (Sec. Adms., Pt. I, No. 2, Trin., 14 Chas. II).

3 Declared Acct., Audit Office, Bundle 1216, roll 89.

traverse any 'second admission'). This happened to be true in all those Exchequer cases in which special consideration is attached to this aspect except in that of Lewis of Llanfaethlu, where no less than three Puritan interlopers followed the John Griffith who died on 5 July, 1648, and are described as 'successive eandem Rectoriam possiderunt et usurpaverunt.'[1] These 'second admissions' curiously describe Hugh Humphreys as approved by the Triers for Llaneigrad in 1658 on the death of the John Payne ejected in 1650,[2] although the Anglesey sheriff for 1651-1652 refer to him as 'sithence dead' in February of the latter year[3]; and John Roberts as acceding to Llanrhaiadr D.C. in 1654[4] upon the decease of Dr. William Hill in 1650 (whose death, drily but albeit dramatically vouched for in this admission entry, followed within three weeks of the 'dejection' caused by the C.P.G.W. in depriving him of this preferment).[5] In those cases where the Puritan institution took place before 'Pride's Purge,' there is no such reference to the old incumbents; nor do the Bishops, judging from the Nantmel and Llanfechain inaccuracies referred to below, appear to have been too particular in testing the original grants; the certificate of Rice Powell of Boughrood[6] nowhere mentions the name of the previous vicar, Richard Aubrey, who was instituted there in May 1630[7] and who was evidently dead before 1658—the year when Powell was approved for work there by the Triers. Of the eight who make up the subjoined list of 'second admissions,' Lewis of Llanfaethlu has already been summoned to illustrate the practice of Puritan pluralism in the Talybolion hundred,[8] and Pierce of Llanfairfechan served to supply the silences of the Lambeth MSS. and to increase the number of Puritan ministers appointed during the Protectorate.[9] Certainly the most interesting character among them is the forementioned Powell of Boughrood, the young man (he was on his own evidence only 'about 30 years of age'

1 Sec. Adms., Part I, No. 1, Easter, 14 Chas. II.
2 H.P.M., p. 115.
3 Exch. First Fruits Ret., Anglesey, 1651-2 (Exchequer Miscellanea).
4 Sec. Adms., Part III, No. 68, Easter, 14 Chas. II.
5 (*a*) Ejected at Wrexham Session—20 August, 1650 (Rawl. c. 261, Rep., [20]).
(*b*) Death as testified by Roberts' admission—'decimo die Septembris A° domini, 1650.'
6 Almost invariably spelt 'Boughroyd' in contemporary MSS.
7 Lib. Inst., St. David's, f. 61.
8 Supra, p. 35.
9 Supra, p. 43.

at the beginning of 1664) who as peregrinating schoolmaster and factious minister gave so much trouble to 'farmers' of tithes and receivers of the Trustees. By 1664 he has assumed the airs of a true conformist as one of the deponents in the Llangattock tithe case[1] (as a kinsman of the deceased Richard Powell of Glasbury, who for a short time ministered also in that parish): he says he had the keeping for some period of the elder Powell's certificate from the Triers, remotely referred to as 'some instrument from some commissioners in London called approvers.'[2] knowing at the same time that his own qualification for the retention of Boughrood had depended three years before on his producing a similar document issued by the same authority. And his memory was so conveniently short about the Puritan régime of a few years previous as to say that ministers' salaries were paid by the Protectorate commissioners for ejecting scandalous clergy, 'as they then phrased it,' and not by the officials of the Trustees whom he had particularly pertinent reasons for remembering. Nor are the facts about Thomas Foulkes of Llanfechain,[3] as detailed by him (and the Bishop), very consonant with other records. The Journals of the House of Lords are explicit that on 21 April, 1647, he was *ordered* to be inducted to that Montgomeryshire living[4]; the 'second admission' document says he was actually inducted *ten days before*. As to this being done 'ad presentationem illustrissimi principis Caroli primi (bonae memoriae),' such a loyal touch forgets the entry in the same Journals that Foulkes was presented by the Puritan Commissioners for the Great Seal on condition that he took the Covenant (which, by the way, had been ostentatiously burnt by the common hangman months before his 'second admission'). And it is to the advantage of the higher lights of Puritanism that these records prove conclusively that the Robert Powell re-admitted to the rectory of Nantmel and the chapelry of Llanhir was not the Propagation Approver of that name whose widow Rose was compensated by the C.P.G.W. to the extent of £70 in 1650.[5] The Nantmel conformist protested that he had been originally inducted to the living on 27

1 Exch. Dep., Mixed Cos. (Brecon & Radnor), No. 8, Hilary, 15 and 16 Chas. II.
2 To be precise, the Triers were never officially styled 'approvers'; that term was restricted to the 25 ministers named in the Propagation Act.
3 'Llanverchen' in the Lords' Journals; 'Llanvechen' in the Second Admissions.
4 L. J., IX, p. 146.
5 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 60.

November, 1644, and had soon afterwards compounded for his first fruits with the King [Charles I]—this in total disregard of the testimony of the Lords' Journals under 27 November, 1648, that Powell was to receive institution as soon as possible to the rectory then void by death[1] (presumably of the David Davies admitted there on 26 August, 1641[2]) and of the natural corollary that his dues would be payable, not to the King, but to the particular Exchequer department re-adjusted under Puritan auspices. Did these discovered prevarications of the Nantmel rector explain why the episcopal certificate was not returned until 16 June, 1682, in the fifth year of the consecration of a new Bishop of St. David's who succeeded the Restoration bishop and that the case was not finally settled until the Trinity term of that year—nearly twenty years after the last of the other conformist Puritans had been exonerated?[3] These inconsistencies occur in the certificates of men admittedly Puritan. The case of John Williams of Devynnock proceeds along the same course—an original appointment made during 'predicto tempore seditionis ultimae commotae,' composition for first-fruits, re-admission by the Bishop, writ, certificate, exoneration.[4] But a closer examination of the documents referring to him reveals a situation unique even in a time of unique anomalies. The old Anglican incumbent of Devynnock died on 20 March, 1659-60,[5] and within *four* days afterwards Williams had been approved by the Triers for the vacant living, the last appointment of the kind in Wales and probably in England (he does not figure in Mr. Shankland's list,[6] nor is there any reference to him found in the surviving records at Lambeth). This three months' Puritan was confirmed in his title by the King on 3 July, 1660,[7] but was not officially readmitted by the Bishop till 31 Jan., 166$\frac{1}{2}$.[8] The strong probability that this

1 L. J., X, 611. By some mischance both Dr. Shaw (II, App. IIc, p. 362) and Mr. Shankland in Seren Gomer (Nov., 1901, p. 319) give the date as *25 November*—there is no mistaking the *27 November* of the Lords' Journals.

2 Lib. Inst., St. David's, f. 62.

3 This explanation is not without its disadvantages, but it is the only one that suggests itself to the writer.

4 Second Admissions, Part I, No. 22.
(*a*) Writ from Exchequer, dated 27 Nov., 1662.
(*b*) Certificate from Bp. of St. David's, dated 14 Jan., 1662-1663.
(*c*) Remembrancer's report and exoneration, Hilary Term, 14-15 Chas. II.

5 Name not given on Bp.'s Cert.; he was Walter Watkins, ejected in 1650 (H.P.M., p. 122).

6 Seren Gomer, Nov., 1901, p. 321.

7 Pat. Rolls, 12 Charles II, Part 1, No. 420.

8 Bishops' Certifs., File 13 (St. David's)—Sched. 20 April, 1661—20 April, 1662.

John Williams was the same as the vicar of Llywel of that name instituted there on 13 April, 1640,[1] found in possession by the Puritan surveyors of Bishops' Lands on 19 October, 1649,[2] and not apparently at any time ejected from that living, is made absolutely certain by his own deposition in an Exchequer case of 1663-1664 that about twenty-two years ago he was settled at Llywel and about four years ago at Devynnock.[3] It is corroborated still further by the plurality return of Bishop Lucy in 1665 that not only did John Williams hold these two livings, but the prebend of Trallwng in the collegiate church of Brecon as well—keeping altogether two curates, he himself 'living on his own estate [at Llywel] hard by, but now is going to live in his vicarage house being newly repaired.'[4] The Bishop also brings to light that he was the John Williams who moreover held the rectory of Llandyssul (sinecure) in Cardigan,[5] for the possession of which he had fought a long but successful battle with another cleric who could plead an order to be instituted there from the Puritan Lords in 1647[6] (only to be ejected therefrom by the C.P.G.W. as a pluralist). To give the name of Puritan to such an aggressive pluralist, who made such indecent haste to acquire the living of Devynnock[7] and utilised the approval of the Triers to secure the vantage-ground of the King's new presentation, would reduce this list into an absurdity. The 'second admissions,' besides suffering from the prevarications of so-called Puritans and from the fallacy of interpreting the Devynnock exoneration as a symbol of a former conformity to Puritan standards, are complicated by the appearance among them of Thomas Lewis of Llanfeugian, officially instituted there by a former Bishop of St. David's in September

1 Lib. Inst., St. David's, f. 47.
2 Lamb. 905, f. 55.
3 Exch. Bills & Answers, Brecon, No. 13, Hilary, 15 & 16 Chas. II.
4 Lamb. 639, f. 334.
5 Ibid. 'he holds also the rectory of Llandissell in the county of Cardigan, a sine curâ.'
6 This was Edward Vaughan, ordered to be instituted on 23 Aug., 1647 (L.J., IX, 401). "Williams and Vaughan contest about the title and Williams carried it in Law untill 1649 [-50] and enjoyed it' (Lamb. 1027, Entry 35–declaration of Howell Phillips, petty constable of Llandyssul, in 1662). Vaughan was not without his compensation at the Restoration, being made Archdeacon of Cardigan on 27 Aug., 1660. (Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 4, Nos. 176, 177; also Lamb. 1027 supra).
7 At first sight, this looks like putting the case too strongly against Williams and bordering on a fallacy. Could not the Propagators between 1650 and 1653 have appointed a new minister vice Watkins, or the Triers from 1654 to 1660? Did the four days allow sufficient time for W. to get the necessary certificates in the country *and get approved in London?* But if he be set free from this charge, he is suddenly impaled upon another—that of setting his candidature in motion *before* the death of the old incumbent (Watkins being an ejected Anglican, and Williams an undoubted Anglican at heart).

1635[1] and ejected before Propagation times,[2] one who never compromised in the slightest degree with the Puritan powers—as witness his co-operation with other Brecknock Anglicans in addressing acrimonious letters to Jenkin Jones in 1654.[3] For some mysterious reason—seeing that he could claim restitution under the Act of September—he was *re*-presented by his old patron Edward Kemeys to the old living in 1663 and re-admitted by the Bishop, and had to plead in the Exchequer that he had compounded for his first fruits twenty-eight years before.[4] Then comes the so-called second entry of Thomas Bevan to the vicarage of Llandilofawr, he being first admitted there in 1665[5]; the excusing of first fruits to Griffith Hatley of Abereskir for the prebend of Llanddarog as if he were a conformist Puritan minister who was exonerated from payment under the Act of Oblivion[6]; the difficulties of a John Prichard first admitted to the rectory of Prendergast on 13 July, 1667[7]; and the complications over the rectory of Stackpole Elidir explained in answer to a writ of the Barons dated 14 June in the 28th regnal year of Charles II.[8] None of these bear the remotest relation to the re-admission of Puritan ministers into the new establishment in the first years after the Restoration; like the opportunist, they will be ruthlessly eliminated from the accompanying list. On the other hand, room will be found for Morgan Williams of Letterston; it is true that he was not officially readmitted by the Bishop until nearly a month after the Act of Uniformity came into operation, but the Patent Rolls testify that his title had been confirmed by the King six months before.[9]

1 Lib. Inst., St. David's, f. 45.
2 MS. J. Walker, e. 7, f. 214.
3 True and Perfect Relation, pp. 50-52.
4 Sec. Adms., Part I, No. 23, Hilary, 15-16 Chas. II.
5 Ib. Part II, No. 45, Hilary, 20-21 Chas. II.
6 Ib. Part II, No. 44, Trinity, 16 Chas. II.
7 Ib. Part VI, No. 245, Hilary, 25-26 Chas. II.
8 Ib. Part VI, No. 246, Easter, 29 Chas. II.
9 15 March, 1661-1662 (Pat. Rolls, 14 Chas. II, Pt. 19, No. 232).

SECOND ADMISSIONS.

Minister Re-admitted	Date of Original Puritan Appointment.	Date of Re-admission on Bishops' Files.	Date of Barons' Writ to Bishop.	Date of Bishops' Certif. to Barons.	Living to which Minister was Re-admitted	References.—Sec. Adm. Rec., giving term of Legal Year when Exoneration was completed.
Foulkes, Thomas	11 April, 1647	8 Nov., 1661	18 June, 1662	1 Aug., 1662	Llanfechain	Part V, No. 191, Michaelmas, 14 C. II.
Humphreys, Hugh	21 April, 1658	20 Aug., 1662	26 Nov., 1662	24 Jan., 1661-2	Llaneigrad	Part I, No. 2, Trinity, 14 Chas. II.
Lewis, William ..	31 July, 1657	25 Sept., 1661	27 Nov., 1661	25 Jan., 1661-2	Llanfaethlu	Part I, No. 1, Easter, 14 Chas. II.
Pierce, Griffith .	10 June, 1654	8 July, 1661	3 June, 1662	29 Sept., 1662	Llanfair feehan	Part II, No. 46, Mich., 14 Chas. II.
Powell, Rice ..	17 June, 1658	19 Feb., 1660-1	10 June, 1662	10 Oct., 1662	Boughrood	Part VI, No. 247, Mich., 14 Chas. II.
Powell, Robert ..	27 Nov., 1644	3 March, 1660-1	27 May, 1682	16 June, 1682	Nantmel	Part VI, No. 248, Trin., 34 Chas. II.
Roberts, John ..	15 May, 1654	20 Sept., 1661	28 Nov., 1661	25 Jan., 1661-2	Llanrhaiadr D.C.	Part III, No. 68, Easter, 14 Chas. II.
Williams, Morgan	18 January, 1646-1647	19 Sept., 1662	8 July, 1663	10 Oct., 1663	Letterston	Part VI, No. 243, Hil., 15-16, Chas. II.

There are only eight bundles or ' parts ' of such admissions for the whole country, and the entries relating to Wales—even when the irrelevant Anglican cases, the Devynnock exoneration, and two ' second admissions ' made *after* the added pressure of the Bartholomew interdict[1] are all included—only number 16. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that these, keeping in view the fact that three of the eight in the last list have already figured in the Patent Roll columns,[2] are only a very small representation of the total number of conformists and a scanty survival of lost re-admission certificates. This is fully borne out by other certificates issued in the ordinary course to the First Fruits office by the bishops,[3] by later returns made by the same prelates to the Archbishop's interrogatories, by contemporary diarists, and by stray entries on the Patent Rolls or in the Tanner MSS. The following list speaks of Puritan ministers originally appointed between 1642 and 1660 who were admitted by the bishops (with no corresponding proof among the ' Second Admissions ') to continue their ministrations in the SAME living after subscription to the 39 Articles and assent to the service of the Common Prayer Book. Of these Richard Taylor of Holt and Dr. John Ellis of Dolgelly demand extended notice. The former, though submitting to re-ordination at the end of 1660, was again ' hindered ' in Sept. 1661,[4] only to be restored to his old work once more by the new Bishop of Chester, Dr. Bryan Walton (the learned editor of the ' Polyglott ' Bible).[5] The name of the Dolgelly divine is mysteriously absent from all rolls, admissions, and schedules, but the press of arguments in favour of his conformity is irresistible: the ' succincta Responsio ' in defence and explanation of the Anglican articles and a new version of them published in the year of the Restoration[6]; Rowland Vaughan's panegyric written two years before that[7]; and the fact that on his death as rector of Dolgelly (to which living he had been appointed

1 Infra, pp. 484-485.
2 Supra, p. 438—Rice Powell, Robert Powell, and Morgan Williams.
3 As far as the files and schedules of the bishops are concerned, there is not the slightest distinction made between Puritan conformists who figure among the Second Admissions and those who do not. The point here made is that all these were at some time ' secondly ' admitted.
4 Philip Henry: Diaries, p. 95—sub 8 Sept.
5 Ibid. Ibid. p. 96—sub 22 Sept.
6 Dict. Nat. Biog., XVII, p. 283.
7 Charles Ashton: Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig, pp. 25-26.

by the Parliament's Commissioners of the Great Seal in November 1646)[1] he was succeeded by his kinsman Dr. Thomas Ellis, also presented under the Great Seal on 15 January, 1665-1666.[2] Like many another he had, said Anthony à Wood, 'sided with all parties and taken all oaths.' Before presenting a list containing the Doctor's name, it is necessary to ask whether Hugh Edwards of Llangadog in Carmarthen, presented to that vicarage and the neighbouring chapelry of Llanddeusant by the Lords in 1648,[3] was a piebald Puritan of similar type. There is not a word of him in Calamy's list of suffering ministers nor in Bishop Lucy's account of nonconformist preachers in 1665 (he might have been ejected, for all that); his name does not figure on the Patent Rolls, nor in the Second Admissions, nor among the Bishop's first-fruits certificates (he might have conformed, notwithstanding); he was living at Llangadog in 1672 and did not take out a licence under the Declaration (the Five Mile Act did not banish all ejected ministers from their old parishes, and very many sturdy Puritans looked askance at the Indulgence); he was a pious Welshman who was of great help to Stephen Hughes in bringing out his edition of the New Testament in 1672[4] (but Dr. William Thomas, Precentor of St. David's and Dean of Worcester, received an equal meed of praise from the apostle of Carmarthenshire); to crown this inconclusiveness, the parish registers of Llangadog begin in 1750, Llanddeusant in 1784. Not so the census returns of 1676, for they say that the two parishes between them boasted 1,348 sound conformists, and not one sectary[5]; whether Edwards was alive in that year or no, whether he in fact supplied that report or no, it does not speak very highly of a virile Puritan tradition in the valley of the Towy. Such testimony, however, is not direct enough to put him down as a Puritan conformist in 1660-1662.

1 L. J., VIII, p. 565.
2 Pat. Rolls, 17 Charles II, Part 3, No. 25.
3 H.P.M., p. 66.
4 John Ballinger: The Bible in Wales, p. 33.
5 Salt MS. 2112, f. 389.

Conforming Minister.	Living.	Date of Re-ordination or Admission.	MSS. Reference or other Authority.
DIOCESES OF ST. ASAPH AND CHESTER.			
Brigdale, William ..	Llanrwst ..	25 March, 1661 ..	Bishops' Certifs., St. Asaph, File 14.
Fogg, Lawrence ..	Hawarden ..	[soon after the Restoration]	Noncon. Mem., III, pp. 481-482.
Fogg, Orlando ..	Overton ..	Feb., 1660-1661 ..	Henry: Diaries, p. 78.
Hughes, Richard ..	Gwytherin ..	29 Dec., 1660 ..	Bishops' Certifs., St. Asaph, File 14.
Jones, John ..	Llanycil ..	9 Feb., 1660-1 ..	ib. ib. ib.
Jones, Thomas ..	Llansantffraid in Edeyrnion ..	17 Jan., 1660-1 ..	ib. ib. ib.
Price, Hugh ..	Llanllwchaiarn ..	1 May, 1661 ..	ib. ib. ib.
Pugh, Henry ..	Abergele ..	30 May, 1662 ..	ib. ib. ib.
Kyffin, David ..	Llanyblodwel ..	25 Sept., 1661 ..	ib. ib. ib.
Savage, Andrew ..	Llanbrynmair ..	1 Aug., 1662 ..	ib. ib. ib.
Taylor, Richard ..	Holt[1] ..	22 Sept., 1661 ..	Henry, Diaries, p. 96.
Vaughan, John ..	Llanf. yng Ngwynfa ..	7 Nov., 1661 ..	Bishops' Certifs., St. Asaph, File 14.
DIOCESE OF BANGOR.			
Ellis, Dr. John ..	Dolgelly ..	[exact date unknown] ..	Evidences on pp. 454-455.
Evans, Thomas ..	Trawsfynydd ..	2 May, 1661 ..	Bishops' Certifs., Bangor, File 1.
Hughes, Owen ..	Llangefni ..	14 Dec., 1660 ..	ib. ib. ib.
Owen, Morris ..	Llanystumdwy ..	3 May, 1661 ..	ib. ib. ib.
Pugh, Hugh ..	Llanbedr D. Clwyd ..	[exact date unknown] ..	Bodl. MS. Add. c. 302, f. 153.[2]
Rowlands, Rice ..	Aberffraw ..	[exact date unknown] ..	Tanner MS. xlv, 21.
Thomas, Humphrey ..	Llandanwg ..	20 Aug., 1662 ..	Bishops' Certifs., Bangor, File 1.
DIOCESE OF ST. DAVID'S.			
Davies, John ..	Lawrenny ..	18 Jan., 1660-1661 ..	Bishops' Certifs., St. David's, File 13.
Howell, James ..	Llandebie ..	11 April, 1661 ..	ib. ib. ib.
Payne, Richard ..	Kerry ..	[exact date unknown] ..	Lamb. 639, f. 335.
Williams, David ..	Henry's Moat ..	[exact date unknown] ..	ib. f. 333.

1 Diocese of Chester.

2 This document (one of the Dolben Papers) proves that in April 1666 Pugh joined other Anglican clergy and county gentlemen in advancing the claims of Dr. Robert Morgan to be Bishop of Bangor at the death of Dr. William Roberts,

Now must follow a parallel list of conforming Puritans who for various reasons were not admitted to their old spheres; these names have been restricted to those where the evidence, apart from the mere similarities of their spelling, is strong enough to assume that they were one and the same person. With these will be included one or two expropriated masters of Puritan free schools (lapsed for lack of maintenance) who were ready to accept the Anglican yoke. It may be said that a schoolmaster of Barnet had petitioned the King for a living as early as July 1660[1]; not only, however, had he been twice in danger of his life (so he says) on account of his loyalty to the Royal cause, but about the middle of August 1662 his petition had not been hearkened to.[2] The two ex-Puritan schoolmasters mentioned below had a less adventurous record than William S[c]later of Barnet and more of the favours of fortune. The bracketed double entries opposite the names of Wm. Smith and Rowland Lloyd will be discussed later.

1 Cal. St. Papers, 1660-1661, p. 126.

2 Tanner MS. XLVIII. 126. 'Mr. Slater a Schoolmaster at Barnet hath been commended to mee, for an Able and Honest man' (Dr. Thomas Turner to Dr. John Barwick, Dean of St. Pauls —18 Aug., 1662).

Conforming Minister.	Old Living.	New Living(s).	Date of Admission.	MS. References or other Authority.
DIOCESE OF ST. ASAPH.				
Edwards, Robert	Holywell	Whitford	30 Oct., 1661	Bishops' Certs., File 14.
Smith, William	Llanasa	Whitford	3 April, 1661	ib. ib.
		Wrexham	26 Sept., 1661	ib. ib.
DIOCESE OF BANGOR.				
Lloyd, Rowland	Amlwch	Llanllyfni	13 Feb., 1660-1	Bishops' Certs., File 1.
		Llaneilian	20 Oct., 1661	ib. ib.
Maurice, Henry	Criccieth	Meyllteyrn	8 April, 1661	ib. ib.
Prytherch, Wm.	Llaneilian	Llanllyfni	20 Oct., 1661	ib. ib.
Williams, Rice	Llangynhafal	Llanfachreth (Anglesey)	19 Sept., 1660	ib. ib.
DIOCESE OF LLANDAFF.				
Davies, Rees	Flemingston	Michelston-le-Pit	May, 1661[1]	ib. File 10.
Davies, Rice	Puritan schr.—St. Mary Hill.	Radyr	24 Sept., 1661	ib. ib.
DIOCESE OF ST. DAVID'S.				
Bowen, Walter	Llanf.-ar-Arth	Ystrad	10 Feb., 1661-2	ib. File 13.
Evans, Thomas	Ystrad	Bettws Bledrws	17 April, 1661	ib. ib.
Lewis, Jenkin	Puncheston	Llanychaer	23 Aug., 1662	ib. ib.
Matthews, Mordecai	Llancarfan	Rinaldston	16 April, 1661	ib. ib.
Lloyd, Jenkin[2]	Llanrhystyd	Ystrad	8 July, 1661	ib. ib.
Meyrick, Peter	Puritan schr.—Swansea	Llandilo Talybont	Feb., 1661-2[3]	ib. ib.
Rice, John	Henllan Amgoed	Mydrim	11 April, 1661	ib. ib.
DIOCESE OF SALISBURY.				
Flower, Benjamin	Cardiff	Castle Combe (Wilts.)	1660-1662	Calamy: Acct., II, 731; Gordon: Freedom, 265-266.

1 Date illegible.
2 He must always be carefully distinguished from *Dr. Jenkin Lloyd* of Llangoedmor.
3 Exact date not given.

In some respects the last on the list, the Quaker-harassed minister who was not an unworthy worker in Erbery's former sphere, is the most arresting figure; we are told that on his removal under the Act of September, he became curate to his father at his old home, only to suffer ejection again within two years.[1] No light can be thrown on the two Ystrad admissions in such close proximity of time, but the inference from the Bangor schedules as to the dual induction at Llanllyfni leaves not much room for doubt that an interchange was effected. On the probable death of William Lloyd, the old restored incumbent of Llaneilian in Anglesey, Rowland Lloyd was admitted to the rectory (his Trier living of Amlwch being 'parcel of the possessions' of the Bishop of Bangor as Archdeacon of Anglesey) and on the same day—20 Oct., 1661—William Prytherch, the Puritan conforming minister of Llaneilian, was collated by the Bishop to the living of Llanllyfni held by the aforesaid Rowland Lloyd for barely eight months.[2] Again, on 10 September, 1660, the old rector of Llanfachreth in Anglesey, Robert Lloyd, is transferred to Llangynhafal in Denbigh, making room for the admission nine days later to Llanfachreth of the Rice Williams who had held the Denbighshire living for nearly six years.[3] But the problem presented when the dispossessed Anglican insisted on being restored to all his ancient interests and when the Puritan in possession decided to conform was not easy of solution by mere interchange. Two cases in the diocese of St. Asaph afford illustrations of this difficulty. The return of Richard Evans to Llanasa and of Evan Lloyd to Holywell meant the removal of two Puritans, both of whom conformed. The first, William Smith, received the living of Whitford on 3 April, 1661, and was promoted to Wrexham (26 Sept.) at the death of the old vicar, Rowland Owan; it was only then—on 30 October—that Robert Edwards of Holywell found an open door into the new order at Whitford.[4] In the cases of Hubberston and Eglwyswrw, both in Pembrokeshire and both livings in the legal gift of the Crown, pressure was brought upon the old incumbents,

1 infra, pp. 498-499.
2 Bishops' Certifs., File 1 (Bangor)—Schedule 20 Apr.—20 Oct., 1661.
cp. Schedule 20 Apr., 1660—20 Apr., 1661.
3 Ibid. ibid. Schedule 20 Apr., 1660—20 Apr., 1661.
4 Ibid. File 14 (St. Asaph)—first and second schedules.

both unejected Anglicans during Puritan times, to 'cede' their rights to make way for two conforming Puritans, Thomas Freeman and Richard Harris.[1] The rivalries of two conformists and the final ejection of a third who refused to conform are exemplified over the Montgomery nodus. Rushworth would have been able to claim the living under the Act of September as the old rector Dr. Coote had died about 1647.[2] But three months before this (on 11 June, 1660), Roger Jones, the pseudo-Puritan incumbent of Llanerfyl, presented there by the Lords of the Long Parliament on condition of his subscribing the Covenant and sequestered for two years by the C.P.G.W. until he was restored on appeal[3] to the C.P.M. in London, had succeeded in obtaining a grant of Montgomery from the King, a grant so worded—'vice Dr. Coote deceased'—as to ignore both the claim and the existence of Rushworth.[4] As the latter was one of those who had some hopes of a concordat emanating from London, he accepted in the following September the rectory of Gladestry in Radnor, thus knowingly, or unknowingly, driving out the Trier nominee there, Lewis Price.[5] As to David Kyffin, the Puritan minister of Llanyblodwel, he must have been both prudent and popular. Within eight days of the passing of the September Act which would sooner or later drive him from that Salop interest on account of the survival of the old Anglican Tanat, he had been presented by the King to be vicar of Ysceifiog in Flint as understudy to the sinecure rector Evan Lloyd.[6] However, when the Bishop of St. Asaph promoted Tanat to the vicarage of Llansilin in August 1661, his successor at Llanyblodwel was no other than the conformist Kyffin.[7] A different case, and one that stands by itself before the Act of Uniformity, is that of Thomas Hilliard of Newton Nottage: he conformed as far as to receive corroboration of title from the King, but in a little more than a year another rector is admitted in his stead by the Bishop of Llandaff, proving that Calamy's

1 Supra, p. 442. It looks uncommonly like one of these 'ceding' clergymen (Philip Bowen of Eglwyswrw) being presented under the Great Seal to the rectory of Llanfihangel Penbedw on 25 May, 1661 (Pat. Rolls, 13 Chas. II, Pt. 47, No. 228).
2 Exch. Ret., Mont., April 1658, 119.
3 For these steps in his career, see H.P.M., pp. 65, 119, 138 (and n. 7).
4 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 448.
5 Supra, p. 442.
6 Pat. Rolls, 12 Charles II, Part 1, No. 133.
7 Supra, p. 354.

statement—'ejected but conformed afterwards'[1]—ought to be phrased conversely. It was a marked contrast also to the ordination, 'hindering,' and the eventual restoration that fell to the lot of Richard Taylor at Holt.

A place has not been found in the latter lists, no more than in those based on the Patent Rolls, to include men who had been episcopally instituted before the war, afterwards succeeded in commending themselves to the good graces of the Puritan administrators, and after that are seen accommodating themselves with considerable ease to the new alignment of the Restoration. Such types were Evan Ellis, vicar of Pennant Melangell, whose continued existence and whose continued retention of that vicarage is proved by his promotion to Llangar[2] on 26 April, 1664, thus allowing the Bishop to admit a Cadwaladr Roberts to Pennant a few months later[3]; William Prichard of Manorbier who by 1665 is not only holding his old vicarage there, but the rectory of Hodgeston as well[4]; and John Brigdale of Llannefydd, whose particular good fortune was continued at the end of 1660 by his appointment to a 'canonicatus cursalis' at the Cathedral of St. Asaph.[5] Edward Wrinch also, although he signed the H.R.A. to Cromwell in 1656,[6] is kept out of the Puritan lists because there is no reliable evidence that he was in the ministry before the Restoration, and partly because the only other cleric boasting that surname in Wales—Simon Wrinch or Wrench—was ejected from the living of Llangammarch by the C.P.G.W.[7]; whether Edward was really related to the latter or no, he diplomatically forgot (and so did the Bishop) his compromising signature of five years before and was admitted to the vicarage of Caerleon in 1661, the rectory of Llangattock-juxta-Usk in 1662, and that of Panteg in 1670-71.[8]

The easy absorption of such men into the Restoration system was probably no food for wonder to those who knew

1 Account, II, p. 733.
2 'Llan*gwm*' in Hist. Dioc. St. Asaph (Archdcn. Thomas—1874 Ed.), p. 787. The spelling in the Schedule is quite clear.
3 Bishops' Certifs., File 14 (St. Asaph), Sched. 20 Oct., 1663—20 Oct., 1664.
4 Lamb. 639, f. 332.
5 Bishops' Certifs., File 14 (St. Asaph), Sched. 20 Apr., 1660—20 Apr., 1661.
6 p. 8.
7 MS. J. Walker, e. 7, f. 213b.
8 Bishops' Certifs., File 10 (Llandaff), Scheds. { (*a*) 20 Apr., 1660—20 Apr., 1661. (*b*) 20 Apr., —20 Oct., 1662. (*c*) 20 Oct., 1670 —20 Apr., 1671.

them best ; the almost unsatiated greed of restored Anglicans has been already discussed ; but it is a phenomenon not quite so easily explained and a dismal rebutter to the contentions of those historians who claim that the Puritan movement had thoroughly captured the imagination both of the ministers and the people of Wales to find conformists who had no official Anglican affinities entering with zest into the Anglican world of prebends and canonries and the other picturesque ramifications of pluralism. Samuel Edwards, the Trier nominee to Pwllycrochan, not only managed to defeat the petition of William Young to the Lords for the recovery of that living by seeking confirmation of his own title under the Great Seal[1] (a confirmation still further confirmed by Clause XXI of the Act of September), but one day before that Act was passed had also been presented by the King to the prebend of Llangan in the Cathedral church of St. David's[2] ; more reprehensible still, in 1665 the Bishop reports him as not living in Pembrokeshire at all, but ' in Worcester Diocess, where he has a curacy.'[3] Jenkin Lloyd, once Propagation ' approver ' and afterwards a Protectorate M.P., not only held his grip on the rectory of Llangoedmor, but acceded also to that of Llannerchllwydog ' wthin the distance of twenty miles,' keeping a curate at the latter place[4] ; he only lost the rectory of Llanfyrnach when the old Puritan minister, Thomas Owen, received presentation from the King on 29 June, 1662, cancelling a previous grant to Lloyd dated 10 Aug., 1661.[5] David James, settled at Cilrhedyn by the C.P.M. in 1646,[6] lived after 1660 at Carmarthen town and supervised from that centre, besides enjoying the prebend of Caerfarchell, the two curates who deputised him at the rectory of Cilrhedyn and the vicariate of Llanfynydd.[7] One can hardly imagine the Puritanism of James Howell, who after the Restoration added the vicarage of Abernant to that of Llandebie given him by the Triers,[8] to be very deep-seated, seeing that he was a near relative of the more famous James Howell (historiographer to Charles II

1 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 251.
2 Ib. ib. Part 4, Nos. 125, 126.
3 Lamb. 639, f. 332.
4 Lamb. 639, f. 333.
5 Cp. Pat. Rolls, 13 Chas. II, Part 47, No. 166 and 14 Chas. II, Part 19, No. 195.
6 H.P.M., p. 68.
7 Lamb. 639, f. 333.
8 Ib. f. 334.

and also hailing from Abernant[1]); he became so good a conformist as to make a desperate effort to persuade his godson, James Owen—Calamy's latter informant who was also a native of Abernant—to join the ranks of the establishment.[2] Other sometime Puritans who became pluralists in the same diocese were Owen Griffith, who held the rectories of Llandefaelog and Vaynor together with the prebend of Clyro[3]; and Richard Payne of Kerry in Montgomeryshire (which, the Bishop is careful to add, was in the diocese of St. David's) held in addition to that vicarage the prebend of Llansantffread in the collegiate church of Brecon.[4] The Bishop makes an evident effort to explain to his metropolitan how an old Puritan incumbent held in 1665 the vicarage of Ystrad and the rectory of Trefilan; the churches, he proceeds to say, are only about a mile distant from each other, 'were formerly united,' and Walter Bowen was resident (the one Puritan virtue associated with his name).[5] In the diocese of St. Asaph, six months before he was 'secondly admitted' to his own proper rectory of Llanfairfechan, Griffith Pierce had been admitted (24 December, 1660)—his name standing third in the first Restoration schedule—to the living of Nannerch in the deanery of Tegeingl, which he made his headquarters[6]; in 1665 the Bishop of St. Asaph has to report him in full possession of both, and gives him a place among the 'outlyer' pluralists who held livings in more than one diocese.[7] Roger Jones, once of Llanerfyl and whose worldly acumen at the Restoration has already received some notice in this chapter, made up for the revenue he lost during the two years when the Propagation sequestrators administered the profits of his living by enjoying soon after 1660 the rectory of Montgomery and the vicarage of Berriew[8]; the Bishop very properly describes him also as an 'outlyer' pluralist, the rectory of Montgomery town

1 Morrice: Wales in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 68-70.

2 Dr. Thomas Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon., p. 288.

3 Lamb. 639, f. 334. This, of course, assumes that Owen Griffith of Vaynor was the once Puritan minister of Glasbury, an assumption which cannot very easily be reconciled with two baptismal entries in the registers of the latter parish (supra, pp. 439-440).

4 Lamb, 639, f. 335; spelt 'Paine' in Lucy's return.

5 Ib. f. 333.

6 Bishops' Certifs., File 14 (St. Asaph), Sched. 20 Oct., 1660—20 Apr., 1661.

7 Lamb. 639, f. 303.

8 Admitted to Berriew, 16 April, 1661—File 14 (second schedule).

being annexed to the diocese of Hereford.[1] The records make Randolph Davies of Meifod a far more interesting character than either Pierce or Jones. He had been presented vicar there by the Puritan Commissioners of the Great Seal in April 1647, and there is an entry in the Lords' Journals ordering him to be inducted and instituted to Meifod, 'he taking the Covenant'[2]; that he did so and remained unsequestered (up to 1658, at least) is irrefragably proved by the Sheriff of the county—'Mr. Rondle Davies hath been vicar there since 1647 until the present time approved by the Assembly of Divines then sitting at Westminster and hath his order accordingly'[3]—a return which, based as it was on the testimony of contemporary jurors who had local knowledge and associations, very unceremoniously brushes aside the assertion of Archdeacon Thomas that Davies was deprived by Puritan ejectors as early as 1648[4] and the natural perplexity of J. C. Morrice over the Archdeacon's further statement that a Stephen Lewis was preferred to Meifod in 1649.[5] Further links in the same chain are the inclusion of 'Randulph Davies of Mivott' among the ministers 'that now are' in a list of Montgomeryshire clergy supplied by the sheriff Edward Corbett in February 165$\frac{1}{2}$[6], and his being numbered at the beginning of 1654 as one of the twelve unejected Anglican clergy in the same county.[7] In view of the fact that, as far as the records of paper and parchment go, Davies was a Puritan minister approved by Puritan divines and appointed by a Puritan body and thus having no episcopal antecedents, the marshalling of his name by Vavasor Powell's apologists to extenuate the rigours of the Propagation can only be explained by their work being produced in the heat of a controversy almost unexampled in its gloveless ferocity[8]; in reality, they

1 This requires correction. The Bishop *in*accurately places him with the 'inlyers.' Not only was the rectory of Montgomery not in the diocese of St. Asaph in 1665, its name is conspicuously absent from the present Archbishop of Wales' appendices of Asaph parishes in his 'Landmarks' of 1912 (see esp. App. D., pp. 282-287).

2 L.J., IX, 134. In the various records his Christian name suffers many transformations—Randall, Randulph, Randolph, Ralph, Rondle; he himself put it in Welsh as 'Rondl.'

3 Exch. Ret., Mont., Feb., 1657-8, 114. The Sheriff does not often indulge in commas.

4 Hist. Dioc. St. Asaph (1874), p. 781. The same view is persisted in in the revised edition.

5 Wales in the Seventeenth Century, p. 176.

6 Exch. First Fruits Ret. in answer to a writ of 28 Nov., 1651 . . . p. 4.

7 Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris, p. 15.

8 The point is worth emphasising that Vavasor's defenders in the 'Examen' name Davies as one of 12 Anglican clerics 'left unejected' in the county of Montgomery. He was not an Anglican clergyman at all, but a Puritan minister.

were arguing better than they knew. Those of them who survived until 1660 (and they all did) would hear that the vicar of Meifod had been confirmed in his old title by a grant under the Great Seal (25 August),[1] fully re-admitted by the Bishop on 13 August, 1661, and three months later invested with the sinecure rectory of Cwm in Flintshire.[2] Not only does the same Bishop describe him in 1665 as in full possession of both interests,[3] but we have also the wording of the long title-page to a book of 237 pages written by him ten years after that in which (based upon 1 John, IV, 1) the whilom Puritan proposes to try unholy spirits, expose the teachings of false prophets (by the help of the ancient writers), and prove that the several opinions of Presbyterians and Independents (besides those of Papists and Quakers) were directly opposed to the Holy Scriptures.[4] Indeed, what more (or better) was to be expected of a Lords' nominee who in the year after his first presentation was allied in marriage to Mary, daughter of John Williams of Llanfyllin, who had been twenty years rector there before he was ejected in the year Davies came to Meifod, and was the same John Williams who also lost the vicarage of Llanrhaiadr-ym-Mochnant and the sinecure rectory of Northop ?[5] Besides this somewhat extended revelation of the Meifod vicar's real self in 1660-1661, Owen Eyton did not object to derive the profits of rector *and* vicar at Corwen,[6] while another of the Brigdales, William, ought to be satisfied with a turn of fortune which, though it deprived him of the rectory of Llanrwst (which he had held for twelve years under the Puritans) in the interests of a Dr. Humphrey Otway who enjoyed several other preferments in England,[7] allowed him to keep the vicarage instead, perform the religious services at the Gwydyr hospital,[8] and some years later to be also admitted vicar of Llanbedr and Caerhun in the deanery of Arllechwedd.[9] John Foulkes, again, an undoubted Trier appointment to Llangadfan in

1 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 222.
2 Both on File 14 (St. Asaph). Sched. 20 Apr.—20 Oct., 1661.
3 Lamb. 639, f. 303.
4 J. C. Morrice: Wales in the Seventeenth Century, p. 177.
5 Archdcn. Thomas: Hist. Dioc. St. Asaph, (1874), p. 764; confirmed by entries in Lib. Inst., Asaph, ff. 141, 160, 164.
6 Lamb. 639, ff. 302-303.
7 Presented under the Great Seal on 8 Sept., 1660 (Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 169); Otway in possession of the rectory in 1665 (Lamb. 639, f. 303).
8 supra, p. 70.
9 Admitted on 25 Jan., 1666-1667—Bps.' Certifs., Bangor, File 2.

Montgomery, was not satisfied with the corroboration of title given him by the King on 17 July, 1660,[1] without securing also a collateral presentation to the living of Llanymawddwy in Merioneth three weeks later.[2] It is doubtful, however, in his case, whether this ecclesiastical avarice coincided with the first summer of the Restoration, as the nearest guess one can make to decipher a hopelessly illegible place-name in one of the Rawlinson MSS. suggests that he was the agile pastor of both these highland spheres some time *before* the end of the Puritan period[3]; but the same MS. convicts him of writing a letter to the Protector very properly appealing against certain obsolete exactions still levied by the officials of the Trustees, though very significantly doing so in the company of nine other ministers, of whom five were old Anglicans (two having been forced to disgorge pluralities by the C.P.G.W.) and practically all the rest (including Dr. John Ellis of Dolgelly) being men originally appointed in Puritan times who took the first opportunity for conforming. At one time the outlook of Thomas Freeman in Pembrokeshire, he having benefited from the King's grant to the extent of two separate livings,[4] was as rosy as that of any opportunist in the land until Bishop Lucy's answer to Archbishop Sheldon's inquiries about nonconformist ministers is read—'Thomas Freeman was ejected out of his benefices in the county of Pembrocke for non-subscripcon but since[5] he conformed and enjoyes one Benefice again and lives peaceably in the Countrey in relation to both Church and State'[6]—which is fully borne out by an entry on the Patent Rolls for 31 January, 14 Charles II, that a John Llewellyn had been presented to one rectory (Johnston) once held by Freeman, with the inference that the latter was tolerated in the other (Hubber-

1 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 388.
2 Ib. ib. ib. No. 302—6 Aug., 1660.
Why a presentation dated in July was entered on the Rolls as No. 388 and one dated in August as No. 302 was only known to the Restoration scribes.

these letters *very faint.*

3 D. 843. 84—'John Foulkes Minister of the Gospell at Llan y . . . th.' Should further evidence put it beyond doubt that this is indeed Llanymawddwy, three corollaries follow; that a new illustration of Puritan pluralism has been discovered; that the Anglican rector Dr. Edward Wynne was *not* restored as explained on p. 272 supra; this being so, that Lamb. 997, ii, f. 88 furnishes the only example in Wales of the Triers accepting the 'good conduct' testimonial subscribed by an ejected Anglican *who had not been restored.*
4 See list, supra, p. 442.
5 'Since' used in the adverbial sense.
6 Lamb. 639, f. 337.

ston).[1] Isaac Rushworth, who had perforce removed from his rich rectory of Montgomery and become a humble conformist at the modest living of Gladestry, escaped this vigilance of the restored ecclesiastical courts, and irrepressible as ever journeyed north to preach at Hanmer on the afternoon of 22 December, 1661, on which occasion he was heard by Philip Henry[2]—an echo of the 'non-residence' strictures levelled aganist him by the sheriff of Montgomery in 1658.[3] But such sporadic survivals of the Puritan anarchy and such tortuous experiences as those of Richard Taylor or Thomas Freeman were soon to be made impossible by the application of new and severer tests in days when hypothetical ordination would be ruthlessly swept aside and when more or less persuasive appeals for conformity would give place to those clauses in the Bartholomew Act by which men in the prime of life were to be looked upon as 'naturally dead.'[4] In other words, the time of transition was over. Charles had confessed to the Cavalier Parliament on its re-assembly in November 1661 that the 'diseases concerning religion' were too hard for him to cure; at the end of his speech he consigned them to the care and deliberation of a Parliament 'which can best provide for them.'[5] The provision made was the Act of Uniformity.

NOTE: THE ARCHBISHOP'S 'LANDMARKS.'

The Archbishop in question is the present Archbishop of Wales, whose 'Landmarks in the History of the Welsh Church' was published in 1912 during the heat of the latter stages of the Disestablishment controversy. Appendix G (pp. 301-306) is a particularly valuable contribution, as it gives a succinct summary of extrusions and intrusions in the diocese of St. Asaph from 1645 (circa) to 1660; this is based on excellent sources, the entries derived from the Lambeth MSS. having been carefully revised by the Lambeth Librarian. It is not in any way devoid of mistakes, *e.g.*, 'Winnie' for 'Wynne' (Castell Caereinion); 'Martimas' for 'Martinus' as the Christian name of the Puritan schoolmaster put in as minister at Llandyssil in Montgomery; J. Edwards for the W. Edwards (Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa) testified by Lib. Inst. Asaph, f. 165; Grigdale for Brigdale (Llanrwst), a spelling whose only foundation is L. J., x, 368; Griffith Meyrick is made rector of Llanwyddelan instead of curate of Llanelidan (Rawl. c. 261, Rep., p. 29); Philip Rogers was not intruded into Llanwyddelan

1 Part 19, No. 51. From one point of view this ejection of Freeman would call for inserting his name in another chapter (III) of this Part of the work. But the vicissitudes of a Puritan conformist who accepted two livings from the King, then recanted and afterwards conformed, *losing one living and keeping another*—present not a few difficulties for proper classification.

2 Diaries, p. 102.

3 First Fruits, Ret., April 1658, 119.

4 Infra, p. 476.

5 Frank Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, p. 23

in 1659 but in 1658, seeing that he was there when the Sheriff made his return on 28 April of that year (Exch. F.F. Ret., 119); John Roberts was instituted to Llanrhaiadr yng Nghinmeirch and not to Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant (Lamb. 997, i, f. 66, fortified by the 'Second Admission'); and William Jones was placed at Denbigh not in 1651 but in 1647, as testified by Cal. St. Pap., 1654, p. 329. Two 'intruders' (or in Puritan terms, Trier nominees) are placed opposite Llangollen and Estyn (Hope), which have not been met with in any of the MSS. examined for the purpose of this present work—Edward Roberts in the first case (presented by the Protector in 1656) and John Parry in the second (placed there in 1659). Their inclusion by the Archbishop is undoubtedly fortified by an Edward Roberts being admitted (or *re*-admitted) vicar of Llangollen on 29 July, 1662 (Bps.' Certs., Asaph, File 14), by a grant under the Great Seal, as early as 11 June, 1660, of the rectory of 'Eastyn' to a John Parry (Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Pt. 1, No. 454), and by the plurality report of Dr. George Griffith in 1665, that a Dr. John Parry was 'R. Estyn or Queenhope with other preferm^ts' (Lamb. 639, f. 303). Assuming the identity of the two Parrys to have been established, we get the anomaly that while the sequestered *vicar* of Estyn (the *Henry* Jones of Rawl. c. 261, p. 23, and not the *Humphrey* of p. 19) was merely restored to his vicarage by the Act of September, the intruder-conformist secured the sinecure rectory (defined as such in another column of the 1665 report), bequeathing his interest there by the collusion of the Bishop to a Dr. Benjamin Parry on 4 June, 1666, about one year after the plurality return was made (Bishops' Certifs., File 15). Some light on the Parrys comes from an unexpected quarter. In his half-humorous, half-bitter pursuit of church preferment, Dr. Michael Roberts (once the quasi-Puritan Principal of Jesus) writes to Sancroft on 23 Jan., 1678-79, and advances as one argument in his favour that formerly he had the sons of Edward Parry, Bishop of Kildare, 'under his care'; that John was helped to 'Llan-Estyn' (from the context he undoubtedly means Estyn); further, on becoming Dean of Christ Church in Dublin, this John gave up his Welsh benefice and then Roberts helped his brother Benjamin to get it. Benjamin in turn, the old Principal proceeds, became Dean of St. Patrick's, again in Dublin. (Tanner MS., cccxiv, 21). On 4 February Roberts boldly asks the Archbishop for this living of 'Llan-Estyn' in the diocese of St. Asaph. (Tanner MS., cccxiv, 24). Unfortunately, all this is not quite sufficient to prove Dr. John Parry to be the same man as the 'John Parry' *intruded there in* 1659. If it were, such a conclusion would demand that two new names (Roberts for Llangollen and Parry for Estyn) be included in the lists drawn up in this chapter of Puritans who conformed and were continued in the *same* livings (pp. 438, 456), besides a corresponding addition to the columns (pp. 51-52) of Trier approvees at work before the Restoration. However, pending a fuller inquiry into the exact source of the Archbishop's information (the authorities are only referred to in general in the introductory matter of the Appendix), and fearing the fallacy of paying undue attention to the mere concurrence of names, it has been thought more prudent to let them take refuge in the comparative obscurity of this note. [Further research has revealed that a John Parry was Fellow of Jesus College at Oxford during Puritan times, and was continued in that office by the new King's commissioners in 1660. Benjamin Parry was a younger brother who migrated from Dublin to Oxford, graduated B.A. from Jesus in 1651, was appointed 'censor' of that College in the troublous days of 1656, and in 1660 became Fellow of Corpus and Greek Reader there (Hardy: Jesus College, p. 124; Burrows: Register of the Visitors, pp. 408, 412). These facts explain Dr. Michael Roberts' familiar references to them in his letters to Sancroft; his

association of both with the living of Estyn proves pretty conclusively that they are the Parrys of the 'Landmarks,' the Patent Rolls, and the St. Asaph certificates; and surely not much room is left for doubt that John Parry was a conformist both as to his Flintshire benefice and to his emoluments at Oxford. Anthony Wood also was quite conversant with the careers of the two brothers, particularly in reference to the preferments they held in Ireland after the Restoration (Life and Times, II, 399, 403, 431-432, 468)].

VI.

'BLACK BARTHOLOMEW.'

Supported in the Cavalier Parliament by no one more enthusiastically than by the unanimous uniformists from Wales, it is doubtful if a more perfect instrument for the purpose in view than the Act of Uniformity has ever been placed on the Statute Book. Members of the Commons engaged in unwholesome rivalry 'every man according to his passion [thinking] of adding somewhat which might make it [the Act] more grievous to somebody he did not love.'[1] It was the Lords' especial contribution to this stringent law that substituted the feast of St. Bartholomew for that of St. Michael the Archangel as the date before which all ministers had to conform or be ejected, thus making the latter to lose the 'great' tithes for the year[2]; it was the Commons who most strenuously opposed a proviso suggested by the King and Clarendon that the monarch should by his wisdom (or dispensing power) allow any minister seised of any benefice on 29 May, 1660, 'of whose merit towards him His Majesty shall be sufficiently informed and satisfied,' to keep his living even if he had scruples about wearing the surplice or about 'signing with the sign of the Cross in Baptisme.'[3] The arguments against this were summed up by Sergeant Charlton in a conference had with the Lords (over possible concessions to dissenters) to the effect that such a tolerance would be without precedent, 'for they never heard that ever any national church did the like'; that it would establish schism by law, it being better to impose no ceremonies than to dispense with any; and that to gratify the dissenters in their contention that things indifferent should not be enjoined took away all the weight of human authority, 'which consists in commanding things otherwise indifferent.'[4] As to the

1 Dr. Stoughton: The Church of the Restn., I, p. 250.
2 Ib. ib. p. 239.
3 Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, p. 23.
4 Docts. Act Uniformity, ed. Gould, pp. 449-450. Conference between two Houses held on 9 April, 1662.

Lords' suggestion—after their terrible Bartholomew amendment, the members of the Upper House would like a humaner view of the Covenant clause and exclude schoolmasters altogether from the scope of the Act—that some allowance (the proverbial 'fifth') be given the deprived ministers out of their lost livings for their subsistence, the same Commons' spokesman flung aside the Puritan precedent (indifferently observed, it is true) in a speech replete with pithy reasoning and replete also with the most inexpugnable intolerance: 'joined with the pity of their party,' he argued, 'the allowance would amount to more than the value of the whole living'; he applied the 'tu quoque' argument by retailing once more the sufferings of Anglican ejected in the late times; he would have it that the generality of livings were too small, 'not able to maintain a learned man with books,' to lessen their revenue by such a deduction; finally, he had recourse to the uncharitable suggestion that this lessening would gratify unconformable men who naturally desired livings in such hands should be made small, whereby (as he put it) the reputation of the conformable clergy would be lessened.[1] The thirty-two clauses of the Act that finally passed on 19 May, 1662, were seen to embody to the full those inspired intolerances and the Serjeant's contemptuous traversing of the Declaration of Breda: the cogent if one-sided reasonings of the Bishops at the Savoy Conference in favour of 'speaking all the same thing according to the apostle'[2] were now to be translated into hard practice; fulfilled also were the sarcastic objurgations of Baxter, expressed as far back as the summer of 1660, that oaths and subscriptions were indeed necessary 'to set up those that shall rule by constraint as lords over God's heritage . . . to divide and persecute the church.'[3] As befitted an act for uniformity, there are references to the Prayer Book, or regulations for its use, in practically every clause: the preamble reiterated once more the basis and defence of a common liturgy, and dwelt on its scandalous neglect by some ministers 'to the hazard of many souls'[4]; here also there was a passing allusion to the October declara-

1 Docts. Act Unif., p. 451.
2 Ib. p. 146—'An Ans. of the Bishops to the Exceptions of the Ministers.'
3 Ib. p. 53—'A Defence of our Proposals to His Majesty for Agreement in Matters of Religion.'
4 Ib. pp. 386-387.

tion and the Savoy Conference, but not a word of the unbending attitude of the Bishops at that assembly, only a sentence about the alterations in the service which Convocation had seen fit to insert[1]; the liturgy at certain specified higher centres of education might be read in Latin (Clause xviii)[2]; another clause (xxvi) enacted that a true printed copy of the Prayer Book annexed to the Act should be 'attained and gotten' before the day of Bartholomew at the charge of the respective parishioners, the penalty for failure to be £3 per month 'for so long a time as they shall thereafter remain unprovided with it'[3]; and true and perfect copies (according to Clause xxviii) were to be obtained by all deans and chapters, the courts at Westminster, and the officials of the Tower.[4] Clause xxvii, inserted at the later stages of the discussion, was confined to the duty of translating it into 'the British or Welsh tongue,'[5] entrusted, as was the Bible and Prayer Book by 5 Elizabeth, to the Bishop of Hereford and the four Welsh diocesans. Every church and chapel throughout the principality where Welsh was commonly spoken was to possess such a copy before 1 May, 1665[6]; the English copy had to be provided exactly one year before[7]; until the Welsh copy might be had and provided, the old Common Prayer Book 'established by Parliament before the making of this Act' was to be used as formerly in such parts of Wales where the English language was not generally understood. The two copies were to remain in such convenient places that such as understood them might resort to read and peruse the same, 'and also [that] such as do not understand the said [English] language may, by conferring both tongues together, the sooner to attain to the knowledge

1 Docts. Act Unif., p. 387.
2 Ib. p. 397: two Universities and the 'colleges' of Westminster, Winchester, and '*Eaton*.'
3 Docts. Act Unif., p. 400.
4 Ib. pp. 401-402.
5 Ib. pp. 400-401.
6 This Welsh version *did* appear in 1664—'meant for the Prayer Desks of churches . . . too large and unwieldy to be carried about by the worshippers.' For some reason the services for 30 January and 29 May, although ordered by the King on 2 May, 1662, were not inserted before the next edition of 1677-1678 (Morrice: Wales in the Seventeenth Cent., pp. 130-131). The 1664 edn., therefore, would be free from the aspersions of Bishop Wm. Lloyd of St. Asaph in a letter to Sancroft (7 April, 1686)—'I have made bold to put into this letter a sheet of the Welsh office for the 30th of January that your Grace may see how frugall his Majesties printers have been. I wish his Majesty would be so frugall too to give his Clergy of Wales leave to have the paying of them. We should endevor to finde out a sort of money for them that should come as neer being invisible as their Characters.' (Tanner MS. XXX, 14).
7 This is quite another copy from the one to be in the hands of every officiating minister before August 24, 1662. (Clause xxvi).

of the English tongue.' This was a provision quite in the spirit of Salesbury's dedication of his dictionary to Henry VIII[1] and a verbatim reproduction of parts of the order (annexed to the Elizabethan act referred to above) which led to Salesbury's translation of the New Testament and Bishop Richard Davies' version of the Prayer Book which appeared in 1567.[2] No doubt it was this Anglophile obsession, so much present in the minds of legislators and divines from the days of the Act of Union, which made Charles Edwards in 1676-1677 (with the censor's eye full upon him) hazard the doubtful principle that uniformity in language would conduce less to good-will than uniformity in religion, and state the very evident truism that the golden rules of good living would remain unknown unless taught in the speech of the common people.[3] Dr. George Griffith of St. Asaph was assuredly a believer in both ideals of uniformity. As a native of Llanfaethlu in Anglesey and one who insisted as Bishop that the Welsh sermons at the parish church of St. Asaph instituted by his predecessor should be kept up,[4] there is every reason for believing he would support Clause xxvii; he would also 'be an uncompromising supporter of the penal provisions, notwithstanding his declamation of ten years before that he was an 'Episcopall Presbyterian' in order to score a point over Vavasor Powell in the Newchapel debate[5] (although even during that eclipse of Episcopacy and the Prayer Book he refused to recede from the 'grounded persuasion' that a set form of prayer was the most edifying for the people, besides being more convenient[6]). Assist in drawing up the Act of Uniformity he most probably did *not*[7] (that work could be safely left in the hands of men of greater legal knowledge and subtlety); the story that he composed the new Office for 'Baptising those of Riper Years' for the revised Prayer Book of the Restoration rests on more sure foundations[8]; more certain still, that in February 1661 he was one of three bishops

1 W. Ll. Williams: Making of Mod. Wales, p. 297— date misprinted '1647.'
2 Rhys and Jones: The Welsh People (1902 Ed.), pp. 513-514 (n. 2).
3 Hanes y Ffydd Ddiffuant, pp. 203-204 (said in special reference to the translation of 1588).
4 Archbp. of Wales: Landmarks, p. 162.
5 Animadversions on an Imperfect Relation . . . . p. 4. (N.L.W., Cat., Civil War Tracts, p. 58, No. 230).
6 Ib. p. 13.
7 As stated dogmatically by J. C. Morrice: Wales in the Seventeenth Cent., p. 63. His authority seems to be Gwallter Mechain.
8 Ib. p. 63 (n. 2).

deputed to watch over the fortunes of the Prayer Book in the Parliamentary debates[1]—proof of this and evidence of the punctilious care of the uniformity experts in the Commons became patent on 8 May, 1662, when the Bishop of St. Asaph and two others had to march down to the Clerk's Table in the Lords and solemnly substitute the word 'children' for 'persons' in the baptism rubric, a scribe's mistake reported by Serjeant Charlton in the conference held on 9 April.[2]

As expressing the desires of a triumphant party bent on showing no mercy to the conquered, led by revising bishops and re-revising laymen, it is not likely that the resulting Act would lack in comprehensive penalism, as witness the lot of the three Puritan interests put down for proscription[3] :—

(*A*) *Ministers :* compelled to say and use the Prayer Book 'in such order and form' as contained in the copy annexed (Clause ii); every minister on some Lord's day before the feast of St. Bartholomew (1662) openly, publicly and solemnly to declare, before the congregation assembled, his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things in the said Book (Clause iii); such declaration to be in these words 'and no other': 'I, A. B., do here declare, etc.' (Clause iv); all persons who within this time shall neglect or refuse to do the same shall 'ipso facto' be deprived 'as though the person or persons so offending or neglecting were dead'[4] (Clause v); before Bartholomew's all ministers were also to subscribe another declaration against levying war upon the King, intimating their readiness to conform to the Prayer Book and to abjure the Solemn League and Covenant 'as an unlawful oath' (Clause ix); the places of persons

1 Dr. Stoughton: Church of the Restn., I, 225.
2 Docts. Act Unif., p. 453.
3 The Act of Uniformity is printed in full in
(1) Statutes at Large (1734), Vol. II, pp. 566-572.
(2) Docts. Act of Uniformity, ed. Gould, pp. 386-404.
(3) Select Statutes, Cases, and Documents (1660-1832), ed. Grant Robertson, pp. 12-26.

4 Philip Henry makes great play over this unfortunate and fatal phrase. Under 24 Aug., 1663, he writes—'This day thirty two yeares I was born, this day twelvemonths I dyed' (Diaries, p. 145). And the concluding words of his will read—'Witness my hand and seal this 24th day of Aug., 1695 . . . the day of the year in which by Law I died' (Diaries, App., p. 389). The famous Puritan is here unnecessarily heroic. How could a man who had preached his farewell sermons on 27 Oct., 1661, 'die' again on 24 Aug., 1662? According to his way of computing, he must have died altogether *three several times.*

failing to make this declaration adjudged void 'as if such person so failing were naturally dead' (Clause x); those who do subscribe to receive a certificate from the bishop; certificate and subscription to be publicly read in the parish church upon some Lord's day within the three months next following—otherwise place void as before stated (Clause xi); episcopal ordination as priest or deacon necessary to all ministers (Clause xiii); no person capable to be admitted to any benefice whatsoever until he is thus ordained (Clause xiv).

(*B*) *Lecturers*[1]: to be approved or licensed by the bishop; unfeigned assent and consent to the 39 Articles; if appointed to preach on any particular day of the week to read the appropriate prayer 'for that time of the day' before his sermon—then and there to declare his conformity to the whole Prayer Book; upon the first lecture day of every month afterwards to read the appropriate prayers before sermon and after such reading to declare his assent and consent as before; disabled if all these provisoes not observed (Clause xix); any 'effort' to preach by such disabled lecturer to be punished by three months' imprisonment without bail (Clause xxi).

(*C*) *Schoolmasters*[2]: all schoolmasters 'keeping any public or private school, and every person instructing or teaching any youth in any house or private family as a tutor upon 1 May, 1662, or thereafter' to make declaration contained in Clause ix (Clause viii); licence from bishop essential; penalties named for teaching without licence or before making subscription above—first offence three

1 (B) is included in order to give a tolerably complete conspectus of the Act, not that Wales was affected but very slightly by the 'lecture' system, if at all during the Trier era. When the bishops were asked in 1665 to report on 'lectures' and 'lecturers' to the metropolitan, the returns from Wales testify to the complete disappearance of the system. (Lamb. 639, ff. 140, 303, 335).

2 On this point the testimony of a high Anglican writer like Edward Cardwell is worthy of notice—'The power of the ordinary in granting license to Schoolmasters had been declared in the Injunctions of Elizabeth (No. XLIII) and in the Canons of 1603; and in the Statutes of 23 Eliz., c. 1 and in 1 Jas., c. 4; but the further power of requiring such Schoolmasters to subscribe a declaration of conformity to the liturgy of the Church of England was given for the first time in the Act of Uniformity.' (Doctr. Annals [1839], II, p. 274).

months' imprisonment, 'every second and other such offence,' similar imprisonment plus £5 fine (Clause xi).

A parliamentary instrument which made impossible the continuance of the lecture system with a Puritan bias, drove to earth the few Puritan schoolmasters who might have precariously kept on their schools, placed all genuine Puritan clergymen outside the pale of the National Church, instituted episcopal ordination as a condition precedent for the first time since the Reformation,[1] contained the word 'dead' in two clauses and 'naturally dead' in three others,[2] proclaims its proscribing character as it stands high and dry in all authoritative collections of the law of the land; a fuller insight into some considerations that worked in the minds of the Commons in drafting and re-drafting its clauses reveals even more convincingly the complete atrophy of toleration in a body more loyal than the king and (in some respects) more Anglican than the bishops themselves. Unlicenced schoolmasters were to be consigned to prison for three months in order that ministers 'who had no livings to lose' (such as the unpaid preachers of South Wales and the millenarian followers of Vavasor in the North who had refused State pay) and who might hope to eke out a living in this way, should lose their physical freedom instead; 'benefice with cure' which stood in the original draft of Clause xi was amended into 'benefice' without qualification, because the Commons thought the first would allow the dissenters to hold sinecures, 'for therein more favour would be shown them than to permit them to have livings with cure'; the clause calling for the abjuration of the Covenant was to be inoperative after 25 March, *1682*, because the same Commons would not perpetuate the memory of that oath, since 'a common medium of twenty years may probably determine the lives of such as took it'; the phrase 'tender consciences' was carefully eliminated from the Act on the ground that it had been much abused and they had no desire to give further coun-

1 This is made clear by Dr. Stoughton: Church of the Restn., I, 246 (*and n. 2*).

2 'as if he were dead' (*a*) { end of Clause v. / end of Clause vi.

'as if he were naturally dead' (*b*) { end of Clause x. / end of Clause xi. / end of Cluase xiii.

tenance to it.[1] The faintest signs of kindly concern (and they are faint indeed) are those seen in excusing the schoolmaster-ministers from the 'common gaol' imprisonment to which impertinent lecturers were to be sent,[2] and the insertion in Clause xiii (in *re* compulsory ordination) of the relative sentence 'who *now* is incumbent,' because Parliament 'would not exclude such as hereafter might be willing to conform from other livings, though they disabled them as to such as for the present they enjoyed.'[3] And a situation more interesting to lawyers than it proved of any great advantage to threatened ministers arose from the requisition in Clause iii that all ministers should declare assent and consent to '*the use of*' all things contained in the Prayer Book, followed by the actual declaration in Clause iv *with these three words left out*.[4] 'Whether the declaration should be interpreted in the light of the requisition, or the requisition in the light of the declaration, was a nice point for a casuist, and some men's benefices depended upon their decision of it.'[5] They would be 'good jugglers,'[6] one would think, and not genuine Puritans. Analogous with this, a good deal of unnecessary rhetoric was poured out in those days (and has been since) over the failure of the authorities to get copies of the new Prayer Book printed and ready for dispersal before 6 August: Richard Steel of Hanmer did not receive his copy by August 24, and declared in his farewell sermon that he was silenced and turned out for not declaring his unfeigned assent and consent to a book which he never saw nor could see.[7] But the Presbyterian failure to introduce any radical changes into the liturgy was known in July 1661; the intentions of the Cavalier Parliament to insist upon rigid uniformity were

1 The unpopular phrase, nevertheless, found its way into the two Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670 (Docts. Act Unif., pp. 478, 491).

2 Cp. Clauses xi and xxi.

3 These glimpses into the inner working of Cavalier minds are found in the final conference (30 April, 1662) between Lords and Commons over suggested amendments to the Act (Docts. Act Unif., pp. 443-446).

4 *Clause III*:—Every minister . . . . shall declare his unfeigned assent and consent to *the use of* all things in the said book contained and prescribed in these words and no other:

Clause IV.:—'I, A.B., do hereby declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book instituted "The Book of Common Prayer."'

5 A. A. Seaton: The Theory of Toleration, p. 336 (n.1).

6 This phrase was used by a Presbyterian pamphleteer to describe the way some of his party adopted to escape the Oxford Oath in the Five Mile Act (Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, p. 51).

7 Life of Philip Henry (*not* the Diaries), p. 100. If the 'Diaries' had been published when Dr. Stoughton wrote, the latter would hardly have referred to him as 'a clergyman named Steel' (I, 261).

manifest even before that date ; and surely the Bartholomew inadvertence would fall within the ' lawful impediment to be allowed and approved by the Ordinary of the place ' expressly provided for in the parenthesis of Clause v ? One month was given for subscription after the impediment was removed.

Even such an Act did not altogether satisfy the ' tender-conscienced bishops.'[1] Neither of the ordination clauses (xiii, xiv) said a word about explicitly renouncing former ordination, but Bishop Hall, the successor of Dr. Bryan Walton at Chester, was submitting to all Presbyterians desirous to come in a Latin formula in which they had to repudiate the classis certificate ' penitus ' and ' pro vanis.'[2] This shibboleth could not possibly be uttered by the conscientious, if doubting, Steele of Hanmer (even if he had received the Prayer Book in time and found it not unacceptable) ; it is probable that a similar test applied by Griffith of St. Asaph sealed the fate of John Jones of Llanarmon yn Iâl.[3] One day the story no doubt came to the ears of both of them how John Howe put it to the Bishop of Exeter that a second ordination was equivalent to proving that something could have two beginnings.[4] And this intolerant gloss of the bishops in the provinces was more than seconded in the highest quarters where the moving spirit was Gilbert Sheldon, now Bishop of London, but soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury[5] : it was he who expressed the fear that too many would pass in through the narrow gates of the Act and who regretted that ' the door was not made straiter.'[6] Inspired by him directions (in the name of the King and subscribed by the old and decrepit Archbishop Juxon) were issued on 14 October to all the clergy in the country to meet the case of those conforming ministers, ' unquiet and factious spirits,' who seemed to think that ' assent and consent ' did not preclude them from the controversial discussions and declarations of Puritan

1 This sardonic term is Baxter's in ' Petn. to King upon the first draft of the Declaration [Oct. 1660] '—Docts. Act Unif., p. 92.

2 The formula in full runs thus :—' Ego A.B. prætensas meas ordinationis literas a quibusdam Presbyteris olim obtentas jam penitus renuncio, et demitto pro vanis ' (quoted as written in the Life of Philip Henry, p. 97).

3 infra, p. 488.

4 Dr. Stoughton : Church of the Restn., I, 264.

5 Juxon died on 4 June, 1663 ; Sheldon installed in his stead on 31 Aug.

6 A. A. Seaton : The Theory of Religious Toleration, p. 107.

days. They were now forbidden to meddle in their sermons with matters of state nor to model new governments nor to attempt defining the uncertain boundaries set to the respective powers of prince and people; rather, upon all good occasions, they were faithfully to instruct the people in their bounden duty of obedience to their governors and loyalty to the doctrines of the Church of England.[1] A veto was also placed on the study of abstruse and speculative notions, such as the deep points of election and reprobation, 'together with the incomprehensible manner of the concurrence of God's free grace and man's free will'[2]—a restriction which both echoed the spirit and quoted almost exactly the words of James I's letter to Archbishop Abbot in 1622.[3] It was an absurd effort to set limits to intellectual daring which would make the Anglican Church obscurantist as well as intolerant. Did Sheldon think that the intervening forty years—which had witnessed Llwyd's adaptation of Behmen's mystical ideas, the publishing of Powell's Calvinistic expositions, the writing of some of the more profound thoughts of a Baxter or Dr. John Owen and the outpouring of many deep meditations associated with divines of his own Church—could be treated as 'dies nefandi'? Instead of handling God's eternal counsels and decrees it was now enjoined upon the clergy to read publicly at least once a year to their people such canons 'as are or shall be in force' and the 39 Articles at least twice, 'to the end they may the better understand . . . the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and not so easily be drawn away from it as formerly they have been.'[4] The sixth 'direction' closes a possible loophole allowed by the Uniformity Act: archbishops and bishops were to take great care whom they licensed to preach, and all grants made heretofore by any chancellary, commissary, or other secular person were to be accounted null and void unless subsequently sanctioned by the Anglican authorities.[5] This had its practical application both in Wales and England in the case of those ministers, not already re-ordained or 'secondly admitted,' who had

1 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, II, Doct. CLI, Direction I, p. 255.
2 Ib. ib. Direction II, ib.
3 Ib. ib. Direction III (of 1622), p. 150; also Wilkins: Concilia, IV, p. 465.
4 Cardwell: Docty. Annals, II, Doct. CLI, pp. 257-258.
5 Ib. ib. p. 258.

been settled in livings back in the days of the Long Parliament.[1] At that time, the bishops' jurisdiction having been taken away, men presented under the Great Seal were ordered by Parliament to be instituted and inducted to their cures by the old Commissaries of Faculties, Dr. Aylett for the province of York and Dr. Heath for that of Canterbury—a situation not devoid of irony in that one of these, if not both, had once sat on the Court of High Commission.[2] At this point it is not without significance that of the Welsh ministers thus settled in livings by the direct action of either House of Parliament from 1642 to 1648—a phase of the first Puritan revolution—only three who had survived suffered ejection after the Restoration, of whom two were named by the Commons (Ambrose Mostyn and Henry Walter) and one, the George White who turned Quaker, by the Lords. Another nominee of the Lords, hitherto unnoticed by Mr. Shankland[3] or in the 'History of the Puritan Movement,'[4] the Edward Bold presented to Hawarden on 30 November, 1646,[5] and who died there in 1655,[6] would very likely have supplied a fourth, judging from the reminiscences of Philip Henry in discussing a visit from Bold' son Thomas in October 1661.[7] The next and last of Juxon's orders did prove that the days of the 'Book of Sports' were no more: all ministers were to exhort their parishioners to frequent divine service on the Lord's day and to 'keep solemn' all the festivals appointed by the Church; all offenders who might resort to any tavern or alehouse or 'use' any unlawful sports or exercises were to be 'carefully looked after.'[8] All this would be small solace to the deprived ministers, especially as members of their sometime flocks who absented themselves from the services of the church might be the objects of an even greater care than the lewd fellows of the baser sort who spent their time over their cups of ale. The Presbyterians of the capital made a valiant effort on the morrow of the ejections to secure some measure of relief by presenting a petition to the King on August 27; this was debated in full

1 This aspect is discussed in Shaw, II, 282-283; H.P.M., 57-62.
2 R. G. Usher: The Rise and Fall of the High Commission, App. II, pp. 345, 352.
3 In his list of such ministers in Seren Gomer, Nov. 1901, pp. 318-319.
4 pp. 63-70.
5 L. J., VIII, 584—'Bowld.'
6 Archdcn. Thomas: Hist. Dioc. St. Asaph (1874), p. 587.
7 Diaries, p. 97—sub 1 October.
8 Direction VII—Cardwell: Docty. Ann., II, 258.

Council the next day, and supported strenuously by some of the members: all their arguments were roughly overborne by Sheldon when he said that deliberate law could not be evaded even by the resolution of that august body.[1] The vigorous Bishop, however, did not attach enough importance to the argument that it would be politic in face of the commercial opposition of Holland (the present asylum of some regicides and a likely retreat for persecuted ministers) to give some indulgence to dissenters; nor was he sufficiently aware of the King's belief in his own dispensing power, 'which we conceive to be inherent in us,' that found a convenient vent in a new declaration on *26 December*. This document, important enough to make the Independent Nye pay a confident visit to Baxter, was in the direct line of the broken promises of Breda and of the shipwrecked scheme outlined in the October declaration of 1660: it gave an assurance to such non-conformists as modestly and without scandal performed their devotions in their own way that the King would make it his special care to incline Parliament in its coming session to pass an act for their relief (Papists also to be included in this new scheme of toleration).[2] But the Commons were not to be moved. Adopting the same line of reasoning as Charlton's intolerances in the conferences with the Lords before the bill became law, they made short work of the declaration itself and of the dispensing power hesitatingly advanced as its basis, referring to a possible general toleration merging into Popery in such terms as must have intensely galled even the merry monarch[3]; when these reasons were presented to Charles on 28 February, 166$\frac{2}{3}$, he contented himself with saying that the Commons had not correctly understood him.[4] It is true that a bill was introduced into the Lords to give effect to the King's assurances, but it was so bitterly opposed by the bishops and Clarendon that nothing came of it. Philip Henry thought this last proclamation of Charles just worthy of a bare note in his diary (at the beginning of 1663) that he had heard of it[5]; the only natural interpretation of a second reference in February places him side by

1 Docts. Act Unif., pp. 407-408.
2 This document is given verbatim in Cardwell: Docty. Ann., II, pp. 262-269.
3 Docts. Act Unif., pp. 473-475.
4 Docts. Act Unif., p. 476.
5 Diaries, p. 127—sub 9 Jan., 1663.

side with Baxter as one who wished the Lord to overrule all counsels that might take off 'sanguinary lawes' that applied to Roman Catholics (even if those counsels brought liberty to him personally).[1] And very dismal indeed were the hopes of ten Quakers cast into prison in Montgomeryshire (including Charles Lloyd of Dolobran and Richard Davies of Cloddiau Cochion) who sent an appeal to the Quarter Sessions at the beginning of 1663 referring specifically to this December declaration, and who 'do wait the fulfilling and performing of this one other word more of a King.'[2] In the following July an Act was passed which some writers tend to think was a concession to wounded Nonconformist feeling and a new avenue for their entry into the Anglican Church.[3] An analysis of its various clauses does not in any way confirm such a view: it only proposes to explain certain provisions of the Act of Uniformity and give relief to such persons as by sickness or other impediment[4] were prevented from subscribing the declarations required by that Act, persons further described in Clause ii as of eminent loyalty and of known affection towards the liturgy of the Church of England. If at present in the country, these persons must subscribe before the Feast of the Nativity; if beyond seas, within forty days after their return, The only reference to the dispossessed Puritans comes in the last clause (vii), conveying the unwelcome news that those who cherished the belief that men *prohibited* to preach under the Uniformity Act (in Wales, it must be recounted, these were the 'silenced' of Calamy's 'Account' and all preachers formerly outside the realm of Trustees and Sequestrators) were to have more lenient treatment than those actually *disabled* by it suffered from a delusion—the penalties were to be identical.[5] The records only furnish one reference, and that a tantalisingly unsatisfactory one, associating a clergyman from Wales with this supplementary Act—that in the Exchequer Bills

1 Diaries, p. 129—sub 11 February.

2 Dr. Thos. Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon., pp. 155-157. He says 'at the end of 1662' (p. 155), which is controverted by his remark on p. 156 that the Sessions were held on 'the eighth of the eleventh month 1662'=8 Jan., 1662-1663; besides, it is hardly likely that prisoners in Welshpool jail would know of the Declaration within 4 days of its issue.

3 Such is the trend of Mr. Shankland's references in Seren Gomer, July 1901, p. 193.

4 This 'impediment' is not to be confused with the 'impediment' provided for in Clause V of the Act itself (supra, p. 478).

5 15 Chas. II, cap. VI (Stat. at Large, II, pp. 625-626).

and Answers over the refused payment of rent to the appointed prebendary of Llandygwydd: the argument from sickness, etc., is only advanced in *1669* as a *possible* reason why a George Littleton had not made the full subscription as required by the original Act, he being described by the Bishop of St. David's as having been finally removed at least four years before.[1]

The bishops did not wait for the outcome of Presbyterian negotiations nor study the fortunes of the dispensing power before biting as well as barking.[2] Not that they were indiscriminately severe. Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, who certainly has no record for leniency in general (although the State Papers of the Protectorate testify to an augmentation of £80 granted him as Professor of Mathematics at Oxford[3]) allowed a certain Goldster, 'the g^t presbiterian min^r of Chagford,' to subscribe two days after Bartholomew and a Richard Crossen to be instituted vicar at Otterton without re-ordination.[4] One of Henry's greatest friends did not say farewell to his former parishioners at Tilstock in Salop until 3 May, 1663[5]; and Dr. George Griffith of St. Asaph proved a great friend of Ambrose Lewis, the Wrexham schoolmaster, keeping him 'in salvâ conscientiâ,' but not forgetting to have him licensed (for a payment of 12 pence) under Clause xi of the Act.[6] On the other hand, George Hall of Chester (and his procedure was undoubtedly adopted by all the bishops in the country in obedience to an express order from the Archbishop) on 29 August, 1662, was sending a notice to the churchwardens of Garstang in Lancashire declaring the church void, the vicar Isaac Ambrose deprived for neglecting to declare and subscribe, and forbidding him to preach, lecture, or officiate there or elsewhere; the churchwardens were to secure the said parish church from any invasion or intrusion on his part, to show the order to him, and cause it to be published the next Sunday after in the church of Garstang

1 This complicated Llandygwydd case will be discussed at greater length infra, pp. 491-493.

2 When Richard Taylor was restored to Holt in 1661, Henry says this was done by 'ye Bp who barkes not bec. he cannot bite' (Diaries, p. 96).

3 G. B. Tatham: The Puritans in Power, p. 193.

4 Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, p. 39. The conformity of these two Devon men is confirmed by the absence of their names from the alphabetical list of ejected in MS. J. Walker, c. 8 (Devon list, ff. 22-22 verso).

5 Diaries, p. 136.

6 see infra, p. 486.

before the congregation assembled.[1] Wales does not supply any authenticated case where a former Puritan minister, if popular and provided that the local justices made no objection, was allowed to occupy the pulpit until a new incumbent was appointed,[2] nor any illustration of a non-subscribing minister going on preaching in remote 'donative' chapels or in 'peculiars,' like that of Wombridge in Salop, 'where y^e^ Bishop has noe power to visit'[3] (unless the tours of Stephen Hughes to places where the people had ignorant readers who could not preach[4] and the ministration of Marmaduke Matthews 'in a little chapel at the end' of Swansea[5] may be said to fit in with this possibility). What is certain is that soon after the Act was passed the bishops issued articles of visitation in which searching questions were asked about the conformity required by the new law. Those sent out by Lucy of St. David's and Lloyd of Llandaff were particularly inquisitorial; Griffith of St. Asaph was content with more general interrogatories (the terms used being so very similar to those issued by Henchman—then Bishop of Salisbury, afterwards of London—as if they had been drawn up, did not the dates effectually preclude such a supposition, when they met to arbitrate between the rival claims of Doctors John Cruso and Thomas Aubrey for the Chancellorship of St. David's[6]). Special importance was attached by the bishops as to whether the Articles had been subscribed and the Prayer Book read in the exact form prescribed by the Act. It is probable that Evan Jones and William Lloyd, the Trier appointments to Llanbedrog and St. Petrox respectively, had done so, and received episcopal ordination, seeing that the penalty attached to each offence of officiating without it amounted to £*100*.[7] The fact is that they were not officially admitted by the bishops before 25 September in the case of Jones and 1 October in the case of Lloyd.[8] Both happen to be

1 Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, App. III, p. vi (quoting from Baines: History of Lancashire, I, 235)—'Given under my hand this 29th day of August, 1662. Geo. Cestriens.'

2 Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, p. 31.

3 Gordon MS., f. 63.

4 Noncon. Mem., III, 498.

5 Ib. ib. 504.

6 Exch. Bills and Answers, Brecon, No. 37. Needless to say, they had many other excellent opportunities of meeting.

7 Clause xiv (Docts. Act Unif., p. 395).

8 These are the dates on the Bishops' certificates to the Barons of the Exchequer (see next note), and they are confirmed by those on the Files (File 1 (Bangor), 13 (St. David's), Sched. 20 Apr.—20 Oct., 1662, in each case).

included among the 'Second Admissions'[1]; both are at these late dates said to be readmitted to corroborate their titles under the Act of September [1660]; in Lloyd's certificate the Bishop goes to great lengths in piling up Latin participles to emphasise the first fruits exoneration under the Act of Indemnity[2] and to dilate with much circumlocution upon the confirming Act of the same year, as if Lloyd and he were in fear that the Exchequer officials would decide that a second admission two years after 1660 would be nullified by the Act of Uniformity. No harm happened to either: Lloyd appeared in London during the Hilary term of 1664 and his plea was accepted[3]; Jones did likewise in the Easter term; it may be added that the latter appears also in the Mostyn MSS. as appealing to the Deputy Lieutenants of Carnarvon for some indulgence in the proportion of money he had to contribute as 'clerk' to the support of a 'foot-soldier and arms' under the Militia Acts of 1662.[4] Other new accessions to the conformist ranks appear on the Bishops' schedules. Humphrey Morris, approved by the Triers for Cwm in Flintshire, was admitted vicar there (the sinecure rectory had already been granted to 'Rondl' Davies of Meifod) on 15 September, 1662,[5] and David Maurice of Llangernyw—Calamy's 'Conforming Minister of Abergeley,'[6] the very 'worthy man' of Bishop Wm. Lloyd[7]—moved to Llansansior (presented under the Great Seal on 10 November[8]) in place of the feckless conformist William Salesbury who had already come there from Henllan and had been admitted to Llangernyw on Sept. 22[9] through some obscure system of transference. Both names come to view in later preferments, especially Maurice, who was made a D.D., granted a cursal canonry in St. Asaph,[10] and showed he had not altogether

1 (*a*) Evan Jones: Sec. Adms., Part II, No. 47—Barons' writ dated 18 Nov. 15 Chas. II.
(*b*) Wm. Lloyd: Sec. Adms., Part VI, No. 244—Barons' writ dated 5 Feb., 15 Chas. II.

2 'acquietati pardonati relaxati indempnificati et exonerati.'

3 Later he was one of the helpers of Stephen Hughes in bringing out in 1672 his edition of the New Testament in Welsh (Morrice, p. 112).

4 MS. 237. It is not very easy of explanation how he came to pen his appeal from *Chwilog*, seeing that the annexed chapels to Llanbedrog were Llangian and Llanfihangel Bachellaeth. The Militia Acts were 13 and 14 Chas. II, caps. III, IV, V (Stat. at Large, pp. 561-2); another was 15 Chas. II, cap. IV (ib. p. 625).

5 Bishops' Certifs., File 14 (St. Asaph), Sched. 20 April—20 October, 1662.

6 Account, II, 713.

7 Tanner MS. XXXII, 69—Letter to Sancroft, 17 June, 1684.

8 Pat. Rolls, 14 Chas. II, Pt. 19, No. 99.

9 Bishops' Certifs., File 14 (St. Asaph), Sched. 20 April—20 October, 1662.

10 Ibid. 20 Oct., 1663—20 Oct., 1664—7 June, 1664.

forgotten his whilom Puritan friends by preaching the funeral sermon of the nonconformist William Jones of Denbigh, besides penning an inscription to be placed on his gravestone.[1] In the diocese of Llandaff, Jenkin Christopher (to be always carefully distinguished from the sturdy unordained Independent Jacob of that name) whose somewhat vague connection with Llanblethian has already been noticed and who appeared in the H.R.A. with his name curiously inverted,[2] reappears on 20 October, 1662, as rector of Wenvoe,[3] later on to be given a prebendal stall in the Cathedral.[4] A new group of former Puritan schoolmasters now conformed and submitted to episcopal ordination: Jerome Perrott to Cathedine (admitted 10 November, 1662); Roger Seys to Llangyfelach (17 March, 1662-3); and Owen Picton to Llannerchllwydog (7 February, 1662-3),[5] though by 1665 that rectory was in the hands of the most secular and shameless of all Welsh Puritan conformists, Dr. Jenkin Lloyd of Llangoedmor.[6] Ambrose Lewis, too (already referred to in this paragraph), the foremost Puritan schoolmaster in Wales, Philip Henry's 'ancient friend,'[7] his coadjutor in the monthly exercises at Worthenbury and one who spiritually refreshed him by a visit there in June 1661,[8] is (according to Archdeacon Thomas) a conformist by 1662[9]; in any case, by 1665 he is a licensed Anglican teacher at the transformed school at Wrexham, no longer master, but usher to a certain Jeffrey Williams.[10] All this did not prevent the Presbyterian nonconformist to take an interest in the school and its pupils, and incidentally to give Lewis his opinions about the morality of cock-fighting.[11] The facts about all the preceding are well-substantiated; a more nebulous atmosphere is encountered with Calamy's assertion that two Carmarthenshire preachers were silenced but afterwards joined the conformists. If Philip Lewis (one of

1 Calamy: Account, II, 713—714; amplified in Noncon. Mem., III, 477—478.
2 Supra, p. 46.
3 Bps.' Certifs., File 10 (Llandaff), Sched. 20 Oct., 1662—20 April, 1663.
4 Ib. File 11 (do.), 20 Oct., 1670—20 April, 1671, 3 Jan., 1670-1.
5 Ib. File 13 (St. David's), Sched. 20 Oct., 1662—20 Apr., 1663 (all three); the MS. reads more like 'Gwen' than 'Owen'.
6 Lamb. 639, f. 333.
7 Diaries, p. 83—sub 4 April, 1661.
8 Ib. p. 89—sub 17 June.
9 Hist. Dioc. St. Asaph (1874 Ed.), p. 855.
10 Lamb. 639, f. 303 (Bishop's report to Sheldon). It must be said that the staff of three are all described as 'schoolmasters and teachers at Wrexham Schoole.' Williams' name, however, comes first.
11 Diaries, p. 139—sub 13 June, 1663. The context does not suggest that Lewis had become a proprietor of prize bantams.

these) was a Master of Arts and was the person of that name presented by the King to the rectory of Presteign, he must have conformed in 1660[1]; as it is much more likely he was not so academically qualified, and as it is very unlikely that an unpaid preacher with no living to lose would (as the Presteign Lewis did) petition the King as early as July 11 [1660] and get the recommendation of the Anglican referees only two days later,[2] it is much safer to look upon Calamy's conformist as one *prohibited* by the Act of Uniformity to become by 1665 curate at Llanspythid.[3] His companion in the 'Account,' Maurice Meredith, does not find a place among the Bishop's certificates until he was collated to the vicarage of Llanelly on 5 Sept., 1665.[4] The proofs are not sufficiently coherent to say dogmatically that the Griffith Roberts who took the place of Henry Maurice at Meyllteyrn on 6 March, 1662-3, was the old Trier preacher at Llanengan, or that the Hugh Owen admitted at Dwygyfylchi on 26 February was the old half-starved schoolmaster at Llanrwst.[5]

Much more important than these doubtful conformists were the immediate ejections; indeed, the dates at which new arrangements were made to fill some of these places strongly suggest that one or two had resigned their cures before the day of Bartholomew. For example, the tradition preserved by Palmer that Roderick Thomas of Llanfihangel y Creuddyn, being persuaded by his friends, actually read the liturgy on one occasion, and on one occasion only, most likely refers to some Lord's day before August 24th[6]; Lawrence Fogg of Hawarden admitted under his own hand that he read the Anglican service until August, but resigned his benefice before the Act came into effective operation.[7] Fogg will not appear on the following list, as it is confined to men who had weathered the storms of the transition, had kept their livings without confirmation under the Great Seal, without re-ordination and without the slightest conformity to the Anglican service-book. Nor had the bishops seen well to depose them by admitting an Anglican new-comer or a more pliable Puritan to fill their

1 Pat. Rolls., 12 Chas. II, Part 2, No. 100.
2 Cal. St. Pap., 1660—1661, p. 116.
3 Lamb. 639, f. 335.
4 File 14 (St. David's), Sched. 20 Oct., 1664—20 Oct., *1667* (two parchment skins).
5 File 1 (Bangor), Sched. 20 Oct., 1662—20 Apr., 1663 (both cases).
6 Noncon. Mem., III, 497.
7 Ib. Ib. 481—482.

places. Their particular names are derived from two main sources: the residuum of the lists supplied to Calamy by James Owen (reinforced in some instances by Samuel Palmer of the 'Nonconformist Memorial' and the more contemporary account given by the Bishop of St. David's to his metropolitan in 1665 in answer to the latter's inquiries about 'non-subscribers' and their whereabouts).

BARTHOLOMEW EJECTIONS (A).

Minister.	Living.	Authority.
Barnes, Thomas ..	Magor ..	Calamy: Account, II, 473.
Blindman, Richard ..	Chepstow ..	Ib. 610.
Bywater, John ..	Pembroke ..	Ib. 717.
Carver, Edward[1] ..	Tenby ..	Ib. ib.
Cary, Nicholas ..	Monmouth ..	Ib. 473.
Davies, James ..	Merthyr (Carm.)	Ib. 720.
Davies, Meredith ..	Llannon (Carm.)	Ib. ib.
Dennis, John ..	The Hay ..	Lamb. 639, f. 337.
French, John ..	Wenvoe ..	Calamy: Account, II, 731.
Hawkins, Adam ..	St. Ismell's ..	Ib. 717; Lamb. 639, f. 337.
Hughes, Evan ..	Llandyfriog ..	Calamy: Account, II, 716.
Hughes, Thomas[2] ..	Begelly ..	Ib. 717.
Jones, David ..	Llanbadarn (Card.)	Ib. 716.
Jones, John ..	Llanarmon yn Iâl	Inference from Henry: Diaries, p. 139.
Jones, Samuel ..	Llangynwyd ..	Calamy: Account, II, 721.
Littleton, George ..	Llandygwydd prebend	Lamb. 639, f. 337.
Luntley, John ..	Llanstadwell ..	Calamy: Account, II, 717.
Matthews, Marmaduke	Swansea ..	Ib. 732.
Phillips, Peregrine ..	Llangwm and Freystrop	Ib. 717.
Price, David ..	Llangunnor ..	Ib. 720.
Price, Lewis ..	Llangunllo (Card.)	Ib. 716.
Steele, Richard ..	Hanmer ..	Ib. 708.
Thomas, Roderick ..	Llanf. y Creuddyn	Noncon. Mem., III, 497.
Vaughan, Thomas ..	Llansantffread ..	Lamb. 639, f. 337.
Walter, Henry ..	Newport ..	Calamy: Account, II, 473.

It would be well to say a word here why John Jones of Llanarmon has been included in this list. On 13 June, 1663, Philip Henry heard that he had been excommunicated for nonconformity, a technical term intimating that he had failed to put in attendance at church; it follows that he had been

1 Calamy has 'John Carver,' which is disproved by the combined references in the Lamb. Aug. Books.

2 But see supra, p. 51 (n.1).

ejected already[1] and that under the Act of Uniformity, as there is no proof that the old vicar Ellis Owen, ejected in 1650,[2] had survived to be restored in 1660.[3] Generally speaking, and at first sight, there is a temptation to put all these men down as favourites of fortune and Puritans of a less heroic mould than those, some as far back as the summer months of 1660, who had suffered removal before the Act. The diaries of Henry testify not only to his own long doubts, but also to the troubled mind of his neighbour Steele, but who in the coming years was to show more courage and activity as a dissenter than the old vicar of Hanmer by preaching at conventicles in Salop and Staffs.,[4] and by staying in London to apply for over 40 licences in 1672 for his Puritan friends in English Flint and the counties adjacent ?[5] Peregrine Phillips was, it must be admitted, nephew to a former Anglican rector of Cydweli, and had been especially befriended by the Pembrokeshire trimmers of Orielton[6]; but what Puritan was to show greater fortitude than he on his rack-rent farm at Dredgman Hill and emerge in the later days of toleration to receive £8 a year from his people 'w^{n} y^{e} yeares and providence favours them, otherwise less ?'[7] Samuel Jones, too, might have secured some relative quiet heretofore because of the persistent efforts made to get him to conform; 'out of Conscience,' however, he came out in 1662[8]; and was he not the author of the historic answer of 1665 to the Llandaff dignitaries who pressed him to accept a living,[9] of the letter of 1680 to a doubting minister,[10] and that of his dying year giving a crushing retort to those who spread a report that he repented of his nonconformity[11] ? Thomas Barnes manfully held aloft the Puritan banner from the days he came to Wales as an Old Hallows missionary[12] to the auspicious time

1 This question is further discussed in Addenda (A), pp. 511-512.
2 H.P.M., p. 117.
3 The last heard of him is the report of the Sheriff of Denbighshire in a return made to the Exchequer by 3 Feb., 1651-1652 :—
'*Yale hundred.*
Llanarmon. Ellice Owen, late minister there, ejected, alive, none settled in his place.' [John Jones came in 1656].
4 Lamb. 639, ff. 192, 193, 197b.
5 An excellent account of Steele's activities as licence-agent in 1672 is given by Prof. Lyon Turner: Orig. Records, III, pp. 366-372.
6 Noncon. Mem., 1777 Edition, II, 629-630.
7 Gordon MS., f. 94.
8 Calamy: Account, II, 721.
9 Dr. Thos. Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon., pp. 232-235.
10 Ib. pp. 236-237.
11 Ib. pp. 239-240; Noncon. Mem., III 502.
12 H.P.M., p. 77.

when he became suddenly popular with the Anglicans of Monmouth for refusing to take advantage of the delusive Indulgences of James II.[1] Certainly there are no grounds for vivid contrasts between Puritans only divided by accidents of fortune arising out of the Act of September and the Act of Uniformity. Some of the names in the above list figure prominently in the informers' reports of 1669 and as receivers of licences made out by the Earl of Arlington's clerks in 1672; in 1662, however, they have to stand shoulder to shoulder with personalities of a very different colour. Vaughan of Llansantffread has, indeed, by a process of elimination been included among the Trier appointments in Part I of this work,[2] although in doing so it was kept in mind that the two petty constables of the parish swore at Crickhowell on 21 August, 1662, that none of the Puritan Commissioners had put any minister to officiate there 'since Thomas Vaughan Rector *were* (*sic*) ejected out of his living'[3]; it was remembered too, that this Anglican rector, brother of Henry Vaughan 'the Silurist,' had been turned out by the Propagators in 1650, not on one count, but on four separate charges[4]—the most serious gravamina against any one cleric in the Walker MSS.—any one of which would be more than sufficient to bring about his downfall. It is certain that if alive, as the old rector undoubtedly was, he could claim restoration under Clause IV of the Act of September; but is it probable that a man who had been in arms *against* the Parliament would *refuse* to submit to the Act of Uniformity? The only light on this very refractory problem is the circumstantial account given by Anthony à Wood,[5] quoted by Walker in his 'Sufferings'[6] and forming the basis of a long dissertation by the historian of the county,[7] according to which Vaughan was 'a zealous Brother of the Rosicrucian Fraternity,' 'one who trifled egregiously and much exposed himself in his writings'; but he is at equally great pains to protest that he was neither a papist nor a sectary, 'but a true resolute Protestant, in the best sense, of the Church of

1 Noncon. Mem., III, 505-506.
2 Supra, p. 52.
3 Lamb. 1027, Entry 36a—the two constables were Watkin Daniel and Watkin Williams.
4 MS. J. Walker, c. 7., f. 213b.
5 Athenae Oxonienses, II, 253.
6 Part II, pp. 389-390.
7 Theophilus Jones: Hist. Breck. (1898 Ed.), pp. 435-436.

England.' Walker gives it as his own opinion that Vaughan never returned to his living, and through his appalling ignorance of Welsh he creates a new rectory called St. Bridget side by side with Llansantffread[1] (he thus arrives at two separate Thomas Vaughans). Walker would not be pleased to know that the Bishop of St. David's makes short work of all his fables: that prelate unequivocally says that Thomas Vaughan was ejected from the rectory for *non-submission* and had since left the diocese.[2] Does not this term 'non-submission,' differing from the 'non-subscription' alleged in all the other cases in the MS., carry the suggestion that the weird studies and philosophical disquisitions of this peculiar cleric had made him protest against the over-riding of conscience by any human enactment? Or might he be of such a temperament as to refuse to submit because of some unknown personal animus against the Bishop and his undisguised nepotism?[3] However, the writer must confess to the belief, after newly considering the case in all these aspects, that the doubly ejected Vaughan was the old rector of Llansantffread and not a new Trier appointment at all. This ejection too must be based on some reasons apart from nonconformity; for it is not likely that a boon companion of a Scottish Secretary of State[4] after the Restoration should be an ordinary dissenter. After Thomas Vaughan, George Littleton. Until an examination of the Brecon Bills and Answers in the records of the Exchequer was made, nothing was known of him except the isolated sentence of the Bishop—'Mr. Littleton, clerke, was ejected out of the prebend of Llandugroie in the Collegiate Church of Brecon for non-Subscription.'[5] Mrs. Maud Birt of Llwyndyrus in Carmarthen,[6] who was accused of not paying the rent of the prebend to a new prebendary (Thomas Otway, appointed in 1666[7]), has a good deal to say of him in 1669 which

1 Nothing is more certain than that Breconshire has no such rectory as 'St. Bridget's.'

2 Lamb. 639, f. 337.

3 *E.g.*, in this same MS. is the Bishop's own admission that his son Richard Lucy held no less than *five* separate preferments in the diocese in 1665 (ib. f. 332).

4 Sir Robert Moray (Ath. Oxon., II, 253). Vaughan seems to have died of gas poisoning at Albery by Oxford (Feb., 27, 1666-67); Sir Robert made himself responsible for his burial. Vaughan's books and MSS. had been bequeathed to the Scotsman (see Alexander Robertson's biography of Moray [pub. 1922], p. 187, n. 3). A more important source is Aubrey's Brief Lives (ed. 1898), II, 268-269.

5 Lamb. 639, f. 337—'Llandugroie' is the Bishop's synonym for Llandygwydd.

6 A Mrs. Birt was also tenant under an unexpired lease of the tithes and profits of the rectory of Clydey in Pembroke under the C.P.G.W. (MS. J. Walker, c. 13, ff. 5-12).

7 Bps.' Certifs., File 14 (St. David's)—18 Sept., 1666.

has the double effect of clearing some doubts and of intensifying other obscurities.[1] Her defence to the charge was that she had a lease of the prebend tithes granted to her husband in 1625 by a former prebendary,[2] to extend over certain lives therein severally named for the annual rent of £12. She averred that this money was always paid to the proper holder, George Littleton, ' except in the times of the Rebellion when some Committee forced her to pay it to other persons ' (statements fully confirmed in the Bodleian records of the C.P.M. sequestrations and by the later collection of the £12 by the Propagation officials of Cardiganshire.[3]) Unfortunately, the name of George Littleton never occurs in the ' Liber Institutionum ' ; nor is he commemorated by Walker in that part of the ' Sufferings ' devoted to the tribulations of the higher clergy during Puritan times ; by another provoking oversight, the name of the sequestered prebendary is not given by the scribe of the C.P.M. when giving the decision of that body to allocate the fruits of the prebend to increase the maintenance of the Puritan minister at Cilgerran[4] ; moreover, Bishop Lucy's new protégée Otway deposes that Littleton was ' never lawfully collated, invested, installed or intitled.' Mrs. Birt, on the other hand, says the old prebendary ' is taken and known ' as a very orthodox man, was a great sufferer in the late times, and had succeeded, when she was unfortunately prevailed upon for three years by some agencies not to pay the £12 rent, in recovering the £36 by an action of debt in the Great Sessions of Cardigan ; ' notwithstanding notice sent to the complainant and Mr. George Lucy his agent, they took no steps to protect his [Otway's] interest or to put in any plea against Mr. Littleton's title.' That may be, but the fact remains that the Bishop in 1665 reports to the Archbishop that he had been ejected from the prebend for non-subscription ; Otway in the Michaelmas term of 1668 repeats the verdict and claims the rent. The Bishop also says Littleton lived out of the diocese, a short addendum that directly leads to the supposition that he was a member

1 Exch. Bills and Ans., Brecon, No. 22 ; plaint made Michaelmas, 20 Chas. II ; defendant sworn at Llwyndyrus in Carmarthen, *1 May 1669*.

2 She gives his name as John Frost, which is supported by Lib. Inst., St. David's, f. 28 (as Frost was only admitted to the prebend on 11 May, 1625, the lease must have been granted soon after his accession).

3 Walker c. 13, f. 33b (1650), f. 35b (1651), f. 36b (1652). Llandygwydd not spelt correctly in any of the three.

4 Bodl. MS. 325, f. 196—decision made 1 May, 1648.

of the large Littleton family which hailed from Hereford and Salop, one of whom had been a Justice of Great Sessions and a dormant C.P.G.W.[1]; two of them had been seen fit to organise the Salop Fifth Classis in 1647[2]: and yet another (but an Anglican) was dispossessed of a studentship at Christ Church by the Puritan 'visitors' to the University of Oxford.[3] A Sir Adam Littleton was farmer of the £36 prebend rent due from Llanafanfawr in Brecon from 1650 to 1652.[4] All this, illustrating the varying pathways trod by the Littleton family (of whom George was *possibly* a member), does not conduce much to solve the Llandygwydd ejection. Nor do the inspired suggestions of Mrs. Birt, who very evidently had not the slightest desire for a change in the holder of the prebend, and whose general deposition shows she was well posted in the history and whereabouts of the old prebendary (she does not condescend, nevertheless, to say definitely where he was). She thinks he *might* have had indulgence under the 'sickness' Act of 1663 or *might* have subscribed before the diocesan (of the place where he lived) within the time limited by the Act of Uniformity[5]—both which considerations had been ruthlessly swept aside when Lucy presented his report three years after 1662. On the whole it is safe to infer that George Littleton, 'being a feeble and infirm man and unable to travel so far,' himself an admitted pluralist, fell a prey to the interested punctiliousness of the Bishop who was desirous to please the English foreigner Otway, 'chaplain to some nobleman in London.' That this Otway was not admitted to the prebend until four years after Bartholomew seems to show that Lucy himself had some qualms over the matter; the debt decision of 1668 proves that the Justices of Great Sessions found no cogent reasons for allaying them. Vaughan and Littleton are included on the word of the Bishop; as the Llandaff and Hereford returns of 1665 have

1 William Littleton (H.P.M., pp. 82, 93).
2 Dr. Shaw, II, App. IIIb, p. 411.
3 Walker: Sufferings, Part II, p. 109 (sec. col).
4 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 59b (1650), 61b (1651-1652).
5 It is a matter for regret that all our knowledge about Littleton has to depend on the word of a bishop who was glad to get rid of him, of a new prebendary who was thirsting for the rent, and that of a lady whose marshalling of evidence is not altogether convincing. Her proof of the existence of Thomas Revell, one of the 'lives' mentioned in the lease, may be taken as an example of this—'But as for Thomas Revell she hopes to prove him to be alive having within these few weeks been credibly informed thereof by a gentleman who two years since saw him alive and well at a place called Brussells in Brabant in the dominions of the King of Spain and hath within these 3 or 4 months receaved several letters from him . . . wherefore the lease continues in being.' (Llwyndyrus deposition—1 May, 1669).

not been preserved, one must look elsewhere for information about the challenging personality of Richard Hawes. The writer first came across his name in Dr. Stoughton's work, where (without specifying any authority) he is described as an ejected minister permitted to preach in the diocese of Llandaff without having subscribed the declarations specified in the Act[1]; the next step was to identify him with the 'Mr. Hawes' who was paid £10 in 1651 as his 'arreares' for Llangua[2]: the conclusion being that he had been ejected from that living by the C.P.G.W. and was in receipt of fifths, this being fortified by the fact that the entry in the MS. occurs just after a list of Monmouthshire Anglicans who were *undoubtedly* drawing sums of money on that score (thus leaving in the air the freshly-created problem why a cleric ejected by the Propagators should be averse to subscription in 1662). But on further inquiry it turns out that the Doctor found the reference in Calamy's Herefordshire accounts, where quite an interesting story is told[3]: how Richard Hawes was a Cambridge man who was beneficed in that county—first at Humber, then at Kentchurch, and finally (in 1659) at Leintwardine (from which he was ejected in 1662, after the Bishop had allowed him a month after August 24 to think the matter well over). This new light from Calamy establishes several conclusions: that Hawes was not a Monmouthshire clergyman in receipt of fifths at all, but a Puritan minister[4]; that without much reasonable doubt Hawes of Kentchurch and 'Mr. Hawes' of Llangua were the same man, the two places (though in different counties) being separated by a few miles only; and that the arrears were £10 due to him for evangelical work in the vicinity of the Monmouth Cap. For some time after his ejection and during which he kept on preaching through the indulgence of Bishop Hugh Lloyd, he resided with his son-in-law at Abergavenny. But such residence is not sufficient to give him a place among the Puritan ministers of Wales who suffered under the Act of Uniformity, especially since his last sphere of official work was not Kentchurch but Leintwardine. A word of caution

1 The Church of the Restoration, I, p. 291.
2 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, f. 51b; spelt 'Langna.'
3 Account (1713), II, pp. 354—358.
4 His inclusion in the list of Monmouth ejected (H.P.M., p. 127) is therefore a serious error; and there is no wonder that Col. Bradney makes no reference to him in his summary of Llangua incumbents (Hist. Mon., Part I, p. 92).

also regarding the second name on the list, Richard Blindman. On particularly good authority Calamy mentions him under the spelling 'Blinman' as a sometime minister of Chepstow who found refuge in Bristol[1]; the Bishop of Bristol includes a 'Mr. Blindman' among the eleven nonconformist ministers resident in that city in 1665[2]; and it was on 2 November, 1663, that the Bishop of Llandaff was admitting a cleric named Henry Walker to the vicariate of Chepstow[3]—all pointing pretty steadily to Blindman being evicted from that living in 1662. Unfortunately, Calamy has to add that he does not know from what place *he was actually ejected* (one must keep in mind the Puritan migrations between 1660 and 1662); this was a rather surprising omission in a letter written by another Puritan exile in Bristol who must have been well conversant with the life-history of Blindman. This hiatus must be filled before the place of the old Chepstow minister among Welsh Bartolomeans is absolutely assured.

It is well to move from these puzzling personalities to discuss the fortunes of ministers better known and examine a new category of five—those who were ejected under the Act and decided to conform afterwards.

BARTHOLOMEW EJECTIONS (B).

Minister.	Living.	Authority.
Fogg, Lawrence ..	Hawarden ..	Noncon. Mem., III, pp. 481–482.
Griffith, Evan ..	Oxwich ..	Lamb. 639, f. 337.
Harris, John ..	Tregaron ..	Ib. ib.
Powell, Rice ..	Lampeter (Card.)..	Ib. ib.
[Roberts, Richard ..	Morton Chapel, Salop	Calamy: Acct., II, 572].[4]

Evan Griffith (miscalled 'John' in the Bishop's return) is rather an exceptional case in being a former Anglican fully ordained by a bishop and instituted to the rectory of Oxwich in the deanery of Gower on 12 January, 1638-9[5]; afterwards he was in receipt of special payments for evangelical work from

1 Acct., II, 610.
2 Lamb. 639, f. 317.
3 Llandaff Certs., File 10, Schedule 20 Oct., 1663—20 Apr., 1664.
4 The reason for including this Salop minister is that he was at one time a forceful Welsh itinerant under the Propagation Act (supra, p. 25). See also H.P.M., p. 161.
5 Lib. Inst., St. David's, f. 81.

the C.P.G.W.,[1] and named one of the ministers-assistant in the Protectorate ejecting ordinance of 23 August, 1654. His later history is not very edifying from a Puritan point of view: after for some time living peaceably 'in the countrey' in relation to both Church and State, 'he was,' to quote Mansell's information to John Walker, 'made parson . . . in Gloucestershier, where he Proved . . . as great a Persecutor of the Dissenters as he had been before of the loyalists.'[2] John Harris went so far as to preach 'a recantacion sermon' with the pleasant upshot that the Lord Chancellor gave him another benefice in Cardiganshire.[3] Rice Powell (who must be kept very much apart from Rice Powell of Boughrood, the more so as the latter once ministered at Llanbedr Painscastle), the pastor who admitted the Independent Morgan Howell to his 'gathered church' at Lampeter in 1655,[4] subscribed in a less demonstrative fashion; by 1665 he 'does conforme,'[5] but there is no definite statement that he had received another living (an Erasmus Evans had been admitted to Lampeter on 25 August, 1662[6]); however, opposite 29 December, 1668, there is a rather significant entry—'Richard [not Rice] Powell, cl., collated to the vicarage of Llanbeder Pont [Stephan] in deanery of Subaeron in co: of Cardigan.'[7] Last comes the first on the list, as he went through the unusual stages of conforming before the Act,[8] being ejected under it, and of conforming afterwards—just missing the achievement of a Richard Lee of Hatfield, who underwent *four* several metamorphoses.[9] This son of Robert Fogg seems to have strongly objected to Calamy's description of him in his first 'Account' of the ejected ministers as having conformed, and by letters under his own hand proceeded to expatiate on the varying attitudes adopted by him and the conflicting considerations that underlay them. As to the Act of 1662, he could not satisfy his conscience to

1 H.P.M., p. 143 (and n. 11).
2 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 72.
3 Lamb. 639, f. 337. The writer has been quite unable to get confirmation of the Bishop's remark either on the Pat. Rolls or on the Files. No Harris has been discovered except Harris of Manordeifi and afterwards of Eglwyswrw.
4 Alex. Gordon: Freedom after Ejection, p. 288.
5 Lamb. 639, f. 337.
6 File 13 (St. David's), Sched. 20 April,—20 October, 1662.
7 File 14 (St. David's), Sched. 20 Oct., 1668—20 Oct., 1669. The interesting fact that Erasmus Evans had been promoted from Lampeter to Burton in Pembroke six months before (22 June) goes very far to prove that this Powell was the old Puritan minister of Lampeter.
8 Supra, p. 444.
9 Bate: Decl. of Indulgence, p. 30.

keep his living, when not only assent and consent were required but subscription to a second declaration in which were introduced (as he worded it) some ambiguous clauses relating to matters of State. And yet in obedience to the law he neither joined with any separate congregation nor officiated in the Church until 1665 when (by divine Providence) a way was opened for him to subscribe the aforesaid declaration.[1] Here Fogg must be referring to the interview between prominent Presbyterian divines in London and some of the chief legal authorities[2] as to the correct interpretation to be placed upon the 'not endeavouring any change or alteration of government in church or state,' the salient point in the newly-passed Five Mile Act (Clause iv), which in turn was practically a repetition of Clause ix in the Act of Uniformity shorn of the Covenant implications.[3] The judges (not all, however) agreed that the clause (or clauses) only penalised *unlawful* endeavour; and many ministers—including Fogg, William Bates, even John Howe—became 'good jugglers' and took the Oxford Oath with this reservation. Having thus conformed, the old incumbent of Hawarden acted as curate for several years; this retrograde step notwithstanding, he closed his career as Dean of Chester, in which capacity he made in 1672 an unsuccessful attempt to proselytise Philip Henry.[4] The writer has been very sorely tempted to include in this list the name of John Broster, the Brasenose man of good family[5] who in 1657 was appointed by the Triers minister of Penley in English Flint. Calamy says he was ejected after the Restoration,[6] and the diaries of Philip Henry declare that this took place *before* 1662[7]; Calamy also says he conformed afterwards, but descends to no particulars. Again, at the end of his Herefordshire list, Calamy breaks the news that a 'Mr. Broster' was ejected in 1662 from Wombridge in that county, and that *he* also conformed afterwards.[8] Were these the same man, the surname being so distinctive? If so, he joins the choice

1 Noncon. Mem., III, pp. 481-482. The account in the text follows the phraseology of the letters quite closely—including the reference to Divine providence.
2 Dr. Stoughton: Church of the Restn., I, 348-350.
3 Docts. Act Unif., cp. pp. 392, 489.
4 Diaries, p. 254—sub 5 July.
5 Bras. Coll. Reg., ed. Heberden, p. 181.
6 Acct., II, 709.
7 p. 95.
8 Acct., II, 359.

number of those who were twice ejected and who twice conformed. But the Nonconformist historian makes no attempt to connect the Flint and Hereford Brosters; Philip Henry, who was well acquainted with the Penley minister, gives no sign. In face of these disadvantages, Broster's case must remain in suspension. And, after all, should the ultimate solution serve to verify the theory outlined above, the old Penley Presbyterian must part company with the group of Lawrence Fogg and join that of Matthew Jenkins of Gresford a few paragraphs below.

Like unto Lawrence Fogg, the following group, in many respects the most attractive of the Bartholomew sufferers, had once successfully appealed to the King for confirmation of their former Puritan status or had even conformed in hopes of a final accommodation; like him, they had similar reasons for refusing their obedience to Clauses iii, iv and ix of the Act of Uniformity; quite unlike him, the fine distinctions of the judges at Westminster Hall (who, after all, must be said to have done some injustice to what were the undoubted intentions of the Uniformity lawyers) and the surrender of the Presbyterian 'Dons'[1] did not affect their nonconformity in the least. Not one of them was found presiding over Anglican chapters in their old age.

BARTHOLOMEW EJECTIONS (C).

Minister.	Living.	Authority.
Flower, Benjamin ..	Castle Combe (Wilts.)	Noncon. Mem., III, 360.
Higgs, Daniel ..	Porteynon ..	Calamy: Acct., II, 729; Lamb. 639, f. 337.
Price, Charles ..	Cardigan ..	Calamy: Acct., II, 716.
Rushworth, Isaac ..	Gladestry ..	Pat. Rolls, 14 Chas. II, Pt. 19, No. 187 (resignation).
Swaine, Richard ..	Clyro ..	Calamy: Acct., II, 734; Lamb. 639, f. 337.
Taylor, Richard ..	Holt ..	Calamy: Acct., II, 716.

It was in Flower's case that Edward Mansell committed some of his most egregious mistakes of fact as embodied in his

1 This term was used to connote the more cautious and moderate school, as opposed to the younger and more adventurous 'Ducklings' who had not forsworn endeavouring changes etc. (lawful *or unlawful*). [Prof. Lyon Turner: Orig. Rec., III. 201, 229-230.]

letter of 1709 preserved among the Walker MSS.[1]: 'at y^e^ Restauration,' he writes, 'he went [from Cardiff] to his native county of Gloucester' (his native county was Wiltshire); 'conform'd to y^e^ Liturgy of y^e^ Ch. of England' (which is probable); 'he had a good Benefice in y^t^ County' (only a curacy under his father); 'he was alive about 2 years ago' (when in fact he was alive at Devizes when the Anglican zealot was penning his letter on the last day of February, 1708-9, and lived on until the 10 April following[2]). The whole trend of Mansell's account of Flower is to show what an excellent turn to his fortunes came with the Restoration; the truth is that he became a veritable apostle of dissenting doctrine in his native county (as is eloquently witnessed by the conventicle returns of 1669[3]), signed an acknowledgment to the King for the Declaration of Indulgence (1672) as one of the Wiltshire ministers,[4] received his own licence on 1 May of that year[5] (after making for it no less than four separate applications[6]), and was—according to a recently-discovered MS. in the Library of Dr. Williams—full of a new crusading enthusiasm in Somerset and Wilts as soon as the Toleration Act became the law of the land.[7] Swaine also, the old Propagation 'approver,' after his ejection 'left the diocese' (as the Bishop puts it) and retired to his native Shrewsbury; on Sept. 5, 1672, a licence was issued to him to preach at his own house in the same city.[8] Rushworth followed in the footsteps of the humble Puritan whom he had himself driven out by his former conformity, and an Anglican accession at Gladestry 'vice Isaac Rushworth resigned' on the Patent Roll is the last word that is heard of a Puritan pastor that could not be resident and of a conformist who refused to conform. There is not a little temptation to see the Philip Rogers who was confirmed in his title at Llanwyddelan early after the Restoration in the Philip Rogers who afterwards received a licence to preach at the house of Roger Kynaston in Ruabon

1 c. 4, f. 67. Even Calamy's account of this worthy man is wofully incomplete (II, 763); incidentally, he says father and son were both named Benjamin (for direct evidence on this mistake, see Burrows' edition of the Visitors' Register (Oxford), p. 206).
2 Alex. Gordon: Freedom after Ejection, p. 266. It must be admitted that Mansell does not actually say he was not alive when he wrote.
3 Lamb. 639, ff. 238, 242, 244, 244b.
4 St. Pap. Dom., Chas. II, 320, p. 160.
5 Ib. ib. Entry Book 38A, p. 49.
6 Ib. ib. 320, pp. 67, 68, 69, 70.
7 Gordon MS., ff. 65, 82.
8 St. Pap., Dom., Chas. II, Entry Book 38 A, p. 244.

on 22 May, 1672,[1] and at his own house at St. Martin's in Salop on 22 July[2] (entries that would imply his ejection in 1662). But this second Rogers must be the same man as he who signed the 'Word for God' in 1655,[3] surrounded fore and aft by the Wrexham contingent and presented at the Great Sessions for nonconformity in 1660[4]; the latter fact is sufficient to exclude the Llanwyddelan conformist, confirmed by the King as rector there on 6 August[5] and who, as far as is known, did not appear in Montgomeryshire before 1658.[6]

Next comes a number of ministers lacking in the considered courage of the transformed conformists and who supply a natural contrast to them at both ends of their Restoration experiences—namely, those who were ejected before 1662 and who surrendered to the bishops in after years. For a man who was once episcopally ordained (although we have only Mansell's word for it[7]) and removed from his living under the Act of September, Henry Nicholls of Coychurch surprisingly delayed his reconciliation with the National Church for seven years, being admitted to the rectory of Neath by the Bishop of Llandaff on 28 October, 1667.[8] The Dr. John Conant once associated with Abergele and afterwards one of the Presbyterian panel at the Savoy Conference took advantage of the loophole afforded by Sir Orlando Bridgeman's translation of the Oxford Oath and subscribed at Northampton in 1665,[9] after receiving further assurance on the point from the Dr. Reynolds who once sat with him and Baxter at the Savoy and now as Bishop of Norwich was sending out articles of visitation like unto those of other Bishops.[10] Calamy is the authority for saying that David Jenkins, once Puritan schoolmaster at Clyro and under the Triers pastor of Bryngwyn in Radnor, remained a staunch nonconformist for *15 years* after his ejection, then subscribed, and lived afterwards 'without any respect or honour.'[11] The

1 St. Pap. Dom., Chas. II, Entry Book 38A, p. 135.
2 Ib. ib. p. 202.
3 p. 11.
4 Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, II, App. VI, p. 323.
5 Pat. Rolls, 12 Chas. II, Part 1, No. 317.
6 Exch. Ret., Mont., April 1658, 119.
7 MS. J. Walker, c. 4. f. 66.
8 Bps.' Certifs., File 10 (Llandaff), Sched. 20 Apr., 1667 20 Apr., 1668.
9 P. Henry: Diaries, p. 183. As Conant lost Abergele in 1660 through the restoration of Dr. Gabriel Parry, he therefore conformed within 5 years and not within seven as stated by Dr. Stoughton (I, 288).
10 Dr. Stoughton: Church of the Restn., I, 291.
11 Account, II, 735.

later conformity of John Broster of Penley and Roderick Davies of the Cardiganshire Llanllwchaiarn also depend on the word of his Welsh informant[1]; that of Evans of Llanbister on the news of him supplied by the Bishop of St. David's.[2] Maurice Lloyd, ejected from Llangyniew and Aberhafesb, a nomadic conformist unable to deny Puritan sympathies, has found a circumstantial biographer in a John Tasker, vicar of Winterbourne St. Martin who supplied John Walker with some material for the 'Sufferings.' This Dorsetshire clergyman of the reign of Queen Anne says that after his removal Lloyd first taught privately at Clunbury in Salop 'by y^e^ Connivance of y^e^ Chancelour of y^e^ Dioces,' the latter exacting a promise that the scholars should be brought up on the Church catechism; then he moved to Leintwardine in Hereford, still keeping school. He is by this time described as a thorough conformist, accepting a living first at Bucknell and secondly at Brampton Bryan, presented to the latter by Sir Edward Harley, member of a family which had nurtured and protected the early Puritans of the March. Walker's correspondent alleges also that to these seminaries of Lloyd's 'y^e^ dissenters from all parts sent y^r^ sons.'[3] Thos. Warren of Narberth and Stephen Young of Rhoscrowther must have returned to England and conformed there: this is definitely stated of the first, 'towards Great Yarmouth'[4]; of the second the silence of all the diocesan schedules is sufficiently significant.[5] The probability that connects the old Puritan minister of Gyffin with the Humphrey Prichard who was admitted as vicar of Conway on 23 January, 166$\frac{2}{3}$,[6] and the dispossessed rector of Bettws in Cydewain with the Gabriel Jones who was instituted vicar of Llandinam on 26 May, 1668,[7] is not sufficiently corroborated; and as Calamy is silent about the Morgan Thomas ejected from Mathry before the Act having conformed at all,[8] it is safer not to weave

1 Account, II, 709, 717 (as to Broster's possible transformations, see supra, pp. 497-498.)
2 Lamb. 639, f. 337.
3 MS. J. Walker, c. 4, f. 106. This interesting letter bears no date, but another sent from the same source detailing the fortunes of certain Anglicans of Salop (from which part of the country Tasker probably came) is subscribed '12 Feb., 1706 [-1707]' (c. 3, f. 206).
4 Calamy: Account, II, 718.
5 *i.e.*, of the diocese of St. David's.
6 Bps.' Certifs., File 1 (Bangor), Sched. 20 Oct., 1662—20 Apr., 1663.
7 Ib. File 2 (do.), Sched. 20 Apr., 1668—20 Nov., 1668 (*sic*—not *Oct.*).
8 Acct., II, 717.

gossamer theories about his being the curate conformist of that name who supervised the rectory of Pwllycrochan during the absence in Worcestershire of the undoubted conformist rector Samuel Edwards.[1]

The story of Henry Maurice is in still another class and calls for a short paragraph of its own. Accused by Bishop William Roberts of 'non-residence' in the rectory of Meyllteyrn bestowed upon him after his removal from Criccieth by the restoration of John Gethin in 1660, a new incumbent—Griffith Roberts, Bachelor of Arts—was admitted to that living and the annexed chapel of Bottwnog on 6 March, 1662-1663.[2] Taking advantage of the partial eclipse of strictly insisting upon letters dimissory from one diocese to another, a connivance thundered against by Sheldon in 1665[3] and by Sancroft twenty years later,[4] Maurice migrated across Offa's Dyke and conformed a second time by accepting the living of Broomfield near Ludlow, moving afterwards to Church Stretton. Then comes a circumstantial story about the ravages of a malignant fever in that town, spiritual misgivings leading to dissatisfaction with conformity, a crushing debt of £300, the courageous attitude of his wife and the cautious advice of James Quarrell of Shrewsbury (part-author of the 'Examen' and ejected from Forden)—the resultant of all which forces was his farewell sermon about 1666 from Luke xxiii, 3.[5] Maurice's own temporary settlement at Shrewsbury, the licences he took out in 1672,[6] the visit he paid to his old friends in Lleyn in the same year,[7] his re-migration to Wales as settled pastor of the widely-ramified Independents of Brecknock and his summary of the state and outlook of nonconformity in Wales about 1675 sent to one of the elders of Broadmead,[8] together serve to give him an honoured place in the annals of Welsh Puritanism, notwithstanding his too conforming habit and his 'delayed action' as a dissenter.

1 Lamb. 639, f. 332.
2 The exact entry on the File reads:—'6 March, 1662 Gruffyn Roberts cl., A.B. admitted to the rectory of Mailteyrne with the chapel of Botwnog annexed in Co. Carnarvon, deanery of Lun, vacant by non-residence [of] Henry Maurice cl.: collated by Bishop.' (Bangor, File 1, Sched. 20 Oct., 1662—20 Apr., 1663).
3 Prot. Lyon Turner: Orig. Records, III, p. 62—letter to Bishops (7 July, 1665).
4 Cardwell: Docty Annals, II, Doct. CLXI (1685), Articles IV & VI, 304-305.
5 Calamy: Account (1713), II, esp. pp. 568-569.
6 Two, if not three (St. Pap. Dom., Chas. II, Entry Book 38A, pp. 210, 243).
7 Dr. Rees: Prot. Noncon., pp. 212-220.
8 Broadmead Records (1847 Edn., Underhill), Addenda B, pp. 511-519.

Wherein did the record of Matthew Jenkins of Gresford differ from that of Maurice? Let the following speak for themselves:—

(*a*) Ejected from Gresford in 1660 under the Act of September (supra, p. 374).

(*b*) Conformed (first time) and admitted to Shotwick in the diocese of Chester (Noncon. Mem., I, 346).

(*c*) Refused to submit to the Act of Uniformity and ejected in 1662 (ib. ib.).

(*d*) Conformed (second time) and admitted to Stoak-in-Wirral, where he died on 9 March, 1670, still a conformist (Philip Henry: Diaries, p. 225).

Henry does not forget to add (he is rather overfond of scenting for such sentiments) the rumour that Jenkins had told a friend of his in the parish how troubled he was about his conformity. The diarist has to admit his old friend to be a good man: 'hee was long sick of a pining sickness, but preach't to the very last, being carry'd in a chayr from his house to the pulpit.' Thus though Jenkins and Maurice were beset with recurrent difficulties about conformity, both also conformed to high standards of their sacred calling; and it was only the luck of a longer life that served to show Maurice made of the same stern Puritan stuff as Samuel Jones in the South and Philip Henry in the North.

The cases of Jenkins and Maurice—Presbyterian and Independent respectively, both of considerable learning—are anomalous enough in all conscience; but will it be believed that an Anabaptist, a silenced itinerant with no settled living, and illiterate at that, an extreme type amongst extremists—will it be believed that such a person would seek shelter within the National church, and be received on the easiest terms when many moderate Presbyterians found the door too narrow for them? Yet such a case is vouched for by no less an authority than Richard Baxter himself[1] and solemnly reiterated by the historian Calamy,[2] who was less a friend to Anabaptists than the apostle of Kidderminster. The latter's story is that he was visited in 1663 by a Welsh Baptist, who turned out to have no more learning than a capacity to read English, and to be so grossly ignorant of

1 Catholic Communion Defended, Pt. II, pp. 28-29.
2 Acct., II, 735.

divinity that it grieved the great disputant to talk with him. He was later surprised to hear that the old itinerant had conformed and had been fully ordained; from the context it seems that Baxter and the Baptist met again, the latter asserting that the Bishop asked him no profound questions about theology, 'but only whether he would Conform and so Ordain'd him.' As the conformist's name is omitted by Baxter (no doubt from motives of delicacy), one can only arrive at his identity by collating the names of Baptist preachers at work before the Restoration with the episcopal certificates supplied (after 1663) to the remembrancer of First Fruits. Richard Rogers was one of the many active preachers connected with the Close Baptist cause at Abergavenny[1]; on 20 April, 1644, a Richard Rogers was admitted by the Bishop of Llandaff to the vicarage of Magor and the chapelry of Redwick.[2] If this equation prove correct (it must be said that Joshua Thomas says not a word of this development), the new vicar was on old Baptist who had been a prominent delegate at the general meetings organised by John Miles, who had never received State pay in the days of the Triers, and who had been associated with a church which had nine years before passed a strong resolution disowning such preachers as connived at secular dependence.[3] No doubt Joshua had very sobering reasons for passing the incident over. And a transition from Anabaptism to Anglicanism was so very exceptional that it is well to return to the fortune of more normal types.

As to the great mass of pre-Bartholmew conformists they went on conforming, assuredly deriving some consolation that others joined them in face of the new rigours, that they were part and parcel of about 1350 (before the Act and under it) in the whole country who followed the line of least resistance,[4] and that they had in their ranks William Gurnal of the 'Christian Armour' and four of the prominent Presbyterian divines who assisted Baxter and Calamy at the Savoy Conference of 1661; they had to endure with as good grace as possible the bitter jeremiads of some of their former Puritan colleagues who viewed untoward

1 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., p. 212.
2 Llandaff Certs., File 10, Schedule 20 Oct., 1663—20 Apr., 1664.
3 Joshua Thomas: Hanes Bed., p. 215, note *.
4 This is Bate's computation (Decl. Ind., p. 30).

vicissitudes in conformist lives in the same light as they saw the scourge of God in the awful tragedies of the 'annus mirabilis.' Some of the conformist surrenders bore out the import of Henry's old context about the pressure of 'want' and 'friends'; in some tender consciences great gashes were made, in others little nicks[1]; each category showed that Serjeant Charlton's definition of such consciences as those that denoted 'an impression from without, received from another, and that upon which another strikes,'[2] though etymologically unsound, was only too true amidst the desolation that faced the Puritan world on the eve and morrow of Bartholomew. That there was a graduated scale of 'inconformity' as well is well evidenced in England by the Joseph Read who, when he occasionally preached, took care to use the Prayer Book (only to be called 'a Con-non-forming Mungril' for his diplomacy)[3], and by Dr. John Collings of Norwich, who insisted on spelling his name with an 'e' as a symbol of his ejection.[4] In Wales we have Robert Fogg, father of two conformists, thinking on his death-bed he had conformed too much in staying at Bangor for nine months under the Act of September[5]; William Jones of Denbigh, who firmly disregarded the arguments of his wife and other relations[6]; and Samuel Jones of Tir Iarll, who disliked conformity the more he thought of it.[7] John French of Wenvoe, on the other hand, attended the public services of the Church and preached in his own house afterwards[8]; Philip Henry was a patient listener, often to ungenerous and pointed reflections about stubborn dissenters, of Anglican incumbents both at Worthenbury and Whitchurch.[9] The extruded Baptist David Davies in his will at the end of 1666 had come to believe 'we ought to make supplications and prayers for Kings and all that be in authority'[10], and the godly minister who asked the advice of Samuel Jones (this

1 This is an adaptation of one of the classical dicta of the Bartholomew crisis. It was the remark passed by a parishioner of Nathaniel Heywood at Ormskirk—'many a man nowadays makes a gash in his conscience, cannot you make a little nick in yours?' (Bate, p. 30).

2 Docts. Act Unif., p. 450. He was attempting to prove how the Breda promises were 'ultra vires' in 1662.

3 Alex. Gordon: Freedom after Ejection, p. 338.

4 Ib. ib. p. 240.

5 Noncon. Mem., III, 481.

6 Ib. 478.

7 Calamy: Acct., II, 721.

8 Noncon Mem., III, 505.

9 Diaries, passim.

10 Trafodion Cymd. Hanes Bed. Cymru, 1911-1912, pp. 53-54.

was in 1680) was not willing to conform as *minister*, but ordinarily went to Church, 'not being averse to attend the Common Prayer in his *lay capacity*'[1]; his one outstanding scruple was to partake of the Lord's Supper in the company of the other parishioners. In face of such inconsistencies, the Brynllywarch Puritan could only ask if penal statutes were such effectual means of satisfying conscience.[2] The attitude of Stephen Hughes seems to combine both schools of dissenters: he confessed agreement with the doctrine of the Church, but not with the discipline[3]; he sometimes preached in the churches themselves, on account of the esteem in which he was held by the sober part of the gentry[4] (says Calamy), 'countenanced by the leading men of the County and impropriators whose frownes over awe the poore curates that they feare to deny them' (according to Bishop Lucy's letter to Archbishop Sancroft).[5] But the old vicar of Mydrim proved himself a true son of 'John Hughes senior,' commissioner in 1655-56 to secure the peace of the commonwealth in south-western Wales,[6] and own brother of the Carmarthen collector of church revenue from 1650 to 1653,[7] by suffering imprisonment for other sermons outside the pale of the orthodox churches and excommunication for 'teaching Schoole without licence.'[8] These vagaries of conviction and differences of temperament find a counterpart in the widely diverse movements of the ejected, whether under the Act or before it. The greater number remained within reach of their old pastorates (one must not forget the Five Mile Act), and their movements fall naturally into the records of conventicles and licences; it has been thought relevant to pursue the careers of some in the preceding paragraphs of this chapter; something will be said here of those falling outside these two categories, for the details of which the diaries of Henry and the reminiscences of James Owen are

1 Dr. Thos. Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon., p. 236.
2 Dr. Rees: Prot. Noncon., p. 237.
3 W. Llewellyn Williams: Making of Mod. Wales, pp. 272-273 (n. 2).
4 Account, II, 718-720.
5 Tanner MS. CXLVI, 138.
6 Rawl. MS. A. 36. 225—letter to Thurloe, 6 March, 1655-6.
7 MS. J. Walker, c. 13, ff. 37-40b. The recorder of the town of Carmarthen had conveniently quite forgotten Stephen Hughes' relations—both once living in the town—when in his address of welcome to the Duke of Beaufort in 1684 he said that their vineyard 'was of so admirable a mould that it never gave birth to any such monstrous productions as a sequestrator or a committee-man' (Y Cymmrodor, Vol. VI, Part II, (1883), p. 146).
8 Tanner MS. CXLVI, 138.

especially valuable and valid. John Williams of Llanbeblig was for a time domestic chaplain to a gentleman in Kent.[1] William Jones of Denbigh found an asylum at Plas Têg in Flintshire, the seat of Sir John Trevor, a former C.P.G.W. and member of some of the Commonwealth Councils of State[2]; hs had moved to Hope before he died in July 1679, deserving the memorial inscription—'assiduus verbi divini præco, felici concionum fructu & pio exemplo adhuc loquitur.'[3] Ambrose Mostyn stayed for some time at Wrexham[4]; by the end of April 1661 'God had provided him a sanctuary' with Lord Say and Sele in Oxfordshire[5]; then he left to sojourn with a London ejected minister named Johnson, very probably the 'Mr. Johnson' entered 72nd on the list of such sufferers printed in 1663[6]; he died 'about 1664,' says Calamy,[7] 'soon after the Fire' according to Palmer,[8] at the end of 1663 on the undisputably higher authority of Philip Henry.[9] John Bywater of Pembroke sojourned for some time at the city of Bristol.[10] Richard Taylor left Holt and retired to Barking in Essex,[11] where in 1690-1691 he is reported as fortunate enough to have a good estate of his own and keeping a coach.[12] Ellis Rowlands removed from Clynnog to the town of Carnarvon; he was there in 1666 (being asked by Philip Henry to distribute Welsh copies of Baxter's 'Call to the Unconverted'[13]) and in 1672 (where he received a licence to preach at his own house on 5 Sept.[14]); but, according to Palmer, he eventually died in Cheshire after suffering considerable privations.[15] To keep the wolf from the door two ejected ministers are said to have resorted to the practice of medicine: John French did so at Cardiff with good success,[16] while Nicholas Cary of Monmouth went to London, and developed particular efficiency in curing disorders of the eye

1 Dr. Rees: Hist. Prot. Noncon., p. 130.
2 Noncon. Mem., III, 478.
3 Ib. ib.
4 Diaries, p. 74—sub 29 January.
5 Ib. p. 84—sub 24 April.
6 Walker MSS., c. 8, f. 20 (third col.).
7 Acct., II, 714.
8 Noncon. Mem., III, 478.
9 Diaries, p. 153—sub 12 December.
10 Calamy: Account (1713), II, 610.
11 Calamy: Acct., II, 716.
12 Gordon MS., f. 26.
13 Diaries, p. 193—sub Oct.
14 St. Pap. Dom., Chas. II, Entry Book, 38A, p. 244.
15 Noncon. Mem., III, 478.
16 Ib. ib. 505.

and ear[1] (although it would be inexact to include either among the 700 ejected ministers calculated by Alexander Gordon to have *abdicated* their sacred work to make worldly experiments[2]). Martinus Grundman, unfortunately in London at the time of the Plague, was so poor that he could not move his family out of the infection and died from it.[3] Charles Price of Cardigan ended his days at Hammersmith,[4] Christopher Jackson somewhere in London 'long since' before Calamy wrote his 'Account'[5]; John Luntley in Pembrokeshire within ten years of his ejection.[6] Some, like Stephen Hughes and James Davies, attempted to baffle the authorities (and very largely succeeded) by keeping unlicenced schools. When exactly Samuel Jones opened his famous academy at Brynllywarch is uncertain: Calamy mentions the fact in close proximity to his ejection in 1662[7] and Dr. Thos. Rees is content to echo him.[8] Firm ground is only reached with the entries in the Gordon MS. that nearly thirty years later (1690-1691) he 'teachth Lerning,'[9] naming also some young men who were preparing for the ministry under his tuition,[10] especially one 'John Harvys [Harris] with Mr. Sam^{ll} Jones perfecting with Loggick.'[11] John Miles, it will bear recounting, sailed away to New England, taking with him some members of his church and the invaluable Ilston Records, to become the centre of doings even more adventurous than in the old country, incidentally founding a new 'Swansey.'[12] It is possible, but not very probable, that his sometime Ilston colleague, Thomas Proud, was the Thomas *Froud*,[13] an excommunicate Baptist reported in 1669 as keeping an unlawful conventicle in his house at Dinton in the archdeaconry of Sarum.[14] John Weaver,

1 Noncon. Mem., III, 506. Cary is referred to by Anthony Wood as 'Dr. Curie or Carew, a non-conformist divine and a curer of deafness'; he died in March 1694 (Life and Times, III, 448).

2 Freedom after Ejection, pp. 188-190. Sheldon was not at all unaware of the dangers arising from dissenting apothecaries; his 5th query sent out to the Bishops on 7 July, 1665, wants information about all 'Practisers of Physic,' where they lived, whether licenced, and how they were 'affected' (Lyon Turner: Orig. Rec., III, 64).

3 Calamy: Acct., II, 712.

4 Noncon. Mem., (1777 Edn.), II, 620.

5 Calamy: Acct., II, 717.

6 Noncon. Mem., III, 508.

7 Calamy: Acct., II., 721.

8 Hist. Prot. Noncon., p. 493.

9 f. 94. 10 f. 95. 11 f. 95.

12 Much the best account of Miles' American activities is given by Spinther James: Hanes Bed., II, 411-421.

13 The spelling is against this theory, but it must be remembered that Calamy's (or James Owen's) version was 'Thomas *Froude*' (Acct., II, 721).

14 Lamb. 639, f. 242b.

ejected before the Act from New Radnor, migrated for some time to Hereford; meeting with many difficulties, some arising from his own unaccommodating temper, he had to sell part of his property to maintain his children; however, an auspicious marriage of his daughter just thirty-three years after the ejection to a Samuel Jones (sometime pupil of the Brynllywarch Samuel Jones and himself a noted Tewkesbury tutor) brought into the family the sum of £3,300, the exact sum the Radnor Puritan had lost during his difficulties (at an average rate, evidently, of £100 per annum).[1]

Those turned out *before* August 1662 had their places all filled as a matter of course—it was this displacement that formed the staple argument of Chapter III—and *after* August no Puritan Alexander Griffith arose (if he did, his work would not be licenced) to describe in satiric vein a country spiritually starved of ministers. Bate makes a general statement that the places rendered vacant by the non-subscribing clergy were either filled by inferior men or left vacant for years[2]; in London special efforts were made 'to prepare fitt Persons to fill upp void Liueings,' and one dean was counselling another how best to do without the 'desertors' on St. Bartholomew's itself[3]; there is also at the end of 1663 the dolorous report of the Bishop of Exeter to Sheldon that some of the most populous and considerable places in his diocese had stood void since the year before.[4] This is not paralleled in the case of Wales (except that Philip Henry mentions the case of a curate unordained who assisted in administering the sacrament at one of the neighbouring churches in June 1663[5]). Gladestry and Lampeter were filled in August; Clyro, Llanbadarn,[6] and Llansantffread[7] in September; Wenvoe in October and Porteynon in November; Oxwich, Cardigan, Llangynwyd[8] in December; Magor, the Hay, and

1 Calamy: Acct., II, 733—734; Noncon. Mem., III, 509.
2 Decl. of Indulgence, p. 33.
3 Tanner MS. XLVIII, 26. These phrases occur in a letter, dated *18 Aug. 1662*, sent from Dr. Thomas Turner (Dean of Canterbury) to Dr. John Barwick (Dean of St. Paul's).
4 Bate: Decl. of Ind., p. 34.
5 Diaries, p. 139—sub 7 June.
6 The new vicar here was named William Evans (collated 25 Sept.)
7 Whatever views be held upon the ejection of the Anglican Thos. Vaughan from this rectory (supra, 490-491), it was certainly not a temporary ebullition of grim humour on the part of Bishop Lucy: a Thomas Lewis was solemnly admitted in his stead on *15 Sept.*
8 It is to be regretted that the Anglican authorities could not discover some cleric more distinguished than John Hutton to succeed Samuel Jones at this vicarage (19 Dec.). The name on the schedule, which is not very legible, looks like 'Huston'; the parish registers leave no doubt he was *Hutton*.

the Cardigan Llangunllo in 1663, two of them in the early months. Llanstadwell and Freystrop (one of Peregrine Phillips' former pastorates) had to wait, as far as the rolls and schedules go, until 1665 ; Newport (under the patronage of the Bishop of Gloucester, but enterable on the Llandaff admissions) does not appear to have had a new vicar till 5 February, 1668-1669. Not only were the vacant cures, with these few exceptions, quickly filled up, but they were filled in a large number of cases by men newly graduated at the two ancient universities, and who must have spent most of their statutory years as alumni under Puritan Masters and Rectors. This evidence of the schedules confirms the belief of those writers who have dilated on the artificial Puritan atmosphere of the traditional seats of learning, 'visited' though they had been, and governed in the case of Oxford by Dr. John Owen and Dr. John Conant as successive Vice-Chancellors; it also supplies a new buttress to a thesis already advanced in this work—the insidious influence of Dr. Michael Roberts as Principal of Jesus.[1] It portends in addition that the new episcopal authorities had not been converted to the idea that uneducated gospellers of great spiritual energy should be entrusted with the salvation of the countryside ; once more they reverted to the diplomas of learning and the set sonorous sentences of the Prayer Book ; the historians of the Hanoverian period have expanded their pages with depressing descriptions of pluralism and non-residence—in other words, the Wesleyan movement in England and the Methodist revival in Wales were delayed, but direct, reactions of the Act of September and black Bartholomew. How little a hope there was of a relaxation in the terms of the Uniformity Act during the lifetime of the Cavalier Parliament, notwithstanding (and to a considerable extent because of) its many constitutional

1 If further proof were needed of the former Principal's real outlook, the arguments advanced in his favour by interested parties (and quoted by himself) in 1678-1679 as a person worthy of higher preferment in the Church can be cited : how he and Dr. Robert Morgan of Llanddyfnan 'by the industry of them both in preaching loyaltie so established and confirmed the people of that County [Anglesey] in the principles of Obedience due to the Sovereign Prince' that scarce four persons in the island sided with the Parliament. This was when he was staying at 'his Mother's House' before he was summoned back to Oxford to take the 'Engagement' and become Principal of Jesus (Tanner MS. CCCXIV, 26). But lest one should overweigh the scales against Roberts, it is well to keep in mind two facts : the fierce internal war between him and the Fellows of the College (Burrows : Register of the Visitors, passim), and his resignation at the end of 1657, to be followed as Principal by Francis Howell, a Puritan Fellow of Exeter and native of Cornwall (E. G. Hardy : Jesus College, p. 126).

tussles with the King, is proved by the failure of the latter's machinations to secure indulgence under the shadow of the dispensing power, and by the scrupulous care that was taken to see that the Prayer Book should be an indispensable adjunct of all the serious affairs of this life. Of this two illustrations may be sufficient: not even the children of such devoted Cavaliers as had betaken themselves during the troubles to foreign lands could be naturalised until they had taken the Sacrament and made proof thereof by certificates and witnesses[1]; the somewhat rough gentlemen who were commissioned to prevent theft and rapine on the northern borders of England had to do likewise 'in some publick church upon some Lord's Day' within three months after they had entered upon such employment.[2] Even the Whig Parliament that immediately followed erected the 'parson vicar or curate' into the status of a J.P. (if none such were available) for taking affidavits to the effect that the Act 'for burying in woollen' had been properly observed.[3] Long before this contempt had been poured upon the former ordination of ejected nonconformists by nominating some of them as collectors of 'Royal aids' in their several townships.[4]

ADDENDA.

(A) BISHOP GEORGE GRIFFITH'S SIXTH ANSWER.

The surprising St. Asaph return to Sheldon's sixth 'inquiry' in 1665 as to the number of nonconformist or ejected ministers was 'None such in this Diocese' (Lamb. 639, f. 303). The Archbishop's 'Landmarks' of 1912 gets over this difficulty in a very summary fashion: as the Puritan ministers at work in Wales up to 1660 were chiefly itinerants (which traverses the whole spirit of the Trier regime and erects a few exceptions into an unscientific rule), and as the committee that paid them (presumably meaning the Trustees, although no further definition is given) lapsed with the return of the King (a theory which forgets that the Trustees only paid 'augmentations,' and that to a very small proportion of the ministers at work), *it naturally followed that there were no ministers to be turned out* (pp. 133-4, 162, 302). If this be the correct explanation, and as conditions in North and South were similar, how comes it that Lucy of St. David's, in answer to the selfsame sixth question, was able to supply the Archbishop with a long list of such ejected ministers? The Bishop's answer can never be satisfactorily accounted for by projecting Propagation conditions into the relatively unsympathetic atmosphere of the Triers and Trustees. The baldness of the return also attracted the

1 Clause IV in 29 Chas. II, cap. VI (Stat. at Large, II, 791).
2 Clause IV in 29 & 30 Chas. II, cap. II (Stat. at Large, II, 795).
3 Clause III in 32 Chas. II, cap. I (Stat. at Large, II, 807).
4 Henry: Diaries, p. 190—sub 28 May, 1666.

curiosity of Professor Lyon Turner; he proceeds to demolish its accuracy by quoting Calamy that four were ejected in Flintshire alone and one in Merioneth, forgetting that practically all the former were situated in the diocese of Chester and that the Merioneth minister, Hugh Owen of Bronyclydwr, did not hold a living in 1660 and therefore could not be ejected from any. Besides, that part of the county, the deanery of Estimaner and Talybont, did not lie within the diocese of St. Asaph (Orig. Rec., III, p. 68). The proper explanation seems to be that Griffith wrote down the truth as he conceived it; but he must be held to have misunderstood the scope of the Archbishop's question, which does not in any way narrow down the answer to those who were ejected by the operation of the Act of Uniformity (it is certain that Lucy included more than one who had suffered some time before that Act came into force). Prof. Lyon Turner points to the six returned by Calamy as having been ejected in Denbighshire (William Jones and Ambrose Mostyn, for example), but all these were removed before Bartholomew's; none of them would be ejected ministers in the sense adopted by the Bishop. In the list of Uniformity sufferers (supra, 488) there occurs the name of one St. Asaph minister, Jones of Llanarmon (not mentioned by Calamy and therefore not among Lyon Turner's six); he surely ought to find a place in the Bishop's answer. But, as was pointed out in that context (pp. 488-489), his case is surrounded by more than one difficulty: he might have been removed by the Act of September (although the writer has not been able to trace the former Anglican rector lower down than the return of the Denbighshire sheriff in 1652); he might have fallen a prey to the consistory courts before August 1662 (although the St. Asaph Files do not record any new admission to Llanarmon before that date); and he might be a John Jones other than the Iâl minister (although it is difficult to conceive any other of that name within the orbit of the Presbyterian Philip Henry, whose Diaries are primarily responsible for his inclusion on the 1662 list). One finds not a little difficulty between Henry's entry in 1663 and the Bishop's word 'sub Chirographo proprio' in 1665; the very slight element of uncertainty over the particular John Jones inclines the scale in favour of the latter. Whether Griffith received a further missive from the Archbishop suggesting, from the paucity of the return that he had misconstrued the sixth question, the Lambeth MSS. give no sign.

(B) THE SECOND GENERATION.

Sons did not always follow in the footsteps of their fathers. Sufficient has been said already about Robert Fogg's two conformist sons; two or three of Marmaduke Matthews' children are put down as 'sober Conformists' (Noncon. Mem., III, 504); and there is not much doubt that the Richard Lucas who entered Jesus College in 1664 to become later a D.D. and prebendary of Westminster (J. C. Morrice: Wales, p. 212) was a son of the Richard Lucas ejected from Presteign. Even John Miles could not prevent one of his sons, the Samuel who was born in America in 1664 and who graduated at Cambridge in New England, from being ordained minister of the Episcopal church at Boston (this, however, was six years after his father's death—Spinther James, Hanes Bed., II, 421). Mansell has also a circumstantial story about a grandson of the Ilston apostle who conformed 'immediately after his Grandfather's death,' came over to England in King William's time, had a pension from the Queen, and was sent back accompanied by an assistant 'to Propagat[e] the Gospel in New England' (Walker MS., c. 4, f. 72). As to Llwyd's sons, evidence seems slowly gathering to prove that his eldest son David was the scholar of New Inn Hall who (on 8 Sept., 1662, before

the Vice-Chancellor) refused to approve of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England (Wood's Life and Times, ed. Clark, i, 454-455), and about six years later was teaching conventicles in Netherwent (Lamb. 639, f. 186b); it is equally possible that it was his fourth son Joshua who took out a general licence in 1672 to preach in his mother's native haunts of Llanfaches (St. Pap. Dom., Chas. II, E. B. 38A, p. 170). The great majority kept to the Puritan traditions. Philip Henry's more famous son was ordained a Presbyterian minister (Richard Steele officiating at both his baptism and ordination); John Higgs is described as assisting his father Daniel 'of good long service' at Swansea in the palmier days of toleration (Gordon MS., f. 93), and later still became minister himself at Evesham (Freedom after Ejection, pp. 283-284). Nothing very substantial can be inferred about the leanings of Hugh Rogers' son Nehemiah; all Philip Henry says of him is that he brought him (Henry) and two other gentlemen a paper written by the elder Rogers asking that the latter's books be valued and sold for the benefit of his grandson, also named Hugh (Diaries, pp. 289-290). John, the son of Rowland Nevett of Oswestry, settled with his wife and mother at Bridgnorth, where he was visited in 1682 by the diarist (ib. 314); nine years later the younger Nevett is referred to as 'a minister with a competent supply' (Gordon MS., f. 62). This same MS. pushes forward one step the account given of the younger Stephen Hughes by Mr. Shankland's article on the father written for the 'Beirniad' (Oct., 1912, pp. 175-185) He says he had a son of that name, but confesses he knows nothing of him (p. 178); the MS. describes him as 'hopeful and well-disposed,' 'y^e^ son of a min^r^s widdow now [1690-1691] in a way of Education with M^r^. Samuel Jones.' Curiously, this account of young Hughes is placed under both 'South Wales' and *Derbyshire* (cp. ff. 19, 95), and the London Puritan scribes in the reign of William and Mary fell into the mistake of placing Brynllywarch and Llangynwyd in *Pembrokeshire* just as Arlington's clerks had done in 1672 (cp. Gordon MS., f. 95 and St. Pap. Dom., Chas. II, E. B. 38A, p. 50). Incidentally the widow, once described as of good circumstances ('Beirniad,' p. 178) is now 'poor,' good evidence of the expenses incurred by her husband in launching forth his literary enterprises. Another distinctive name in the same account, the Peregrine Phillips aged 35 of Loseby in Leicestershire, has all the appearance (without definite proof) of being a son to Peregrine Phillips of Llangwm in Pembroke (f. 44). Wales cannot boast of anything like the Puritan succession of seven Calamys, but it can point to converse convictions of perhaps greater significance. John Evans, Puritan schoolmaster at Bala and afterwards at Oswestry (though the son of the Anglican Matthew Evans, ejected rector of Penegoes), moved in the days of persecution to Wrexham, married the widow of Vavasor Powell (as Bp. William Lloyd of St. Asaph was very ready to report to Sancroft in 1682—Tanner MS. cxlvi, 33v), and became the father of Dr. John Evans, compiler of the Nonconformist 'Lists' of 1715. James Owen also was the son of rigid Anglicans. None of these can be compared in dramatic surprise to a son in 1660 calling his father 'a grand malignant' (as did George Fell of Swarthmore, son to the most prominent patroness of George Fox—C.S.P., 1660-61, p. 50), or to a Puritan vicar of Winterbourne-Whitchurch in Dorset fighting as a soldier, abusing bishops, praising Cromwell, and 'diabolically' railing against the King in a manner that would appear altogether unbecoming his famous grandson, another John Wesley, really the apostle of a great schism, but to his death officially loyal to the Mother Church (Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1, p. 504). One wonders whether Wesley would look with greater favour upon his maternal grandfather, Dr. Samuel Annesley, whose letter to the King (25 July, 1660) is quoted in full by Miss Everett

Green 'as a specimen of the special pleading by which those who accepted places under the Protectorate often tried to curry favour with the opposite party' (Pref. to Cal. St. Pap., 1660-1, xiii-xiv). As to another sidelight on Restoration Wales, it must be said that a close analysis of the St. David's ordinations from 1667 onwards (preserved in ff. 319-330 of Lamb. 639), giving the names of ordinands and their places of abode, do *not* reveal that ejected ministers or even *Puritan conformists* were fond of encouraging their sons to join the ministry of the persecuting church. Not many Welsh clergy in the reign of Queen Anne would be open, like the high Anglican Sacheverell, to the piquant reminder that his ancestors included no less than *three* ejected Puritan ministers (Calamy : Acct. (1713), II, 599).

SUPPLEMENT: SUMMARY OF MS. EVIDENCES.

[Arranged under repositories: pagination of folios not given unless demanded by peculiarities of classification, as in the case of the Walker MSS. at the Bodleian.]

(A) *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

(i) *Bodl. MSS.* 323 (Percy impropriations in South Carmarthen), 325 (case of Roberts of Llandinam).

(ii) *Dolben Papers*—Add. MSS. c—302 (supplies evidence for conformity of Hugh Pugh of Llanbedr D.C.), —307 (references to a Cowbridge schoolmaster).

(iii) *Rawlinson MSS.*

(*a*) A. 13 (part of an intercepted letter written by a Welsh millenarian in 1654; reference to 'Henry Noris, schoolmaster').

(*b*) A. 32 (letter to the Protector from Maj.-Gen. Berry and seven other commissioners in North Wales 'for securing the peace of the Commonwealth').

(*c*) A. 34 (Royalist gentleman of Wales 'secured' by Maj.-Gen. in 1656, also those of Hereford and Salop; description of arms captured; five columns of prisoners).

(*d*) A. 36 (letter to Thurloe from Maj.-Gen. Berry and fourteen commissioners in South Wales 'for securing the peace of the Commonwealth').

(*e*) A. 61 ('A noate concerning some stirrs in Wales.' Vavasor Powell's movements).

(*f*) A. 119 (docquet-book of offices and pensions granted by Charles II from June 1660 to October 1661; contains the names—what between new turncoats and old Cavaliers—of about 50 men connected with Wales).

(*g*) B. 239 (conveyance of episcopal manor to Col. John Jones of Maesygarnedd).

(*h*) C. 261—obverso (list of Puritan preachers, presumably at Wrexham Parish Church, in 1655-56 ; notes of sermons taken).

(*i*) D. 711 (fragmentary list of those, *mainly* from London and the Home Counties, who subscribed the 'Engagement' from 1649 to 1651 ; several names from Wales).

(*j*) D. 843 (protest of Merionethshire ministers against certain exactions of Trustees' officials).

(iv) *Tanner Collection.* References to Welsh affairs within the ambit of this work have been found in Vols. ranging from XXVII to CXLVI (the latter being particularly fruitful). In this immense storehouse are multifarious letters from the Welsh bishops to Archbishops Sheldon and Sancroft, intrinsically interesting in themselves, and often bearing retrospective testimony to men and movements in 'the late times.' Typical examples are Bishop Wm. Lloyd's remarks on the spiritual ancestry of the dissenters of Wrexham (CXLVI) and Bishop Wm. Roberts' strictures on Rice Rowlands of Aberffraw (XLV). In a different category are letters written by Colonels Philip Jones and Rowland Dawkins, Thomas Wogan the regicide, and one of the Bulkeleys of Beaumaris ; much information about Papists—lists of recusants in Monmouth for 1603 and 1605 (circa), examination of a Benedictine priest at 'Pennarth Rode,' landing of an Irish priest in Anglesey, etc.

(v) *MSS. J. Walker*—

(*a*) C. 4, ff. 63-72b. Correspondence of Edward Mansell of Henllys with Walker in 1708-1709 ; enclosures about 'hard usages' of Glamorgan clergy by the Puritans ; references to repossession of livings in 1660.

(*b*) C. 4, f. 106. Information of John Tasker regarding Maurice Lloyd of 'Aberhafest.'

(*c*) C. 5, f. 24. Letter from Richard Owen to Dr. John Walker containing references to Vavasor Powell.

(*d*) C. 6, ff. 39-43. Incomplete list (surnames M-Y) of those who took the 'Engagement' from 1649 to 1651; like Rawl. MS. D. 711, important in giving a sidelight into previous attitude of some Puritan conformists.

(*e*) C. 7, ff. 9b, 51. Allusions to Edward Bagshaw of Ambrosden, probable author of 'Life' of Vavasor Powell, and to Alexander Griffith's descendants.

(*f*) C. 8, f. 20 et seq. MS. copy of a printed list of Nonconformist ministers ejected before 1663; England only; valuable for comparison and contrast.

(*g*) C. 13. South Wales Propagation Accounts audited by special commissioners in 1655.

(*h*) E. 4. } Walker's outline of the procedure he
(*i*) E. 12. } proposed adopting to rebut Calamy's 'calumnys.'

(*j*) E. 7, ff. 206-214.—This was an 'extract' made for Walker at Lambeth of a return compiled in 1652 by the South Wales C.P.G.W., giving a list of Anglican clergy ejected up to that date and adding in many cases the particular reasons for ejection. Its interest for the purposes of this work lies in its collation with (*a*) the petitions to the Lords in the summer of 1660; (*b*) the provable restorations under the Act of September; (*c*) the plurality returns of Bishop Lucy in 1665.

(B) *House of Lords' Archives.*

Forty-three petitions of sequestered Anglican clergymen for security of tithes, etc., until the legal title to the respective livings should be 'determined by due course of law' (pursuant to two orders of the Upper House dated 22 and 23 June, 1660). Besides these petitions of the Welsh clergymen, others have been

examined, notably those of Dr. Richard Owen of Eltham (originally from Maentwrog) and Dr. William Lewis of East Woodhay in Hants. (hailing from Llanenddwyn).

(C) *National Library of Wales.*

(i) *Llanover MSS.* B 12, C 4, C 31 (satiric poetry of Glamorgan and Monmouth bards).

(ii) *Mostyn MSS.*

(*a*) 229 (funeral sermon of Owen Holland by Dr. Robert Morgan of Llanddyfnan).

(*b*) 237 (proclamations by Earl of Carbery ; letters of John Williams of Meillionydd and Richard Edwards of Nanhoron ; suspicious words by Edmund Glynne of Hendre and obscure men of Llangwnadl ; search for arms at Madryn and Rhydolion ; Ellis Rowlands and the Puritan soldiers of Clynnog ; Evan Jones and the Militia Act).

(*c*) 238 (dispersal of the Llangybi conventicle in 1676).

(D) *Lambeth Palace Library.*

(i) MS. 639 (episcopal returns of 1665 regarding hospitals, pluralists, and ejected ministers ; conventicle reports of 1669 ; collateral matter of great interest ; of supreme importance for the religious reactions of the Restoration).

(ii) MSS. 902, 904, 905, 913, 915 (parochial inquisitions in 1650 ; surveys of Bishops' and Chapter interests, 1646-1649). Names of ministers in possession of livings ; source and sum of maintenance ; by comparison with Protectorate and Restoration evidences these MSS. serve to throw light on the following typical questions :—(*a*) Puritan tolerance of the Anglican curate system ; (*b*) the privileged position of Dr. John Ellis at Dolgelly ; (*c*) clergymen left unejected throughout interregnum.

(iii) MSS. 944-947 (presentations to livings by Oliver Cromwell ; one or two by his son).

(iv) MSS. 966-989; 992-999; 1004, 1006, 1008, 1017 (the 'Augmentation Books'—outstanding authorities for appointments of Triers and for Trustees' jurisdiction).

(v) MSS. 990-991, 1000, 1015 (inquisitions, provisional and final orders concerning union and division of parishes).

(vi) MS. 1027 (reports of petty constables in 1662 pursuant to Clause iv in 13 Chas. II, cap. III).

(E) *Public Record Office* (arranged, as far as practicable, in order of time).

(i) *Liber Institutionum* (episcopal institutions, 1620-1646 circa; collateral support of the Puritan surveyors; invaluable for reference in dealing with re-sanctions of 1660).

(ii) *Exchequer Miscellanea.*

(*a*) First Fruits Returns (1651-1652), for Anglesey, Carnarvon, Denbigh, Merioneth and Montgomery (but not Flint); Salop return also examined for the Oswestry-Llanyblodwel-Kinnersley parishes. Evidence of personnel.

(*b*) Montgomery Returns (Feb.-April 1658), passing in review ecclesiastical changes in all parishes since 1649. Important as supplying deficiencies of Lamb. MSS. No similar documents for other counties preserved.

(iii) *Commonwealth Exchequer Papers.*

(*a*) Roll 290 (disbursements of Trustees' receivers for year ending 25 December, 1657; Welsh beneficiaries include Stephen Hughes, Ambrose Lewis, Richard Jones (Denbigh), etc.

(*b*) MS. 96, No. 331 (compounding settlements; annexed to this MS. is a deed re-transferring tithes of Bettisfield to Sir Thos. Hanmer at Restoration).

(iv) *St. Pap. Dom. Interreg. G* 22 (orders issuing from the central Commissioners for Sequestrations to their local representatives in the various counties for

payment of sums of maintenance to ministers—Oswestry, Monmouth, Llanfetherin, Llandinam, Gresford, Bettws and Cemmes (Mont.), Ruabon). Authority ran parallel with that of Trustees; St. Pap. proves Archbishop of Wales' theory about the lapse of *one* Committee altogether untenable.

(v) *Bishops' Certificates* to remembrancer of First Fruits (1660-1672); admissions to livings; arranged in Files and Schedules; include new Anglican blood as well as Puritan conformists.

(vi) *Patent Rolls* (1660-1672); presentations to livings under Great Seal; evidence of corroboration of title in 1660-1661; preferments to ejected Anglicans and Puritan conformists; mostly dated from Westminster, some from Oxford.

Note.—Neither the Puritan scribes nor the Anglican clerks can be depended on to arrange their entries chronologically; *e.g.*, in these Rolls the corroboration of John Foulkes' title to Llangadfan (17 July, 1660) is entered on No. *388* of Part I (12 Chas. II), while his presentation to Llanymawddwy (6 August) is entered on No. *302*.

(vii) *Certificates of Second Admissions* to benefices after Restoration; not to be confused with (v) above; exoneration of first fruits because they had been already 'compounded' for during interregnum; only a remnant of originals preserved; of prime importance regarding Puritan conformists.

(viii) *Declared Accounts, Audit Office.*

(*a*) Bundle 367, rolls 1, 3, 4 (account of sale of Bishop and Chapter lands).

(*b*) Bundle 1216, rolls 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89 (account of First Fruits and Tenths, 1643-1660).

(*c*) Bundle 2239, roll 1 (account of Tenths given separately for 1657-1658). These were in essence Commonwealth and Protectorate documents, but had to be 'declared' before Restoration Barons of the Exchequer accord-

ing to the powers granted by 13 Chas. II, cap. III. The incomes are referred to as capital sums, but they suffice to give a general idea as to the contributions from Wales. The disbursements from the First Fruits 'pool' introduce the names of Heads of Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge (including Dr. Michael Roberts of Jesus in the former); the names of the 1659-1660 panel of 'Triers'; otherwise the balance sheets suggest how very self-contained a unit Wales was as regards the maintenance of ministers.

(ix) *Controlment Rolls.* 310 ('forcible entry' upon a Puritan minister at Llansantffraid in Mont.), 313 (sacrilege at Tenby).

(x) *Exchequer Depositions* (Bills and Answers): denial of tithes, arrears of tithe, non-payment of prebend rents, appeals for recovery of Church revenues confiscated by usurped powers (with the invaluable retrospective details supplied by plaintiffs, defendants, and other witnesses), clerical denial of visitation fees, litigation over chancellorship of St. David's. All arranged in bundles according to counties.

(xi) *St. Pap. Dom. Charles II*, 320 *and* 321 (applications for licences under Declaration of Indulgence; acknowledgments of receipt (often with date); addresses of gratulation to the King).

(xii) *St. Pap. Dom. Charles II*, *Entry Book* 38*A* (enrolment of licences with dates: first issued to Wales was that of Marmaduke Matthews (Swansea) on 12 April 1672, and the last to a group of five in Radnor-Brecknock on 3 February, 1672-1673).

(F) *William Salt Library, Stafford.*

Salt MS. 2112 (religious census ordered by Sheldon in 1676; returns arranged in three columns—Conformists, Papists, and Nonconformists (or 'Sectaries'); four Welsh dioceses, including the Salop division of St. Asaph and the Olchon-Clodock enclave then included in St. David's; some parishes

unaccountably absent, *e.g.*, Llangynwyd in the deanery of Groneath and Glasbury in the archdeaconry of Brecon).

(G) *Dr. Williams' Library, Gordon Square, London.*

(i) *Baxter Letters*, Vol. II, ff. 128-129 (letter of 1656 from John Lewis of Glasgrug to Richard Baxter asking for an authoritative pronouncement upon differences among Puritans).

(ii) *Gordon MS.*—'Review of the State of the severall Counties in England and Wales, of what Dissenting Ministers as well fixed as Itinerant, with their particular personall circumstances, are now resideing therein, As alsoe an account of y^e^ Townes or places, wherein any meetings are, with what allowance is given to those that Supply them, And what young men there be y^t^ are educated in Vniversity Learning.' This return was called for by a resolution of the managers of the 'Common Fund' organised by London Presbyterians and Congregationalists in 1690. The MS. was discovered in 1912, and contains references to Charles Edwards, the son of Stephen Hughes, James Owen, the evangelist of Bronyclydwr, the 'blind man' of Carmarthenshire, etc. It contains many personal touches of the younger Restoration Puritans which have invested their characters with new interest. The MS. was excellently edited by Rev. Alex. Gordon, M.A., in 1917. For purposes of convenience, the term 'Gordon MS.' has been applied to it in the footnotes.

(H) *British Museum.*

There are references in this work to the following, which do not approximate in importance to the record of C.P.M. activities found in the Addit MSS. 15669-15671 (H.P.M., p. 54):—

(i) *Cottonian Coll., Julius F vi*, f. 298 (letter from Francis Godwin, Bp. of Llandaff, to Camden about Bodvoc Stone).

(ii) *Harleian Collection.*

(*a*) 280 (lists of recusants in the four dioceses in 1603).

(*b*) 4713 (Percy-Vaughan correspondence concerning the former's impropriations in Carmarthen).

(*c*) 6898, ff. 219-232 (a Confession of Faith wrongly ascribed to Vavasor Powell).

(*c*) has been transcribed for Bapt. Hist. Soc. Trans., both by Champlin Burrage and Mr. Shankland; of the others, the author has relied upon the excerpts given in the excellent Catalogue of MSS. in the Museum (relating to Wales) compiled by Mr. Edward Owen.

(I) *Sion College, London.*

MS. lettered A.R.C., L $\frac{4^0}{2}$, E. 16; records of the Committee for the Reformation of the Universities from July 1650 to April 1652. References to sums of money payable to Rowland Nevett of Oswestry and Dr. Michael Roberts of Jesus College, Oxford. This being the period of Welsh autonomy under the Propagation Act, specific entries for the Principality are not to be expected.

(J) *Archives of the University, Oxford.*

(i) Matriculation Book, Reg. W, 1649-1662.

(ii) Subscription Registers.

(*a*) AD, 1650-1660.

(*b*) AE, 1660 +.

All these were examined in a (hitherto) fruitless effort to identify as the eldest son of Morgan Llwyd the *David Lloyd* who refused to subscribe the Act of Uniformity at New Inn Hall in September 1662.

(iii) Register of Convocation marked T (1647-1659); reference to a Jesus undergraduate who had been master of a 'publick Schoole' in Wales.

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[n. = footnote.]

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